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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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1. *An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir.* By H. H. Wilson, Esq. Asiatic Researches. Vol. XV.
2. *Kings of Kashmira:* being a Translation of the Sanskrita Work Rájataranggini of Kahlana Pandita. By Jogesh Chander Dutt: Calcutta, I. C. Bose & Co., Stanhope Press. 1879.

I.

THE want of an authentic history of the ancient Hindus has been a matter of just regret from the days of Sir William Jones. Attempts have been repeatedly made to fix the chronology of ancient India; but every attempt, however ingeniously commenced and assiduously conducted, appears to have resulted in disappointment and failure. Baffled antiquarians have at last recorded their conviction that the task is hopeless; that the nation which cultivated poetry and mathematics and some of the sciences in remote times with such wonderful success must ever remain without a history; that the dead past of India is to us a volume sealed with seven seals, and the seals will never be broken.

While we share to a certain extent the regrets of antiquarians at the want of an authentic history of India, we cannot at the same time share their belief that the past of India is altogether a sealed volume to us. While we agree with them in considering the fixing of a chronology for ancient India a hopeless task, we venture to think that we may yet obtain much useful and interesting information about the ancient Hindus without knowing

their chronology. While we despair of ever being able to construct a connected narrative of the great wars and successive reigns and important occurrences that took place in ancient India from extant materials, we are nevertheless hopeful that those materials will enable the historian to trace the *real history* of the great people and their peculiar civilisation, and to reproduce with faithfulness and accuracy, at least in general outlines, the story of their national rise and progress, from the date of their settlement as shepherd and agricultural tribes on the banks of the Indus, to the founding of powerful independent kingdoms and the wonderful development of religions, literature, arts and sciences all over the continent of India. And if we can succeed in doing this, if we can trace how the Hindu nation achieved its civilisation gradually and through successive stages, and if we can further ascertain the general character of the civilisation of each stage or epoch, we shall not very much regret that a list of kings, or of wars, is wanting to complete the history of India.

Indeed, it seems to us that the disappointment and failure of the earlier antiquarians were to a great extent due to the wrong method they pursued. Our earlier antiquarians spent all their energies in trying to construct lists of kings for the different provinces and kingdoms of India. Sir William Jones and his fellow labourers repeatedly had recourse to the Puranas, and such lists were again and again made out; all more or less incorrect and valueless. Later investigators followed in their footsteps, and Mr. H. H Wilson has given us lists of some of the old reigning dynasties of India. We believe these lists to be more or less incorrect; but supposing they were correct, we fail to see what we should gain by having long lists of royal names of the houses of the sun or the moon. If it were possible to construct such lists with regard to every kingdom in India, from Kashmira in the north to Drábira and Carnáta in the south, we should still know as little of the real history of India as if they had never existed; the true history of the people would still remain for us a book sealed with seven seals.

Fortunately, with the advance of antiquarian knowledge, such attempts have been given up, and we have been taught to follow a better method. The labours of living antiquarians generally, and of Max Müller more especially, have more and more brought home to us the conviction that the gradual development of civilisation in India followed a method which can be ascertained, and that the details, not of wars or reigns, but of the progress of the nation from age to age, can be ascertained from the materials in our possession. A great nation never passes away without leaving records of its thought and achievements. And

in India such records have been left unintentionally and almost unwittingly,—they are for that very reason the more reliable, because ungarbled. Each successive age has left, in its literature, an impress, a photograph as it were, of its thought and civilisation; and when we bring all these photographs together, compare the features of the nation gradually developing into the strength of manhood, or declining to the furrows and feebleness of old age,—we perceive at a glance the whole history of the Hindu nation and its civilisation. There is no gap anywhere, no link is wanting; we never miss the cause when we perceive a great effect or change in society; and a full, connected, and true history of three thousand years'—such as no other nation in the world can lay claim to,—is laid before our eyes,—so full, so clear, that he who runs may read.

Such is the method that we are now pursuing, and there can be no doubt that the labours of the present generation will be rich in results. It is true that a history of Ancient India has yet to be written; but the materials we are gathering are so rich and so full, that such a history is only a question of time. Years of patient enquiry and criticism will perhaps yet be necessary to gather from the existing records and works of different ages the laws, manners, and customs of the people of India through successive stages of civilisation; and even after such enquiry, much will yet remain obscure or doubtful, especially in the minuter details. Nevertheless, the general outline of the history of the people will be ascertained with accuracy and distinctness, and the philosophical historian will trace with pleasure the progress of a nation isolated from the rest of the world, and working out its civilisation gradually and uninterruptedly, through a period of three thousand years.

When such work of criticism and enquiry shall have borne its fruits, we shall know that over two thousand years before the Christian era, bands of pastoral and agricultural tribes left their homes in Iran or Bactria and settled on the fertile banks of the five rivers of the Punjab. We shall know how they clustered together in small lages under their petty kings or chiefs; tended their cattle the banks of rivers; cleared forests to introduce a rude rt of agriculture; and lived at first a semi-nomad and rude e. We shall know how they fought with the black dwellers the country and defended and extended their settlements y their strong right arm; how they worshipped the sun, the oon, the fire, and whatever else was striking and beautiful nature; and how the patriarchs of tribes, or the fathers of milies were the natural priests, and invoked blessings on ne tribe or family, and prayed to the gods for the preservation

of cattle or the confusion of their black enemies. Such hymns are still preserved to us after a period of three thousand years and more, and breathe a simplicity, a fervour, and a piety worthy of the earliest recorded compositions of the human race.

We shall further gather from such enquiry and criticism how priestcraft and priestly influence crept into this simple and archaic state of society, spoilt its fervour, and repressed its native energy. Forms of worship were gradually elaborated and crystallised until they assumed monstrous proportions; priests formed a caste by themselves, and, as elsewhere in the world, domineered over laymen; kings and soldiers formed a second proud caste, while the great mass of traders and agriculturists formed a third. The aborigines who had owned the supremacy of the conquerors, were content to be their slaves and formed a fourth caste. These divisions, and the increase of priestly influence and formal worship through hireling priests, repressed the healthy growth of the people and restrained their activity of thought for hundreds of years.

The only element which disturbed from time to time this unhealthy stagnation, was the rivalry of the great royal and military classes, which could scarcely brook the supremacy even of priests. In the end this caste seems to have openly questioned priestly supremacy, and given a healthy stimulus to national thought and action. The earliest philosophical speculations of India are connected with this movement, inaugurated by the military caste, while the name of Janaka of Mithila, who was the proudest asserter of Khatriya supremacy, is also connected with the story of the first great Aryan invasion of southern India. Thus the national activity of this period manifested itself in action no less than in contemplation. New lands were visited and new kingdoms founded, until the whole of northern India and a part of the south were carved out into strong independent kingdoms and races, living side by side, all following the same religion, all enjoying a high degree of civilisation, and forming a sort of united confederation of nations. Wars were, of course, of frequent occurrence, as every ambitious prince tried to establish a sort of supremacy over his neighbours; but these wars were of a humane nature and never disturbed the peoples in their respective occupations; and when the supremacy so much sought after was established, the victor and the surrounding princes were friendly again. One of the most signal of these international wars, if we may so term them, occurred about thirteen hundred years before Christ—it was the war of the Kurus and the Pandavas. This war was the commencement of a new epoch in the history of India; it closed the Vedic epoch, and was the commencement of the epic period of India.

II.

The traditions of India assert that Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas, was contemporaneous with the war of the Kurus and the Pandavas. We do not know whether Vyasa was a real or a mythical personage; but the tradition points at any rate to the fact that the great war happened about the time when the Vedas were collected, arranged and compiled,—that is to say at the close of the Vedic period. But, although this war happened immediately at the close of the Vedic period, and although the first invasion of Aryans into southern India occurred, as we have seen above, at a still earlier period, that is within the Vedic times, the two great epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, describing these two events respectively, were composed many centuries after. Valmiki, the saintly contemporary of King Janaka of Mithila and of Rama of Ajodhya, did not compose the Ramayana, nor did Vyasa, the contemporary of the Kurus and the Pandavas compose the Mahabharata. Indeed these two epics are not the works of any single poets, but are the productions of saintly and imaginative writers of many centuries, each succeeding writer adding to, or altering, or modernising, the great heritage left by his predecessors. We do not know whether Valmiki or Vyasa did compose any songs or lays on the great events which they witnessed; if they did, their lays must have been composed in the crude Sanscrit of their times, *i. e.* of the Vedic period, and none such certainly has been left to us. It seems much more likely, however, that they did not leave any such lays, but the traditions of the two great events lived in the memory of the nation and spontaneously gave rise to lays and songs centuries after the occurrences had taken place. The heroes of the wars had by that time passed into the ranks of deities, miraculous incidents had been intertwined with the main story, and as the great works went on increasing, numerous tales from the great storehouse of Hindu mythology were gradually mixed up with the stories of the wars. To throw a halo of sacredness over the compositions, they were ascribed to the two great saints who were contemporaneous with the two great wars, and under the shadow of these great names, each succeeding writer contributed his mite, until the poems assumed the ponderous proportions which they now exhibit. Thus the greatest literary heritages of India are in truth the results of national, not of individual, genius. Scholars like Weber and Max Müller agree that the main portions of them were composed before the spread of Buddhism in India in the third century before Christ; but portions have been added, and the poems have been modernised perhaps in a still later period.

Such being the history of the two great epics of India, it is

necessary to turn to the events which they describe. We have observed before, that the war of the Kurus and Pandavas occurred at the close of the Vedic period. For several reasons it is necessary to fix the date of this occurrence. If we can fix the date of this period, we shall know when the Vedic period closed and the Vedas were compiled and arranged; we shall learn how early the whole of Northern India was divided into powerful and civilised independent tribes and kingdoms; and lastly, and what is more immediately to our purpose, we shall know when the authentic history of Kashmira begins,—for the history of Kashmira, which is the subject of our present article, commences at the time of the Kuru-Pandava war.

Fortunately we are able to fix this date with a greater degree of certainty than we can fix the dates of most other events of ancient Hindu history. A number of very distinguished scholars, starting from different premises, and proceeding by different lines of argument, both astronomical and chronological, have yet arrived at much the same conclusion, viz., that the Kuru-Pandava war took place about the 12th or 14th century before Christ. We need not here recapitulate their researches and reasoning on this point, but will only briefly allude to the results. Colebrooke, following two different lines of reasoning, arrives, nevertheless, at the same conclusion, that the war took place in the 14th century before Christ. Major Wilford fixed 1370 B. C. as the date of the war, while Dr. Hamilton states that it occurred in the 12th century B. C. Archdeacon Pratt accepts this last date on astronomical grounds, while Mr H. H. Wilson accepts the conclusion of Colebrooke. All later historians and scholars have accepted either the 14th or the 12th century before Christ as the date of the momentous event which opened a new epoch in the history of India.

To the results of the researches of these eminent scholars we shall only add the testimony of such facts and figures as the history of two great kingdoms in India can supply. The history of Magadha, thanks to the Buddhistic revolution, presents us with some dates which cannot be disputed. Sakya Sinha, the founder of the Buddhist religion, died about 550 B. C., and thirty-five princes reigned in Magadha between the Kuru-Pandava war and the time of Sakya Sinha. Seventeen or sixteen years are considered a good general average of the reigns of kings in India; we shall accept the more moderate average, viz., 16 years, and this calculation shows that the Kuru-Pandava war took place in the 12th century before Christ.

Last, though not the least, is the testimony of the history of Kashmira. Kalhana Pandita, the writer of the history, lived in

1148 A. D. and his dates are perfectly reliable, and have rightly been accepted by Mr. H. H. Wilson, down to five or six centuries previous to the time of the historian. Indeed there can be no doubt as to the correctness of Kalhana's dates down to the reign of Durlabha Bardhana who ascended the throne in 598 A. D.* When, however the historian travels to an anterior period, his dates become extravagant and unreliable, and require to be adjusted. Mr. Wilson has, by so adjusting the dates, ascertained that the reign of Gonanda I, who was contemporaneous with the heroes of the Kuru-Pandava war, happened about 1400 B. C. We should have very much like to see the present translator, Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, attempting such an adjustment of dates. Since, however, he has not done so, and, as we cannot for many reasons accept Mr. Wilson's dates,† we shall attempt to adjust the dates for ourselves.

We have seen that Durlabha Bardhana ascended the throne in 598 A. D. Thirty-seven kings reigned between the time of Gonanda III and Durlabha Bardhana. Giving sixteen years to each reign, we find that Gonanda III ascended the throne A. D. 6, that is about the commencement of the Christian era.

What was the period which elapsed between Gonanda I and Gonanda III? We are told that fifty-two kings reigned from Gonanda I to Gonanda III, and they reigned over a period of 1266 years. This gives an average of over twenty-four years for each reign, which, though not impossible, is highly improbable. Either, then, the period (1266 years) has been wrongly described, or there is

* Mr. Wilson makes it 615 A. D. But we accept the dates given by Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, because his work is a literal translation of the Sanscrit history, whereas Mr. Wilson often consulted Persian authorities in writing his essay. The difference, however, is only of seventeen years.

† Mr. Wilson gives 20 years to each reign which is too high an average to lead to a correct conclusion. According to his calculation again, the date of disputes between Buddhists and Brahmans in Kashmira is anterior to the birth of Sakya Sinha, the founder of Buddhism, which is absurd. Lastly, he makes the curious mistake of supposing that the first fifty-two kings of Kashmira, whose names have mostly been lost, were *anterior to Gonanda I*, whereas the following passage from the Rajatarangini clearly shews that the fifty-two kings whose names have mostly been lost were *Gonanda I and his successors* down to Abhimanger. "No mention is made of fifty-two kings on account of their irreligion. Four of these, Gonanda, &c. are named by Nilamuni; Padma Mihira, following Helaraja, gives an account of eight kings (descendants of Asoka) from Lava; and Srichchhavillaka speaks of five only. He writes 'from Asoka to Abhimanya, five kings have been named out of fifty-two.'"—*Jogesh Chunder Dutt's Translation.* We are much afraid Mr. Wilson's Persian authorites led him into these and similar mistakes. If he had faithfully followed the original Sanscrit work he would surely have avoided them.

a mistake in the number given of the kings who reigned in this period. If we had as clear and reliable an account of these fifty-two kings before Gonanda III as we have of the kings who succeeded him, we should not have hesitated to give them each an average of sixteen years' reign as we have done to the successors of Gonanda III. and so reduced the alleged period of 1266 years to 832 yeârs. But so far from having any reliable account of these fifty-two kings, the very names of most of them are lost, and we have therefore the bare assertion of Kahlana that fifty-two unknown kings reigned. It is more than probable therefore that, in reckoning this number, weak princes who reigned for short periods have not been included, and that the actual number of kings who reigned before Gonanda III. was over fifty-two. That this is likely, appears from a disagreement between two authorities whom Kalhana quotes in his history. Padmamihira says there were eight kings from Lava to Abhimanyu, while Srichchha Villaka says there were only five. It is clear, therefore, that no reliance can be placed on the number given of the princes who reigned before Gonanda III. It is very likely that the number was over fifty-two, and it is not unlikely therefore that the period covered by these reigns has correctly been described as 1266 years.

Even assuming that only fifty-two princes did reign from Gonanda I to Gonanda III, it is not impossible to suppose that the average of their reigns was twenty-four years, and that they ruled for 1266 years, which is the period given by Kalhana. We cannot therefore be far from the truth if we accept Kalhana's statement that 1266 years elapsed from the reign of Gonanda I, to that of Gonanda III. But we have seen before that Gonanda III began to reign in 6 A. D. It follows, therefore, that Gonanda I reigned, and the heroes of the Kuru-Pandava war lived, in 1260 B. C. Such is the testimony borne by the history of Kashmira as regards the date of the war of the Kurus and the Pandavas.

Thus, then, by the concurrent testimony of all antiquarians and scholars of note who have enquired into the subject, by reasoning based on astronomical, philological and chronological premises, as well as by the evidence afforded by the histories of Magadha and of Kashmira respectively, the date of the war of the Kuru-Pandavas is fixed between the 12th and the 14th century before Christ. This is the date when the Vedic period closed and the Vedas were arranged and compiled, and a new epoch in the history of India was opened. And this, too, is the date from which the history of Kashmira commences. From this date, then, shall we follow Kalhana's history of Kashmira, occasionally alluding to contemporaneous events which transpired in other parts of India.

III.

Gonanda I then reigned about 1260 B. C. and was the friend of Jarasindhu and the opponent of Krishna. He invaded Mathura, the capital of Krishna, but was defeated in battle and fell pierced with wounds. The proud heart of Damodara I. brooded over the circumstances of his father's death, and determined to wipe out the disgrace, and he suddenly attacked Krishna in the midst of some nuptial festivities on the banks of the Indus. Krishna, however, was again victorious, and Damodara, like his father, fell on the field of battle. His widow Yasabati was with child, and was raised to the throne. In due time she gave birth to a boy who was named after his grandfather Gonanda. It was in the reign of the boy Gonanda II, that the war of the Kurus and Pandavas was fought, but Gonanda II was only a boy and could not therefore join either side. Then there is a long blank in the history of Kashmira, and nothing is known of the successors of Gonanda II for several centuries. Indeed the eventful period which elapsed from the war of the Kuru-Pandavas to the rise of Buddhism in India is a blank in the history of Kashmira.

But although this is a blank period in Kashmirian history, it is not a blank in the great story of the progress of the Hindu nation and civilisation. On the contrary, we know with some degree of accuracy, the sort of change which Hindu society underwent during the centuries after the Kuru-Pandava war. The Khatriyas, or warrior caste, of king Janaka's time had asserted their equality with Brahmans or priests in learning and in rank, and the successors of Janaka had signalized their prowess by carrying the Aryan banner to the southernmost point of India, as also by fighting the great war subsequently described in the Mahabharata. This activity of the Khatriyas manifested itself no less in bold investigations into philosophy and religion than in wars; and in the Upanishads, composed about this time, very often by Khatriyas, we see the first recorded human attempts to solve those problems of philosophy which ages and centuries after puzzled the thinkers of Greece, Arabia or modern Europe.

But this activity of the Khatriyas appears to have abated after a time, and Brahmans once more succeeded in assuming, and even monopolizing, that supremacy in thought and learning which the warriors had in vain tried to share with them. In the *Sutra* literature, which was written after the close of the Vedic period, we mark not only the activity of the Brahminical intellect, but also that unquestioned supremacy which the priests at last established over the Khatriyas. Not only were philosophy, astronomy, rhetoric, grammar, metre and cognate sciences cultivated by Brahmins with wonderful acuteness and success, but social laws were

laid down investing Brahmans with a halo of unapproachable sanctity and glory. Indeed Brahmans appear to have used the power which they had now attained to their best advantage; there was one law for them, another law for others; Brahman offenders were treated with leniency, offenders against Brahmans were punished with tenfold severity; Brahmans alone had the right to expound the Vedas; they alone performed all ceremonies and received gifts from other castes; they monopolised all the highest and most honorable executive and judicial posts under government, and they also enjoyed a practical monopoly of philosophy, science and learning. However much we may admire the genius of the Brahmans of this period; however highly we may esteem their six schools of philosophy, their astronomy, their science and their poetry,—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were mostly composed at this period,—we nevertheless cannot help deploring the loss of that equality between man and man which the Khatriyas had vainly attempted to establish, and we deeply regret the civilisation of this period in which the rights of humanity were sacrificed in order to add to the privileges and heighten the dignity of priests and priesthood.

Happily the Khatriyas made another attempt to shake off priestly supremacy and preach the equality of man, and the effect was the rise of that religion which even now, after the lapse of over two thousand years, counts a larger portion of the human race among its followers than either Christianity, or Muhamadanism, or any other religion. This reaction against priestly supremacy, this second recorded attempt of Khatriyas to proclaim the equality of man, is known as the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century before Christ.

We need not here retrace the story of the great Sakya Sinha and his religion, which ignored caste inequalities and proclaimed the equality of man and humanity towards all living beings. India listened to the great lesson and benefited by it, and the great religious revolution evoked a social and a political change. Extension of ideas had its effect on the political economy of India, and the supremacy of king Asoka and of the Buddhist religion over all northern India, in the third century before Christ, was only an effect of the great lessons and the enlarged views which Sakya Sinha had preached to the world. For two or three centuries more Buddhism remained the dominant religion in India, after which it gradually gave place to that Brahmanism and priestly supremacy which prevails to the present day. Let us, then, turn to the history of Kashmira and see whether we discover here that contention between Brahmanism and Buddhism which shook all India for centuries before and after the birth of Christ.

After the long blank which we have spoken of above, we come to a line of eight kings, from Lava to Sachinara, of whom Kalhana has very little to say. Sachinara was succeeded by Asoka, who was the fifth prince before Gonanda III, and who, therefore, according to our calculation, reigned in the first century before Christ. Buddhism was then the prevailing religion in India; and Kalhana tells us that Asoka himself was a Buddhist and a truthful and a spotless king, and built many Buddhist stupas on the banks of the Bitasta (Jhelum.) He also built a *chaitya* so high that its top could not be seen, and he founded the city of Srinagar which exists to the present day. He also, according to Kalhana, pulled down the wall of an old Hindu temple and built a new wall to it; and the writer of the Ayin Akbari is therefore probably right in saying that Asoka "abolished the Brahminical rites and substituted those of Jaina."* There can be no doubt, therefore, that the dispute between Brahmans and Buddhists had commenced before the time of Asoka, and that in the first century before Christ Buddhism was the prevailing religion in Kashmira, as elsewhere in India.

The death of Asoka appears to have been a serious loss to Buddhism in Kashmira, for his successor Jaloka appears to have been a Hindu and a Saiva. He was a powerful king, and drove back the *Mlechchas* (Scythians?) who had overrun Kashmira during the lifetime of his father, and he extended his conquests on the Eastern side to Kanouj. This conquest of one of the great centres of Brahmanism by a prince of Kashmir "possibly marks† the introduction of the Brahmanical creed in its more perfect form into the kingdom" of Kashmir. Kalhana informs us that from Kanouj, Jaloka carried to his kingdom some men of each of the four castes who were versed in law and religion, (Brahmanical of course,) that he created new offices after the orthodox method, that he established eighteen places of worship, and used to hear the Nandi Purana recited. The triumph of Brahmanism seemed to be complete, but the Buddhists did not lose heart, and their attempts to win over the king have been thus handed down by tradition in the shape of a tale. We quote from Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation.

"It is narrated of this king that one day, when he was going to the temple of Vijayeshvara, he met a woman in the way who asked him for some food, and, when he promised her whatever food she wanted, she changed herself into some deformed shape and asked for human flesh. Unwilling to kill any one to satisfy her

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* H. H. Wilson, Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. † Ibid.

unnatural appetite, he permitted her to take off what she liked from his own body. This heroic self-devotion seemed to move her, and she remarked, that for his tender regard for the life of others she considered him a second Buddha. The king, being a follower of Shiva, did not know Buddha, and asked her who Buddha was whom she took him to be. She then unfolded her mission and said, that on the other side of the hill of Lokaloka, where the sun never shone, there lived a tribe of Krittiká who were the followers of Buddha. 'This tribe,' she continued with the eloquence of a missionary, 'were never angry even with those who did them injury, forgave them that trespassed against them, and even did them good. They taught truth and wisdom to all, and were willing to dispel the darkness of ignorance that covered the earth. But this people,' she added, 'you have injured. There was a monastery belonging to us in which the beating of drums once disturbed your sleep, and incited by the advice of wicked men, you have destroyed the monastery. The angry Buddhists sent me to murder you, but our high priest interfered; he told me that you were a powerful monarch, against whom we would not be able to cope. He said that if you would listen to me, and built a monastery with your gold, you would atone for the sins of which you are guilty in destroying the former one. Here I came, therefore and tested your heart in disguise.' Krittideví then returned to her people after extorting from the king a promise to build a monastery, and agreeably to his promise he caused it to be erected on the very place of their meeting."

Jaloka was succeeded by Damodara II, and in the account of his reign we have the counterpart of the story we have given above. For now it was the Brahmans who were angry with the king, probably for his favouring Buddhism, and their attempt to revive their faith is thus handed down by tradition in the shape of a tale which we also quote from Mr. Jogesh Chander's work.

"One day, when the king was going to bathe, previous to performing a Sraddha, some hungry Brahmans asked him for food; but he disregarded their request and was proceeding to the river, when the Brahmans by force of their worship brought the river to his feet. 'Look,' said they, 'here is Bitastá (Jhelum), now feed us!' But the king suspected it to be the effect of magic. 'Go away for the present,' replied the king, 'I will not feed you till I have bathed.' The Brahmans then cursed him saying that he would be turned into a serpent. When much entreated to withdraw their curse, they so far mitigated it as to say, that if the king could listen to the Ramayana from the beginning to the end in one day, he would be restored to his form. To this day he

may be seen running about at Damodarasuda in the form of a thirsty serpent."

These stories, which appear so childish on the face of them, are simply invaluable when taken according to their proper significance. They shew that in the first century before Christ the great religious revolution which had shaken the whole continent of India had also found its way into the secluded heights of Kashmira, and that Brahmans and Buddhists in that country were struggling for that supremacy which eventually crowned the efforts of the latter.

Such Brahman supremacy, however, was not achieved in a day, and in the joint reigns of Huska, Juska and Kaniska, the immediate successors of Damodara II, Buddhism was once more triumphant, and "during their long reign Buddhist hermits were all powerful in the country and Buddhist religion prevailed without opposition."* In the reign of their successor, Abhimanya, "the Buddhists, under their great leader Nagarjuna, continued to gain strength in the country; they not only defeated in argument the Panditas who upheld the worship of Siva, and rejected the duties prescribed in the Nila Purána, but had the influence to discontinue the ceremonies and worship enjoined by it. The Nagas, in consequence, rose in arms, murdered many people, mostly Buddhists, by rolling down ice from the mountains, and carried on their devastations year by year.† Thus religious differences, as elsewhere, culminated in civil war, man killed man for differences in belief, and the country was in confusion. Brahmin intellect and influence prevailed in the end over Buddhism, and Chandracharya, the learned and noted grammarian, led the van of Brahmanical success. It was by the instrumentality of such powerful intellects, which appeared in Indian from time to time, that Brahmanism slowly triumphed over Buddhism from the commencement of the Christian era. Chandracharya, of Kashmira, was probably the first of these apostles of modern Brahmanism; Sankaracharya, of southern India, who lived and preached in the 8th or 9th century after Christ, was the last. Abbimanya was the last of his dynasty. His successor, Gonanda III., began a new dynasty in 6 A. D., as we have seen before.

IV.

Here we come across a curious test by which we may examine the correctness or otherwise of the dates we have given to the reigns of kings. Professor Weber, a profound scholar and anti-

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* Rajtarangini,—*Jogesh Chander Dutt's Translation.*

† Ibid.

quarian, proves by evidence which is beyond question, and which is entirely independent of the authority of the historians of Kashmira, that Kanishka reigned down to 40 A.D. Accepting this conclusion as correct, and giving 16 years for the intervening reign of Abhimanyu, we find that Gonanda III. commenced his reign at 56 A. D., *i. e.*, just half a century after the date that we have given him. If then, in testing our long chain of calculations and dates by a random and severe test, at one single point we find that we are out only by 50 years, it follows that the chain of our calculations cannot be very far from correct.

The fifth king after Gonanda III. was Nara I, who "burnt thousands and thousands of monasteries and gave to the Brahmans who dwelt at Madhyamata the villages that supported those monasteries." The reason assigned for this conduct is, that a Buddhist had eloped with the king's wife; but this seems unlikely and false, and has apparently been got up by later Brahmans to blacken the character of the Buddhists. The real cause seems to be, that, in the struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism, the former had now gained complete ascendancy, and the gradual extinction of Buddhism in Kashmira was only a question of time.

The fifth king after Nara I. was Mukula, in whose reign *Mlechchas* (Scythians?) once more overran Kashmira. His successor, Mihira Kula, is described as a powerful but cruel king, and is said to have invaded and conquered Ceylon and then returned through Chola, Karnáta, Nata and other kingdoms. Gopaditya was the sixth king after Mihira Kula, and he bestowed many villages on Brahmans, expelled from his country irreligious Brahmans who used to eat garlic, brought purer Brahmans from foreign countries, and forbade the slaughter of animals except for religious purposes. Brahmanism, in Kashmira, as elsewhere in India, was apparently assuming its most rigid shape after its triumph over Buddhism; priests invented new laws and prohibitions to enslave a superstitious people; thought and culture were prohibited to all except Brahmans, apparently to prevent any future reaction against Brahman supremacy; gods and religious rites and superstitious observances were multipled by a number of modern Puranas, written by astute priests, but prudently ascribed to the great Vyasa who had lived 2,000 years before; and the unhealthy and demoralizing religion, Puranism, fast reared its head over the ashes of Buddhism. The nation which had once dared to question the supremacy of Brahmans and Brahmanism was now shackled by its chains, once and for ever.

Three kings reigned after Gopaditya, after which Protapaditaya began a new dynasty in the year 342 A. D. according to our calculation. A severe famine visited Kashmira in the reign

of Tanjina I, the grandson of Protapaditya and the son and successor of Jalauka, in consequence of the *sali* grain being blighted by a sudden and heavy frost. The king died childless, and Vijáya, of a different family, succeeded him. Jayendra, his son, reigned after him, and after him his minister, Sandhimati, became king, but resigned the high office in favour of Meghabahana, a descendant from the older royal dynasty of Gonanda III.

Meghabahana, who ascended the throne in 438 A. D. according to our calculation, seemed to have been favorably inclined towards Buddhism, and his queens built numerous Buddhist monasteries in the kingdom. Following the Buddhist doctrines, the king not only prohibited the slaughter of animals in his own kingdom, but is said to have "carried his arms to the sea. and even to Ceylon, making the subdued kings promise not to kill animals." Meghabahana was succeeded by his son, Shreshtasena, and his son, Hiranya, succeeded him.

After the death of Hiranya, a foreigner, Matrigupta, obtained the kingdom of Kashmira by the help of Bikramaditya, king of Ojein. This was probably the great Bikramaditya of Ojein in whose reign the poet Kalidasa lived (5th century A. D.), but the historian of Kashmira mistakes him for Bikramaditya, the foe of the Sakas, who lived in the first century before Christ.* Matrigupta was a courtier of Bikramaditya, and was rewarded by him with the kingdom of Kashmira ; and the people of Kashmira accepted the king sent to them by the renowned king of Ojein.

In the meantime Pravarasena, the nephew of the late king Hiranya, and the rightful heir of Kashmira, marched against Bikramaditya, who had usurped his heritage and bestowed it on a stranger. Bikramaditya died about this time, and his protegé, Matrigupta, resigned in grief, and Pravarasena, therefore, easily got back the kingdom of his uncle. He was a powerful prince and defeated the people of Saurastra (near Surat), and seven times defeated Siladitya the successor of Bikramaditya of Ojein, and brought away from that place the ancient throne of Kashmira, which Bikramaditya appears to have taken away from Kashmira. His son, Yudhisthira II., and grandson, Narendraditya, succeeded

* This is the one great reason of the confusion of Kalhana's dates. His dates are quite reliable from his own tmie 1148 A. D. to the reign of Durlabhabardhana 598 A. D. Only six kings ruled between Durlabhabardhana and Matrigupta ; and, as Kalhana believed Matrigupta to be contemporaneous with Bikramaditya of the Saka era, *i. e.* of the first century before Christ, he makes these six kings reign over the whole of the intermediate six centuries ! Hence Kalhana's dates are perfectly useless for the period anterior to 598 A. D.

him in their turns, and the latter was succeeded by his brother, Ranaditya. Bikramaditya, the son of Ranaditya, was a powerful king, and so was his brother and successor, Baladitya, with whom the dynasty ended. Baladitya died 598 A. D. and his son-in-law Durlabha Bhardhana, of Kayastha caste, began a new dynasty. From this date, 598 A. D., we can rely on Kalhana's dates.

V.

We have now arrived at the close of the sixth century of the Christian era, when Brahmanism had once more asserted its supremacy over the length and breadth of India. Buddhism had not yet entirely disappeared; and, indeed, it did not entirely disappear from Benares, Magadha and other places till after the Mahomedan conquest. Nevertheless it was everywhere on the wane, and Buddhist monasteries were everywhere outnumbered by Hindu temples. We have a valuable and graphic account of the India of this period from the pen of the Chinese traveller, Hiouen Sang, just as we have a good account of the Hindu civilisation of the third century before Christ from Greek visitors. Hiouen Sang came into India in 629 A. D., and saw the great continent divided into 138 kingdoms and principalities of which he personally visited 110. Among other places he describes Kashmira, Mothura, Kanouj, Benares, Magadha, Burdwan, Assam, Tumlook, Orissa, Drabir, Maharashtra and Ojein, and almost everywhere deplores the decadence of Buddhism. Siladitya, the King of Kanouj, was the most powerful potentate in India at the time, and had made all the other princes recognize his supremacy. The trade from Tumlook in Bengal to Ceylon was brisk, and numerous vessels crossed and re-crossed the sea. Magadha and Ojein are described as the two kingdoms in which learning was cultivated and encouraged with the greatest assuidity, while the Maharattas are described as a powerful race who had defied even Siladitya of Kanouj, who were brave in war, generous towards dependents, fair towards enemies, and altogether the most warlike and determined race in India. But we must return from these interesting and almost invaluable details to the story of Kashmira.

Durlabha Bardhana was succeeded by his son Durlabhaka, in 634 A. D., and his son Chandrapira, succeeded in 684 A. D. Chandrapira was murdered by his brother Tarapira, who employed some Brahmans to do this foul deed, in 693, but the impious brother, after a short reign of four years, himself fell a victim to the intrigue of Brahmans and was murdered. His brother Lalitaditya succeeded in 697 A. D. and was a powerful and warlike king, and set out on an expedition to subdue the continent. He subdued

Kanyakubja, and Bhababuti, the greatest dramatic poet of India after Kalidasa, came over to the court of the conqueror. He then proceeded on his march of conquest through Kalinga, Goura, and along the Bay of Bengal to Karnáta, which was at that time governed by a powerful queen. She submitted to Lalitaditya, who is said to have then "crossed the sea, passing from one island to another." Then the king turned northwards, crossed the Vindya and entered Avanti.

Some hard fighting followed, when the king tried to subdue the hardy races and kings of the country now called Rajputana, after which the king returned to his country. He built numerous edifices, Buddhist as well as Brahmanical, and his queens and ministers followed his example. In the end the king appears to have lost his life in attempting to penetrate the Himalayas to conquer the unknown North.

Kubalayapirá succeeded his father in 733 A. D., but had to resign in favour of his more powerful brother Bajraditya who reigned from 734 to 741 A. D. We read that "this luxurious king had many females in his zenana. He sold many people to the Mlechchas and introduced their evil habits." Who are these Mlechchas, with their luxurious and evil habits, and their custom of buying slaves in India, of whom we now hear for the first time? The dates at once shew that they were Muhammad Kasim, the first Mahomedan invader of India and his successors, who kept possession of Sinde from 711 to 750 A. D. The passage above quoted, then, is the first mention of Mahomedans in the history of Kashmira, unless some of the victories of Lalitaditya, of which we have spoken in the last paragraph, were victories over the Mahomedans of Scinde.*

Prithibvyapira reigned for four years, and Sangramapira for seven days, after which the powerful Jayapira ascended the throne

* Thus we are told that Lalitaditya, after crossing over to the north of the Vindya mountains, "thrice defeated Dassani and subdued him. He then conquered the Bouttas, in whose naturally pale faces no further sign of anxiety was visible. He also conquered Darad." Dussani is not improbably a corruption of a Mahomedan name, while the pale-faced race may have been the fair countrymen of Mahomed Kasim. Then again we read that "to mark his conquests he (Lalitaditya) obliged other kings to wear a symbol of subjection, which they bear to this day. The Turashkas commemorate the fact of their being bound, by generally clasping both their hands behind their backs and shaving the front part of their heads." Who were the Turashkas subdued by Lalitaditya unless they were the Mahomedan Turks of Scinde? Lastly, we are told, that the "king of the sandy Sindhu sent a messenger to beguile the king of Kashmira and so make him and his men perish in the desert; but that the king overcame all obstacles and "defeated the wily king of Sindhu," and devastated his country.

in 745 and reigned for thirty-one years. He was a great patron of learning, invited men of genius to his court, and employed learned men in collecting the fragments of Patanjali's, commentary on Katyana's notes on Panini's grammar. These are the greatest grammarians of India, and we know from the above passage that they must have lived long before the eight century of the Christian era. Jayapira travelled out of his kingdom in disguise to Gour, there married the king's daughter, and, returning to his country, vanquished and killed his rebellious brother-in-law, who had usurped Kashmira in his absence. Soon after he again set out for conquest. In the kingdom of Bhim Sena, and again in Nepal, he was beaten and imprisoned, but on both occasions he managed to escape and to triumph over his enemies in the end.

Returning to his country, Jayapira followed the advice of Kayastha ministers and financiers, and so offended the Brahmans, who (being the historians of Kashmira) have not failed to heap abuse on him. The following account of the death of Jayapira, which we take from Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation, will give a good idea of the insolence and pride of the Brahmans, as well as of the manner in which they fabricated stories and interwove them with history in order to preserve their supremacy and glorify their power.

"The Brahmanas who dwelt at Tulamula, once came to say something to the king, but were struck in his presence by his door-keeper, and consequently were very angry. 'Brahmanas were never insulted before, even in the presence of Manu, Mándhátá, Ráma and other great kings;' they said, 'and when angry they can destroy in a moment the heaven with Indra, the earth with her mountains, and the nether world with its Nága—chief.' The king, who would not ask for advice, and was deserted by his feudatory kings, replied with supercilious pride: 'You cunning people who eat by begging, what pride is this of yours that you pretend to do what the Rishis did.' The Brahmanas were cowed down by his frown, but one Iitti thus replied: 'We conduct ourselves according to the times; as you are a king, even so we are Rishis.' The king scornfully enquired: 'Art thou the great Rishi, Vishvamitra, or Vashishta, or Agastha?' And, as if flaming with anger, the other replied, 'If you be Harishchandra, Trishanku or Nahusha, then I am one of those you mention.' The king then answered with a smile, 'The curse of Vishvámitra and others destroyed Harishchandra, &c., what will your anger effect?' The Brahmana struck the earth with his hand and said, 'Will not my anger bring down Brahmadanda on thee?' Then said the angry king, 'Let fall the Brahmadanda, why delay it longer?' 'O cruel man! there it falls.' And no sooner had Iitti said so,

then a golden bar from the canopy fell on the king. The wound degenerated into erysipelatous inflammation, and insects generated on the suppuration. He suffered great pain, the sample of what he would have to suffer in hell. After five nights, he who had courted danger, died."

His son, Lalitapira, reigned for twelve years and was succeeded by his half-brother, Sangrampira, who reigned till 795 A. D. On his death, Chippata Jayapira, the son of Lalitapira by a concubine, was raised to the throne, and the five brothers of this woman shared all the ruling power among themselves. They and their sons successively set up three more kings on the throne, after which Avantibarma, the grandson of one of these brothers, ascended the throne, and thus commenced a new dynasty in 855 A. D.

It is in the reign of Avantibarma that we first read an account of the country being improved by drainage and irrigation operations, and Suyya was the great engineer who performed this work. He was of low birth, and, as usual, his attempts have been somewhat grotesquely described ; but, nevertheless, our readers will not fail to observe from the following passage that Kashmíra was greatly benefited by the industry and intellect of this great man. We quote from Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation.

"One day, when some people were grieving on account of the recent floods, he, Suyya remarked that he had intellect, but not money, and he could therefore give no redress. This speech was reported to the king by his spies, and the king wondered and caused him to be brought before him. The King asked him as to what he had said. He fearlessly repeated that he had intellect but no money. The courtiers pronounced him to be mad ; but the king, in order to try his intellect, placed all his wealth at the disposal of this man. Suyya took out many vessels filled with dinnáras, and went by boat to Madava. There in the village named Nandaka, which was under water, he threw a pot of dinnáras, and returned. Although the courtiers pronounced him to be undoubtedly mad, the king heard of his work, and enquired as to what he did afterwards. At Yakshadara in Kramarájya he began to throw dinnáras by handfuls into the water. The Vitastá was there obstructed by rocks which had fallen into its bed from both its rocky banks ; and the villagers who were suffering from scarcity, began to search for the dinnáras, and in so doing removed the rocks which were in the bed of the river, and cleared the passage of the water. No sooner had the water flowed out than Suyya raised a stone embankment along the Vitastá, which was completed within seven days. He then cleared the bed of the river, and then broke down the embankments. The passage was now quite open, and the river flowed easily and rapidly towards the sea, as

if anxiously and eagerly, after this long detention; and consequently the land again appeared above the waters. He then cut new canals from the Vitastá wherever he thought that the course of the river had been obstructed. Thus many streams issued out of one main river, even like the several heads of a serpent from one trunk. Sindhu which flowed from Trigrama to the left, and Vitastá on the right, were made to meet one another at Vainyasvámi. And even to this day the junction made by Suyya, near this town, exists; as also the two gods Vishnusvámi and Vainyasvámí at Phalapura and Parihásapura situated on either side of the junction; and the god Hrishíkesha whom Suyya worshipped, just at the junction. And to this day may also be seen the trees which grew on the banks of the river as it flowed before, distinguished by marks of ropes by which boats were tied to them. Thus Suyya diverted the course of rivers. He raised a stone embankment seven *yojanas* in length; and thereby brought the waters of the Mahápadma lake under control. He joined the waters of the Lake Mahápadma with those of the Vitastá and built many populous villages after having rescued the land from the waters. * * He examined several places and irrigated many villages (the produce of which did not depend on rain) by means of artificial canals cut from the Channla and other rivers until the whole country became beautiful. Thus Suyya benefited the country such as even Kashyapa and Valadeva had not done."

Avantivarma died in 883, the first Vaishnava King that we read of. Vaishnavism and Saktaism are later phases of Hinduism than Shaivaism, and in the history of Kashmira we scarcely hear any thing of Vaishnaism till the present time.

His successor Sankaravarma, was a great conqueror and conquered Guzerat. Returning to his country, he listened to the advise of his Kayastha financiers and imposed taxes on the people which made him unpopular with them, or at any rate, with the offended Brahmans who narrate his history. He conquered many hill places on the banks of the Indus and was at last killed by the arrow of a hunter. Surendravati and two other queens perished with him on the pyre, 902 A. D.

In the short reign of his successor Gopalbarma, the minister Probhákara (who was a favorite of the queen mother Sugandhá), defeated "the reigning Shahi" because he had disobeyed his orders to build a town in "Shahirajya." This seems to have been some petty dependent or tributary king, and we shall hereafter read more of the "Shahirajya."

Gopalbarma's brother, Sankata, dying ten days after the former, their mother Sugandhá a dissolute woman, reigned for two years by the help of the Ekángas. The Tantri infantry, however, raised

Partha to the throne ; a civil war ensued, the Ekángas were beaten and the Queen Sugandhá killed, 906 A. D. The Tantris, being now supreme, set up one king after another, according as they were bribed and courted, until Chakrabarma with the help of the Damaras and Ekángas at last broke their power in 935 A. D., and for the third time ascended the throne. Within two years he was assassinated by some Damaras and was succeeded by Partha's son, Unmateavanti. This young man killed his father, but died soon after, and his successor Surabarma was the last of this unfortunate dynasty which ended in 939 A. D.

Yasaskara, the first king of the new dynasty, was the son of Probhakara, who had been minister of Gopalbarma of the preceding dynasty, and was famed for his justice ; but in the very year of his death Purbagupta murdered his son, Sangrama, and founded a new dynasty. His son, Kshemagupta, inherited the vices and dissolute habits of his father and reigned eight years. His son Abhimanya, was the only virtuous and worthy king of the line, and reigned fourteen years ; and on his death his mother, Diddá (widow of Kshemagupta), successively murdered three infant kings (her grandsons), Nandipupta, Tribhubanagupta and Bhimagupta, and became queen in 980 A. D. She reigned for 23 years, and in her reign her favorite, Tunga, defeated the King of Rajapuri.

Diddá's nephew, Kshamapati, ascended the throne in 1003 A. D. and reigned till 1028 A. D. Tunga, who had been the favorite of Diddá, was all powerful during the reign of her nephew, and went out with a Kashmirian army and Rajput and other subsidiary forces to help the Shahi king against the attack of the Turashkas. We shall quote Kalhana's account of the event from Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation :

"The Kashmirians crossed the river Toushi, and destroyed the detachment of soldiers sent by Hammira to reconnoitre. But though the Kashmirians were eager for the fight, the wise Shahi repeatedly advised them to take shelter behind the rock, but Tungga disregarded the advice, for all advice is vain when one is doomed to destruction. The General of the Turks was well versed in the tactics of war and brought out his army early in the morning. On this the army of Tungga immediately dispersed, but the troops of the Shahi fought for a while."

The heroism of the Shahi king. however was unavailing ; he was beaten, and his kingdom was destroyed for ever.

Now who was this Hammira (a Mahomedan name apparently) and who were these powerful Turashkas who defeated the Kashmirians and the Rajputs and annexed the "Shahirajya," an ally or dependent of Kashmira? The dates show at once that Kalhana is

speaking of the invasion of India by the invincible Mahmud of Ghuzni.*

We have only one more remark to make of Harsha's reign. Allusions to Turashkas and their kingdom become more frequent now than ever before. Thus we are told that Harsha had a hundred Turashka chiefs under his pay; that, after besieging Rajapuri, he fled back to his kingdom through fear of the Turashka who, he heard, were approaching; and, lastly, that his oppressed subjects left their homes and went to the country of the Mlechchas. Who are these Turashkas and what was their country of which we find such frequent mention during the reign of Harsha? The dates of Harsha's reign shew at once that there was good reason for such frequent allusion to the rising Turaskha power, for it was during Harsha's reign that Shahabuddin Mahommed Ghori conquered Delhi, Kanouj, and the whole of northern India, and Hindu independence was lost once and for ever. Here appropriately ends Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation.

Tunga was soon after murdered, and Nandi Mukha was sent with another army against the Turashkas, but they, too, fled back to their country before the conquering Moslems.

Hariraja succeeded his father, Kshamápati, and reigned only for 22 days, after which his brother, Ananta Deva, ascended the throne and reigned 35 years, *i. e.* from 1028 to 1063 A. D. We read that in this reign one Brahmaraja combined with seven Mlechcha kings and entered Kashmira, but was beaten back by Rudrapála, the powerful Kashmirian general. When we remember that, from the time of Mahmud of Ghuzni, a part of the Punjab always remained under Mahommedan rule, we are at no loss to guess who these seven Mlechchas were.

After a long reign of 35 years Ananta was prevailed upon by his queen to resign in favour of his son Ranaditya; but the prince was unworthy of their confidence, and shocked his parents and all men by his excesses of wickedness, folly and dissipation. Disheartened at this conduct of their son, the aged parents retired to Bijayeswara and passed their days in devotion, but even there they were not allowed to enjoy repose. Harrassed by the enmity of this ungrateful son, Ananta at last committed suicide, and his widow ascended the funeral pyre.

The ingratitude of Ranaditya towards his father was punished by the misconduct of his son, Harsha, who rose in rebellion.

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* Hammira was therefore either a general of Mahmud, or was the great conqueror himself, "well versed" indeed "in the tactics of war"! The letters *r* and *d* are interchangeable; and if we eliminate the first syllable of Mahammad, we get the Sanscritized name Hammira.

Ranaditya died in 1089 A. D., a victim to his dissolute habits; his son Utkarsha succeeded him, but was soon deposed by his abler and more popular brother, Harsha, and committed suicide. Bijayamalla, who had helped his brother Harsha to the throne, now thirsted for the kingdom himself, but the fraternal war finally came to an end by the accidental death of Bijaymalla.

Harsha's powerful General, Kandarpa, subdued the King of Rajapuri, but at last retired from the court in disgust at the growing jealousy of the king. Harsha subsequently attempted to subdue Rajapuri and Darad respectively but failed in both his attempts. His excessive taxation and his oppression over the Damaras made them rise in rebellion; and they had powerful chiefs in two brothers Uchchala and Sussala. Uchchala defeated the Lord of Mandala, but was subsequently beaten by the royal army.

His brother Sussala defeated the royal commander Manikya, broke through all opposition and defeated the Lord of Mandala, but was at last beaten by Bhoja, the son of king Harsha. At last Uchchala defeated Harsha and his son Bhoja in a signal battle, burnt the capital and became king. The unfortunate Harsha retired to the tent of a hermit, but was there traced out and killed, 1101 A. D.

VI.

Thus we have traced the history of Kashmira from the earliest times to the date of the final conquest of India by the Mahomedans. We have refrained from making any remarks on the value of Kalhana's great work, because the above brief resumé of it is the best commentary on its great value. We have seen how every great social or religious revolution, and every great historical event which transpired in India, have left their impress on the history of this secluded province. The history of this province has borne its testimony towards fixing the date of the great Kuru-Pandava war; it has helped us to understand how Buddhism was a protest against caste distinctions, and a Khatrya assertion of the equality of all men; it has revealed to us how Buddhism was for a time the accepted faith of the kings and peoples of India, and how, after the commencement of the Christian era, it began to decline under the renewed exertions of Brahmans to assert their supremacy and revive their old religion. In the history of Kashmira we find evidences of the dates of the two great dramatic poets of India, *viz.*, Kalidasa and Bhababhuti; in it we find allusions to the first Mahomedan invasion of India under the renowned Mahommed Kasim; in it we read of that "General of the Turashkas" "well versed in the tactics of war," the invincible Mahmud of Ghuzni before whom the Kashmirian army twice recoiled in dismay

and disorder; and lastly in this history we read of the rising power and kingdom of the Turashka at the end of the eleventh century, when Delhi and Kanouj and all Northern India fell under the power of the followers of the prophet.

Such are some of the facts we learn from Kalhana's history of Kashmira, and, considering the poverty of historical records in India, the value of this record can scarcely be overestimated. It is a matter of regret and surprise, therefore, that Kalhana's work had hitherto not been translated into English. The only account in English we had of it is the brief essay of H. H. Wilson in the XVth volume of the "Asiatic Researches," in which he gives a short resumé of the Sanscrit work. That resumé, however, is mixed up with facts gleaned from Mahomedan historians, and is besides incomplete. Kalhana's Sanskrit work comes down to 1148 A. D., and is continued by a series of writers to the date of the conquest of Kashmira by Akbar in the sixteenth century. Mr. Wilson's brief resumé comes down only to the reign of Diddá Rani, ending in 1003 A. D.

Such being the case, we hail with delight Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt's attempt—the first that has been hitherto made—to give a faithful and complete translation of the great Sanscrit work. He has already brought down the story to 1101 A. D. as we have seen; and intends to gives us the remaining 47 years of Kalhana's history (which short period, being in the writer's own time, has been narrated at great length) in a second volume. The third and last volume of the translator will include the continuation by the other writers, and will thus bring down the story to the date of the conquest of Kashmira by Akbar. Such is the intention of the translator, and, though he distinctly states in his preface that he can hold out no promise, we sincerely hope he may succeed in carrying out his intention, and thereby make an important contribution towards the study of Indian history and antiquities.

With regard to the merit of the translation, we may state that it is generally a faithful one, and that is about the best thing we can say of a work of this nature. The translator deplores in his preface that the original work is in many places disfigured by immodest writing, but adds:—"However that may be, all that the translator has to state for himself is that he has not thought himself justified to improve upon his original; and that his only object throughout this performance has been to offer to his readers a faithful translation of the original, with all its beauties and defects." We could not lay down a better rule than this for translators to follow; and if the language of the translation appears here and there to be wanting in grace and smoothness, it is

because the translator has sought, at every sacrifice, to follow scrupulously and literally his great original. The above blemishes, if blemishes they are, however do not often occur, and Mr. Jogesh Chunder can well say with Kalhana himself that, "although grace has been sacrificed in this work for the sake of *scrupulous truthfulness*, yet there are some things which will please the good."

We conclude with a passage from the preface which is a testimony of the translator's feeling for his country. "In conclusion, the writer has only to add that in his earlier years he always cherished the idea of writing a complete history of India from original Sanskrita records. Riper years showed him the folly of such an attempt. His inability to undertake such a gigantic task, even if the materials had not been wanting, should have made him think twice before entertaining such a hope. Nevertheless, the idea imbibed in younger days, and fondly cherished from year to year, the writer has found it difficult altogether to give up. It was for a long time his wish to connect his attempts with a history of India, and this hope or vanity he has now attempted to gratify by the comparatively lighter task of rendering a history which already exists in the Sanskrita language into English. Even while this work was in progress, he was too often and too painfully reminded, by the difficulties he met, of his own weakness."

R. C. DUTT, C.S.

ART. II.—THE NATURAL HISTORY OF HINDU CASTE.

TO any one who has seriously reflected on the multiplicity of castes and tribes in India, with their almost endless ramifications, the questions will naturally arise, what cause or causes have brought them into existence, and what, if any, are their mutual relations? No such system of national dismemberment, and of tribal strictness and autonomy, has ever prevailed in any other country. The Egyptians in ancient times practised caste to some extent, and there was a separation between the priests and the warriors, the merchants, the agriculturists, the mariners, the artisans, and the shepherds. Thus they were divided into various great classes. But this was all. It does not appear that there were any sub-divisions, so that in a large population little inconvenience could have been practically felt. There was much less intermingling among the Highland clans of Scotland in feudal times than among the inhabitants of Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt.

The Jews of Palestine, also, throughout the whole of their career, were no doubt under the bondage of a modified caste. They could not intermarry with the surrounding nations; and, although they could intermarry with themselves, yet the tribes were placed under certain restrictions in doing so. Jewish caste, however, differed widely and essentially from that which has been in existence in India for the last thirty centuries.

The caste of India is indissolubly blended with the social life of the Hindu, and is as much a necessity to him as food to eat, as raiment to wear, and as a house to live in. Indeed, he can often dispense with raiment, and during most of the year prefers the court outside his house to the hot rooms within; but he can never free himself from caste, can never escape from its influence. By day and night, at home, abroad, in waking, sleeping, eating, and drinking, and in all the customs of the society in which he moves, and the events governing his entire life, he is always under its pervasive and over-mastering influence. Professedly, there are four great branches of Indian caste representing Brahmans, Rajpoots, Vaisyas, or merchants and traders, and Sudras. But in reality the divisions among Hindus, involving complete separation in respect of marriage and social intercourse, number not hundreds but thousands. In other words, the Hindu brotherhood is split up into innumerable clans, holding not the smallest connexion with one another, acknowledging no common bond save

that of idolatry, which, in truth, no more unites them together than do the waves of the sea flowing over the sand cause its hard particles really to cohere.

Caste dissolves the social compacts found in other countries, infuses the poison of deadly strife into the small village communities scattered in tens of thousands over the land, produces enmity between neighbours on the most trivial grounds, carries out its own childish rules and laws with Draconian severity, exercises the strongest power of disintegration the human race has ever been subjected to, and only displays a spirit of binding and uniting, in relation to those selfish creatures who belong to one and the same caste, and who thereby are kept apart from all the rest of mankind by an unnatural divorce.

This extraordinary domestic institution has yielded strange ethnological results. In Europe the Hindu race is spoken of as an integer, which, although separable into parts, is nevertheless a whole containing all the parts. Or, it is a circle which may be cut up into innumerable portions, everyone of which, however, is necessary to the integrity of the circle. But it would be much more correct to regard the numerous Indian tribes and castes as so many distinct integers, complete in themselves, independent and unassociated. It is quite true that most of them once belonged to the same family, and stood in intimate relation with each other. But we have to search for this happy relationship into the remote ages of antiquity. In India, at the present day, we find an infinite variety of physiognomy, colour, and physique among its inhabitants, such as is exhibited among different nationalities in other parts of the world. The fair-faced, keen eyed, aquiline nosed, and intellectual Brahman, the stalwart and commanding Rajpoot, the supple Bunniah, the conceited yet able Kayasth or Writer, the clever Barhai or Carpenter, the heavy-browed Lohar or Blacksmith, the wiry and laborious Kumbhi or Agriculturist, the short and handsome Chamâr, the dark Pâsi, the darker Dom, the wild and semi-barbarous aborigines, and hundreds of other tribes and castes, are in reality so many distinct types of the human family, with their own special characteristics and marked idiosyncracies. The wonder is that such a diversity could have been produced among the inhabitants of one country.

In Great Britain not a few ethnological differences are manifest. Suffice it to mention the peculiarities of the Highlander, as distinguished from the man of Kent, from an Essex peasant, from a Somersetshire farmer, from a Cornishman, from a Yorkshireman, or from a Welshman. All these differ from one another in a very decided manner, not in speech merely, but also physically and mentally. And yet it would not be difficult to classify all the

people of Great Britain according to the ethnological and provincial distinctions which they now present.

But what shall we say of the two hundred and fifty millions inhabiting India who have chosen to separate themselves from one another for a multitude of reasons, which in England would be deemed preposterous as a ground of separation, reasons arising from difference of occupation, from religious feeling, from social interests, from a love of superiority, from selfishness, from caprice, from arrogance, from a spirit of exclusiveness, from eating certain things and not eating others, from adopting certain usages and not adopting others? In England no social distinction really exists between the families of different counties throughout the country, and unions frequently take place between people of the north and people of the south. But the boundary lines dividing the vast Hindu race into multitudinous clans, which are literally beyond computation, are impassable barriers, which it is absolutely impossible either to break down or to leap over. The divisions never re-unite, never amalgamate, never associate together, have no mutual sympathy, or interest, or confidence, or love.

There was a time when castes were comparatively few, and although the rules which governed them were stringent, yet a considerable blending together was permitted among the castes themselves. From the Code of Manu we learn a good deal respecting the thraldom to which Hindus were subjected on account of the punctilious details and the extreme rigidity of caste regulations. At the same time, we are plainly informed of the comparative laxity and easiness of caste itself. Under certain restrictions even a Brahman could legally marry a Sudra, and intermarriages between the high castes and low castes were freely allowed. Such freedom, however, has long since passed away. Illicit intercourse is still practised, to a degree that is a scandal and disgrace to men of the upper castes; but the honourable condition of marriage between separate castes, and to a large extent between branches of the same caste, is absolutely prohibited.

As every effect has a cause, we may assume that the extensive disintegration of the Hindu family which we now behold may be sufficiently accounted for. This wonderful phenomenon is not a fortuitous event, an ethnological caprice, the fruit of a tree which grew up spontaneously from neither seed nor root, but is a monstrous oriental production, and, as developed in India, is one of the most difficult problems touching the races of men. Many theories have been started to account for its origin, and its earliest history is clouded in uncertainty and conjecture. Yet, in my judgment, the intricacies, inconsistencies, and singularities of

its progress and elaboration in India, until attaining to its present wild grotesqueness, are much more perplexing and exciting.

It is quite certain that caste, as now existing, was totally unknown to the Hindu race on first entering into India. The most ancient books they have are silent about it; and although referring to differences in social position among various classes, yet those differences are much more in accordance with distinctions in rank which have prevailed in civilised countries in all ages than with the exclusiveness of the Indian caste system of post-Vedic times. In a review of Dr. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Professor Max Müller asks the question, "Does caste, as we find it in Manu and at the present day, form part of the religious teaching of the Vedas? We answer with a decided 'No.' There is no authority whatever in the Veda for the complicated systems of castes, no authority for the offensive privileges claimed by the Brahmans, no authority for the degraded position of the Sudras. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes; no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. All that is found in the Veda, at least in the most ancient portion of it—the Hymns—is a verse, in which it is said that the four castes—the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, and the serf—sprung all alike from Brahma. Europeans are able to show that even this verse is of later origin than the great mass of the Hymns." This is an important opinion from one who has made the Vedas his life study. Respecting the last statement, Max Müller, in his "History of Sanskrit Literature," further remarks that there can be little doubt that the verse or passage alluded to "is modern both in its character and in its diction."(a.) This testimony especially refers to the Rig Veda, or most ancient portion of the Vedas.

Social distinctions are doubtless noticed in the Vedas, especially in those of later origin; but they never, in any sense, amount to what now bears the specific and technical designation of caste. The Black Yajur Veda notices social distinctions as prevailing among the people, and in sacrificial rites Brahmans evidently occupy the most prominent and influential position. The Kshatriyas, too, are powerful, and worthy of great honour. In the White Yajur Veda the Brahman is specially pointed out as a student and man of knowledge, and the chief divisions of native society are referred to as connected with their occupations, much in the same manner as they would be in other countries. The

(a.) Max Müller's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 572.

nobles and warriors represent power, and so do Kshatriyas. The Vaisyas till the soil. The Sudras are a servile, aboriginal, or separate race. These distinctions evidently exist in the later Vedas, yet there is no caste. These classes blend together more or less; greater respect is paid to one than to another; one is higher socially than another; but there is some amount of union between them nevertheless. In the Atharvan, or latest of the Vedas, a change is somewhat apparent. The Brahman is not merely a domineering priest, but exercises authority over princes and other persons. The customs of Hindus generally are changing, and although the noxious caste tree has not yet sprung up, still the seed has been already sown, which shall in time produce the tree, and with it abundance of evil fruit.

In the ages succeeding those of the Vedas, the distinctions, of which the bare outlines only were visible previously, gradually become more and more marked. The self-asserting Brahman assumes the position of the spiritual head and guide of the rest of the community. This is noticeable in the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, and the Upanishads. The Brahman comes to be an associate with the gods, and, in a certain sense, divine. He claims a personal purity, not allowed to others; but it should be borne in mind that this is only in connexion with his ceremonial and sacrificial duties, and not in regard to his social position in relation to other classes of people.

That the Brahmans did not gain their ultimate ascendency till after long and violent conflicts with the Kshatriyas and other classes in association with them, is abundantly proved by the allusions to, and records of, such struggles in some of the early Sanskrit writings. The great epic of the Ramayana, although devoted to the exploits of Rama and his wife Sita, glorifies the Brahmans, and presents their power as much superior to that of the Kshatriyas, referring expressly to the destruction of the latter in a previous age by Parasrama, the son of Jamadagni, because of their opposition to the former. Indeed, one object which Valmiki, the celebrated author of this fine poem, had in view, seems to have been to show that the four chief castes were in existence, if not really established, in the days of Rama, the king of Ajudhiya. The other famous epic, the Mahabharata, exhibits clearly some features of the struggle between the two principal castes, and of the fierce enmity subsisting between them. In one place a long dialogue between two worthies, Bhishma and Judhisthir, is recorded, the purport simply being that the Brahman is super-eminent, and the Kshatriya is subordinate to him, and should rule by his counsel.

It is thus manifest that caste was of gradual growth, and that

at the outset, when the Aryan settlers crossed the Himalayas, and descended on the plains of India, no such distinction whatever existed among them. Some differences, religiously and socially, they no doubt exhibited, which is as much as to say that they were not in rank on a dead level. He who officiated at sacrifices may have been regarded with more respect than other persons, yet it should be remembered that the performance of such rites was not restricted to one class. On arriving in India the Brahman does not seem to have claimed any special privileges in virtue of his position. In fact, he was surpassed and excelled in honour occasionally by others. Those who received the highest meed of praise were the Rishis, or sacred bards, who might be Brahmans, or Kshatriyas, or Vaisyas, or even Dasyas, that is, aborigines, people of the country.

It was not long, however, that this state of perfect concord lasted. Nevertheless, although social distinctions began to wax strong, and certain classes were treated with some dishonour, while others were greatly exalted, intermarriages under prescribed rules were permitted down to the time of Manu, and later. "As the influence of the Brahmans extended," says Max Müller, "they became more and more jealous of their privileges, and, while fixing their own privileges, they endeavoured, at the same time, to circumscribe the duties of the warriors (Kshatriyas), and the householders (Vaisyas). Those of the Aryas who would not submit to the laws of the three estates were treated as outcasts; and they are chiefly known by the name of Vratyas or tribes. They spoke the same language as the three Aryan castes, but they did not submit to Brahmanic discipline, and they had to perform certain penances, if they wished to be re-admitted into the Aryan society. The aboriginal inhabitants, again, who conformed to the Brahmanic law, received certain privileges, and were constituted a fourth caste, under the name of Sudras, whereas all the rest who kept aloof were called Dasyas, whatever their language might be."

Now, although caste had, by the time of Manu, assumed many of the functions and prerogatives which it displays at the present day, yet it was not so stringent as it afterwards became. Nevertheless, it is abundantly plain from his Code that the life of the Hindu had already become a burden by reason of the numberless caste rules by which his life was regulated. Every event pertaining to himself and his family, in their mutual relations, in their intercourse with the members of their own caste, and in relation to other castes, was controlled with extraordinary punctiliousness, so that they became abject slaves to a thousand ceremonial formalities intrinsically trivial and puerile. This was especially

true of the Brahmans, who were, however, reconciled to the burden by the enormous power which this system of caste conferred upon them. To all other Hindus caste was intolerable. Yet for a time they submitted to it, because of its wonderful fascination and authority.

Eventually came the great revolt against caste, under the guidance of Sakya Muni, or Buddha, and his disciples,—a revolt which became very largely successful over a considerable portion of India. Throughout the whole of the Buddhist period in India, of a thousand years and upwards, strong opposition was cherished by the Buddhists against caste. During the dominancy of their religion, which lasted perhaps six or seven hundred years, caste was necessarily in a very depressed state; and the people generally enjoyed a condition of social freedom which they had not enjoyed since the earliest ages of Hinduism, and of which they have known nothing whatever in the long centuries subsequent to the downfall of the Buddhist religion. It is, moreover, manifest that the Brahmans, during the dark night of their own religion, strove to the utmost to keep alive the flame of Hinduism and the customs of caste, in some parts of the country, in spite of the gigantic difficulties which at one time they had to face. This was especially the case in the tract of country lying between Mathura and the Punjab, which apparently was never subdued by Buddhism, and always retained a preponderance of allegiance to the Hindu faith with its concomitant institutions and practices. But this region, though extensive in itself, was small in comparison with the rest of India. And even here, judging from existing Buddhist relics, the Brahmans must have found it a hard task to hold their own. A less persevering, subtle, and able foe would have succumbed. But the Brahmans are, and have ever been, among the most persevering, most subtle, and most intellectually keen and forcible men that have trodden this earth. And so, thwarted, baffled, resisted, overwhelmed, they never despaired. Consequently, as their enemies became weak, they became strong, and were at last victorious, because they determined to be. Yet this thousand years' conflict affords a lesson to the world of what may be achieved by the few against the many, by a small band of resolute men who prefer their convictions to their lives, against a tame-spirited and multitudinous host, whose strength lies in their numbers, and who, through irresolution and bad leadership, are unable to make proper use of any power which they may happen to possess.

Thus it came to pass that, with the revival of Hinduism, caste re-asserted itself, and stealthily spread over the land as in former times. But its tone, like that of Hinduism, was altered. It has been

more arrogant, more tyrannical, more pervasive in its influence, and has held the people with a stronger and more savage grip, than in pre-Buddhist ages. Hindus now cannot marry out of their caste on any pretence whatever. They are tied hand and foot, and are willing slaves to the most intolerant and exacting task-master that ever placed a yoke on the neck of man.

But this historical development of caste, and with it the subdivision of Hindus into a multitude of tribes, of which a slight sketch has thus been given, has two aspects. It is an effect produced by certain causes. The effect is manifest. I shall endeavour now to trace out its causes.

It is not sufficient to state that caste is the custom of India, and that Hindus have been born and bred to its observance. This is a truism of no meaning, for it explains nothing. Nor is it of much more interest to be informed that very soon after the Aryan race entered India, in distant ages of the past, the germs of caste began to be seen. If there had not been favouring circumstances in the race, or in the country, or in both combined, we may take it for granted that the phenomenon would never have appeared. I will discuss these two subjects separately.

In the first place, are there any peculiarities or special conditions among Hindus sufficient in any degree, either in part or in whole, to account for the institution of caste with its numberless tribal ramifications, as handed down from generation to generation, with occasionally important increments added to it to increase its intensity and force? This is the proposition we have now to consider, with all the patience, calmness, and candour which the subject demands.

One striking feature of character is distinctly traceable throughout the whole of the Hindu's career, and is that to which our attention is forcibly directed in the very earliest records of his race. This is his religiousness. He is a religious being of wonderful earnestness and persistency. His love of worship is a passion, is a frenzy, is a consuming fire. It absorbs his thoughts; it influences and sways his mind on every subject. He thinks of everything in connexion with it. It gives a hue to every event of his life, to his occupations, his habits, his social duties, his conversation, his pleasures, his festivities, his sorrows, his sicknesses, his hopes, his fears, and to every circumstance, material, intellectual, and moral, related to him. He is not merely diligent in the daily observance of prescribed ceremonies, but his religiousness abides with him constantly, and is indissolubly blended with his nature. It is not my purpose to show the inconsistency and grossness of many of his religious sentiments, or to point out the perfunctoriness with which he, for the most part, performs his religious duties. Nor is this at all necessary. The objects of

his adoration, judged by the light of Christianity, may be, and no doubt are, very largely unworthy of human respect and veneration. But the feeling I speak of is subjective. It dwells in the heart of the Hindu. It is not indeed independent of an object, for that would involve a paradox and an impossibility. On the contrary, it is modified by his conception of that object, and so is conformable thereto. It thus harmonises with his beliefs. So that in fact the religious feeling of the Hindu and his creed are in union; and the errors of the latter give a tone to the former. The feeling may not be of a high cast, may, on the contrary, be low, coarse, even sometimes base and impure, inspired by fear, or sensuality, or mysterious undefined awe.

Yet whatever the intrinsic character of this religiousness, there it is. I speak of its existence, not of its nature; of its reality, not of its goodness or badness; of its quantity and intensity, not at all of its quality. It is amply sufficient for my purpose to point out that the Hindu, from the outset of his national life down to the year 1880, has been engrossed by his religion, which has been at once a magnet to draw him, and a pole-star to direct him.

Nor is the question at all affected by the varied phases which his religion has assumed, with the exception of the great, though temporary, religious revolt of Buddhism. Throughout his entire history, whether worshipping only the elements and the heavenly bodies, or deified heroes, or plants and animals, or Brahmans and other sacred personages, or shapes, and figures of strange invention, or simple stones of varied shapes, or rivers and pools, or numberless imps and goblins infesting mountain, forest, and stream, or imaginary beings of immense power supposed to possess the highest attributes both of good and evil, or demons and devils, incarnations of wickedness, or sacred cities, sacred books, and other sacred objects, he has shown always and everywhere the strength of his religious convictions and the dominancy of his religious nature.

At the same time, it is of considerable moment in this inquiry to endeavour to ascertain the general influence of his religiousness on the social habits and conduct of the Hindu. This influence is primarily mental, for actions are the results of thoughts. The chief practical effect produced on the Hindu mind has been that of servility. It has been first subdued, then debased, and finally enslaved. Thus it has become ready to offer willing and prompt obedience to the voice of acknowledged authority. If led by a masterhand, it will follow, no matter where. Having lost its freedom, it has also lost its vision, perceiving nothing either before or behind. No incongruity, no absurdity, no error or delusion, however gigantic or monstrous, awakens the common sense of the

Hindu. He is wildly eager to believe in the truth of the most baseless fictions that cunning ingenuity, in its most frolicsome moods, could invent. The very air is filled with illusion, and he is totally unconscious of the circumstance. To him illusion is the same as truth, truth the same as illusion. All is illusion, unreality. He believes whatever he is told to believe, asking no questions, and troubled by no conclusions. A voluntary slave is the most abject of all slaves. The Hindu, in surrendering reason, judgment, moral sense, common sense, in short, his intellectual manhood, is enchained with stronger fetters than were ever applied to the neck of the un-emancipated Negro of the Southern States of America.

This credulous and servile condition of the Hindu mind has afforded a golden opportunity to the wily Brahman thirsting for rule, and for the exercise of his superior gifts. Though himself a Hindu, addicted to all the vagaries into which he has, step by step, led his fellow-countrymen, he has been far too self-opinionated, and has had far too much self-respect, to associate on an equality with the common herd of Hindus. His mind revolted from such communism. He saw that they followed his directions as sheep follow a shepherd. And he gradually came to despise, to abhor, and to loathe them. He shrunk from his own flesh and blood, as affected by some horrible taint. He could not, and would not, associate with the rest of his nation. Eventually many of them he kept at a distance, for the very contamination of their touch distressed him intolerably. This is surely in the highest degree extraordinary, unnatural, and cruel, and is altogether unprecedented in the annals of the world. And yet, if examined into, how closely does it harmonize with the laws of the human mind, when untamed and unscrupulous, subtle and masterly!

I can imagine the curling of the Brahman's lip and the elevation of his fine expressive eye-brows as he contemplated with supreme disdain the reception of one of his fictitious manuscripts, dashed with a flavour of truth, by the masses of the people. Having finished a Purana, for example, containing here and there a few historical allusions, intermingled with elaborate dissertations on the habits and ways, and the domestic lives, of gods and goddesses, in writing which his inventive brain was taxed to its utmost in devising the most grotesque, and occasionally the most shamelessly immoral, situations for his favourite divinities, then with imperturbable *sang froid* producing it to the open-mouthed multitude as a revelation, a divine thesis, and watching the pleasure with which they received it, and the absence of all incredulity and distrust on their countenances, what wonder that

he intensely despised a people of such gross blindness, and so miserably feeble in intellectual discernment! Yet he was withal exquisitely conscious that they had been trained by him, that he had been their *guru* or religious teacher, that he had fascinated them by the charm of his manner, and by his oracular and authoritative words, and that they stood to him in the relation of a bird spell-bound by the eye of a serpent. It is only in this way that we can possibly account for the universal and absolute belief of the licentious stories of Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Krishna, and other deities, found in the Puranas and elsewhere, which the Brahman has palmed upon the victims of his mental tyranny and despotism.

Doubtless this peculiar influence was not gained all at once. There were marked stages in its development. Yet we can trace it with singular clearness from the first allusion to the Brahman in the earliest Sanskrit records on through the subsequent ages down to modern times. He is ever the clever and talented dogmatist, laying down the law on every subject for the guidance of his benighted fellow-countrymen. He tells them what to worship, and when to worship, and how to worship. He points out the nature of sacrifices and ceremonies. He regulates home life. He interferes in politics and state-craft. Moreover, he is very mysterious in everything, and surrounds himself with an impenetrable religious sanctity. He is at once philosopher, poet, and priest; and to his credit, it must be confessed, performs each part with matchless ability and wonderful success. He can talk and write on abstruse metaphysics; he can compose odes replete with sublime thoughts addressed to the elemental deities, love songs for women, epics and ballads for men; he can produce historical romances, full of the deeds of heroes and gods, all creations of his over-wrought brain. Indeed, it is hard to say what, in the judgment of all other Hindus, he cannot do. From the first his claims have been very high, and he has come to believe himself to be, what he has compelled the rest to acknowledge that he is, namely, a divinity.

We can now understand not merely the nature of that superiority which the Brahman has exercised over his brother Aryans in India, and which has always been a patent fact in the history of the country, but also the effect which it has produced on his own mind and habits. Conscious of his high intellectual gifts, he has cultivated them with immense diligence, and has devoted a large amount of his time to meditation and discussion, and to reading the books which the genius of his order has produced. Having separated himself at an early period from other Hindus, the separation has continually widened. He has become more

estranged from them, and more unlike them, from year to year, until the difference between them has become the greatest possible. Moreover, it is worthy of very special note that the author of this estrangement and separation is the Brahman himself. It was he who made the difference between himself and his brethren.

This feud among the Hindu race, which has split it up into a thousand clans, is the most unnatural of all feuds ever known, and is none the less so because for many ages it has been accepted by them as a social necessity, having lost, in their estimation, its offensiveness, and having come to be regarded as a happy condition instead of a frightful social calamity. Its monstrous unnaturalness, and its consummate violation of the principles of humanity, will be more vividly seen by an analysis of some of the moral characteristics of the Brahman, to which it has given birth.

One of these characteristics is arrogance and pride. It may be said that all men, of every nation, who are raised above their fellows, are proud. And there is truth in the statement. Wealth, knowledge, rank, and many other causes, foster pride in the human heart, not merely in India, but in all other countries likewise. But the pride of the Brahman is *sui generis*, is a quality, thank Heaven, peculiar to him, and not to be found except in his family. Being so purely idiosyncratic, it is difficult to describe ; and needs to be seen in order to be rightly known. Strange to say, the Brahman is so accustomed to it as to be, for the most part, unconscious of its existence, and of its habitual display in his life and conduct. With him it is a second nature. He has received it from his forefathers. He will transmit it to his posterity. It is the air he breathes. It is a part of himself, from which he can now no more be dissociated than he can from his own intelligence. Possessed with a sense of unlikeness to, and exaltation above, other people, he disdains their companionship. Were the question put to him, why he did this, he would be unable to reply, further than by asserting that this habit had been transmitted to him by his remote ancestors, who cherished the same repugnance to castes beneath him which he does. He feels that his tastes, his sympathies, and his very nature raise him above all other persons. He is a being the like of whom is not to be found on this great globe. He was born to greatness and nobility ; nay, he is a divine being, and how can he then associate on common terms with mere human clods destitute of the divine ray?

A second characteristic is intense selfishness. Of this, too, he seems to be unconscious. He lives for himself, and for himself alone. Perhaps the same may be said of most people. Nevertheless, it

certainly may be said of the Brahman in a special and emphatic manner. 'Everything, everybody, was made for me, for my behoof and enjoyment,' is his first and last thought every day of his life. He should have the best of Nature's products. He should receive peculiar honour and respect. Consideration not shown to others should be shown to him. He is properly above law, yet if at any time amenable to it, he should not by any means be governed by laws regulating other people, but favourable laws should be made for him, a favoured and distinguished personage. The common people must not swear against his life, though he may swear against theirs. His life is too precious to be sacrificed even for the commission of the highest crimes. He not only enjoys liberty, or rather liberties, but is entitled to special privileges. His smile must be propitiated by other Hindus on occasion of every event of a social or domestic character affecting them. He expects the costliest presents, the most luxurious dinners, the finest muslins and silks. At births, at marriages, in times of sickness and death, in seasons of great trouble and adversity, at all festivities, his presence and blessing are sought, and paid for. He takes what he gets, partly as a sacrificial and family priest, and partly as the superior creature styled Brahman. That he is an incarnation, as he imagines himself to be, is no doubt correct, but it is an incarnation of selfishness.

A third characteristic of the Brahman is the tyrannical spirit which he cherishes and exercises. He has ever been the fountain of authority and law. His word is law, from which there is no appeal. In former times, until in fact the Brahman had attained the supreme and sovereign position he now occupies, he had to encounter the fierce opposition of other Hindus, especially of the Rajpoots, who were at first little inclined to surrender their independence, and, moreover, as warriors and princes thought themselves as good as the subtle, self-seeking Brahman. They resisted therefore most strenuously the claims and assumptions of what they, doubtless, regarded as the upstart Brahmans, and fought for the freedom which was dear to them. But they reckoned ignorantly ; I say ignorantly, for they knew not the mental resources of their oppressors, whose fertility and strength of intellect gave them immense advantages, and ultimately complete victory. In the world's history all great struggles have eventually been decided in favour of the side which has possessed the most powerful understanding. And in India no non-Brahmanical tribe has ever been a match for the clear, penetrating mind of the Brahman. At first the physical contest went on hand-in-hand with the moral and intellectual ; and the latter, we may suppose, continued long after the former had ceased. All resistance,

however, has for many ages been abandoned, and at length Hindus of every grade have willingly and cheerfully succumbed to the Brahman. "What does the Brahman say?" is the question of questions among a people of prostrate intellect, with no opinion of their own, and with an entire and abject confidence in the superior gifts of their national leaders. His curse is considered to be the most appalling calamity, his blessing the highest possible good. Hindus are a nation of slaves, who obey his will in all things, humble themselves in the dust before him, live on his smiles, and die beneath his frowns.

A fourth characteristic of the Brahman, which has been already pre-supposed, is his intractability. He yields to no one—has never done so. He never swerves from his own sentiments, from the codes which his predecessors have laid down as laws and principles of Hindu life and action. He is a conservative of the purest water. In his estimation, it is sufficient that the minutest rules for the government of his order, and of other great castes, are given in detail in the Caws of Manu, a book on caste and other matters dating much prior to the Christian era. He is determined to adhere rigidly to them, and not deviate from them by a hair's breadth. No one has been a greater enemy of progress and development than the Brahman, and India is advancing in civilization in spite of him. Indeed, he, too, is yielding himself to the exciting and transforming influences around him, and is changing. But I am speaking of him in relation to his own principles, and to their natural consequences, principles which, as we shall presently see, have moulded the tribes of India into the forms they have assumed for thousands of years. Had the Brahman been other than he is, had he possessed the smallest flexibility and leniency in his nature, had he been in any degree less pertinacious in the maintenance of his own ideas, had he at any time throughout his career been willing to accept a compromise with other castes, had he been less rigid, less dogmatic, had he ever been inclined to listen to other people, and to regard their interests as equal in importance to his own, had he, in short, behaved more like a neighbour and a brother, and been more genial, and less exacting, India would have assumed a different character, and the growth of caste would have been checked.

Perhaps I ought to add a fifth characteristic, that of ambition, which in truth has been the hidden secret in the breast of the Brahman prompting and regulating all his movements. His ambition has been not only to be the first and foremost of Indian tribes, but to stamp his will on the institutions of his country, so that they should all appear, directly or indirectly, to have sprung from him. This ambition, therefore, has not been one of vile

and sordid conquest, like that of the soldier, who seeks to subdue his enemies by their destruction ; or of the mere party politician, who gains glory as much by thwarting his adversaries as by the propagation of his own ideas. But the Brahman's ambition has been to subjugate the intellects of all other Hindus, to dominate them by his will, to bring them to look to him as their example to follow, and to be passive in his hands as the inspirer of their thoughts and the guide of their actions. He has cared little for wealth, or for what the world calls honour. He has been, for the most part, poor, certainly much poorer than many Hindus of a lower grade. He has rarely aimed at political rule and kingly government. He has been content to see Rajpoot and even Sudra potentates exercising sway from generation to generation over great provinces. His own thoughts have been from the first in a different direction. His ambition has been of another order, of a more refined and elevated character. He has sought to govern human intellect, and to regulate the social relations of men on a prodigious scale. This has been the sublime object of his ambition. And he has succeeded, wonderfully succeeded. The triumph of reason, will, genius, was never more complete. The Brahman's achievement in directing the thought of the vast population of India throughout a period of not less than three thousand years, of first inventing, and then controlling, its intricate social machinery, of being the motor power whence have sprung the thousandfold ramifications of the inner life of this great social fabric, is the most gigantic and astonishing feat of ambition recorded in the history of mankind.

Caste, therefore, owes its origin to the Brahman. It is his invention. It is a necessary condition incident to his assumptions and to the extraordinary success of his projects. The subject, however, has its gradations and divisions. The first aspect of it is that which applies to the Brahman himself. A second has relation to the castes below him. As to the former, namely, its origin, so far as the Brahman is concerned, the only sufficient explanation of his motives and objects, is caste. In the exercise of those peculiar characteristics, of which I have now been speaking, and in withdrawing himself from association with other Hindus, it was impossible for him to stop short of caste. These same qualities have been found in certain shades in other nations, but never to the extent in which they have combined together in the Brahman. Yet it is singular to observe that to the degree in which any nation has exhibited them, to that degree has it found it necessary to ordain and recognize a kind of caste distinction among its inhabitants.

As the Brahman is an ethnological phenomenon and paradox

so is caste. The two are inseparable. The Brahman could not now exist, and could not have existed at all, bearing the distinctive characteristics which he has exhibited during the time in which he has displayed them, without having caste as the objective form in which his ideas were realized. Caste was not handed down to him. It was begotten by him, was a necessity of the situation to which he had brought himself, was conceived in his own fruitful brain, was as much a result of his imaginings as Brahmanism itself. He did not become a complete Brahman all at once, nor did he give, so to speak, bodily shape to caste by an instantaneous volition. There were doubtless historical gradations in the development of Brahmanism and caste, but, nevertheless, the growth of both was comparatively rapid, and they attained maturity together.

Let us now endeavour to ascertain in what manner all other Hindus have been affected by the unnatural and selfish course pursued by the Brahman. We know historically that at first this course was resisted very strenuously, though impotently. The rest of the Hindu tribes, though doubtless much more numerous than the Brahmans, being worsted in the conflict, and being repudiated, scorned, and despised by their proud victors, were not long in following in their footsteps. They were bound to acknowledge the superiority and immense ability of the Brahmans; and it is nothing wonderful that they soon became animated with their spirit. The Brahmans had been successful in the national struggle, the Brahmans were men of genius, the Brahmans had inaugurated a system of social life, which flattered pride and excited powerfully some of the commanding passions of the human breast. In such circumstances the example set to them was of omnipotent force. And thus it came to pass that the commencement of caste among the Brahmans and among the remaining Hindu tribes, was as nearly as possible contemporaneous.

Feeling the necessity of their position, and yet unwilling to make sweeping changes among themselves, these tribes were for a time contented with changes, which, compared with those which were subsequently made, and are now in force, were of a very limited character. Only two more castes seem originally to have been established. One was that of the warriors or fighting men, who, by virtue of their warlike qualities and habits, assumed the position of rulers, and so formed themselves into a distinct tribe. The other was appropriated by the agriculturists, who were also traders. The former were styled Rajpoots, the latter Vaisyas. These separate castes were permitted by the Brahmans, and, most probably, were actually constituted by them. This latter supposition seems natural, because of the manifest control which, in the early times, the Brahmans not only exercised over their own caste,

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but also over all other castes, such as is not needed in these later days, when caste fills the land, and minute regulations for its due observance are well known to every Hindu.

Thus three castes only existed in primitive Hindu society; and doubtless each of these three was in itself homogeneous, that is, was not yet divided and sub-divided as now into separate branches with no mutual relations and no mutual sympathy. This condition of the Hindus compared with that which step by step they eventually chose for themselves, and adopted, was simple and tolerable. Nevertheless, there was even then at least one other class, though not dignified by the name of a distinct caste, or recognized as such. This consisted of Hindus born and bred, who from their menial occupations, and from other causes, were excluded from the three castes, of persons who were the offspring of unions between members of the castes and aborigines, and of aborigines alone. All these divisions of the remaining people were for a time regarded as outcasts, and were objects of much scorn and loathing on the part of the castes. Special disgust was cherished towards the last named, or the aborigines, who were treated to numerous appellations, especially by the Brahmans, denoting extreme vileness, impurity, and worthlessness.

When it was precisely that the fourth caste, namely, the Sudras, was inaugurated, is, I apprehend, unknown. And, moreover, the exact circumstances of its establishment are unknown likewise. Allusions to the Sudras are found, however, both in the Upanishads and Sudras. There is good reason for the conjecture that the Brahmans, and perhaps the other castes, finding it inconvenient that such large numbers of their own race, of those who had partly sprung from them, and even of the aborigines, should be in the degraded and opprobrious condition of outcasts, determined on the creation of a fourth caste. Then came the pleasing fiction, invented to give countenance to this four-fold division of Hindus, that from the mouth of Purusha, or the primeval male, the Brahman was produced, from his arms the Rajput, from his thighs the Vaisya, and from his feet the Sudra. This Sudra caste seems to have included all the menial classes, not excepting those aborigines who conformed to the Brahman's sacrificial and ceremonial regulations. The rest were styled Dasyas, whoever they might be, and were held in abomination.

Had the process of caste-making stopped here, the ultimate harm to Hindu society would not have been great. But a dangerous and altogether anomalous principle of national existence had been sown like seed among the primitive Aryans of India. In this prolific soil its growth became rapid and rank. While still keeping to the prescriptive four-fold original generic castes, the castes

greatly multiplied, and were said to number thirty-six, but this was only a nominal reckoning, for they increased to hundreds and thousands. It is interesting, however, as a reminiscence of the past, that even at the present day, although castes were never more numerous, Hindus always speak of them as thirty-six in number, and also as four. The rest of the people followed the practice of their leaders and chiefs, in this respect, who found that as they increased numerically, and spread over the country, their feelings towards each other became somewhat like those they cherished towards inferior castes. The Brahman on the banks of the Saraswati in the Punjab was a being different from the Brahman on the banks of the Ganges or the Sarjoo, and both withdrew their sympathies from the Brahman of the Nerbuddha Valley, of the Godavery, and of the country beyond. Thus, in the course of time the Brahmans separated from one another, and set a further example to other Hindus on the intricate subject of caste. These latter were always willing learners, and were only too ready to follow in the footsteps of their sacred and highly venerated teachers. The Brahmans, becoming split up into numerous branches, according to their geographical position, their observance or non-observance of certain ceremonies and customs, their eating or not eating of certain food, and many other circumstances, which, though perhaps in themselves trivial, yet were abundantly sufficient to serve as reasons for separation when the desire to part had once been formed, soon began to exhibit distinct ethnological characteristics. After a few hundred years of disintegration marked differences showed themselves in the Brahmanical community; and what shall be said of two thousand years and upwards of such disintegration? There are now, perhaps, not less than a hundred Brahmanical tribes which for ages have had no social relations with one another, and have only intermarried among themselves. Looking upon a Mahrathi Brahman and a Bengali Brahman, the contrast is very striking. They are in appearance as unlike each other as an Englishman is unlike a Red Indian. And yet they are undoubtedly of the same original stock. A difference, more or less manifest, exists between all the tribes which have thus excluded themselves from intercourse with other tribes. To speak, therefore, of the Brahmans, as though they were one and the same people, with the same characteristics, the same features, the same habits, and the same temperament, is delusive. For thousands of years they have been a disunited people, with mutual antipathies and non-resemblances, instead of mutual likenesses and mutual concord. The Brahmans themselves, and none other, are responsible for this. Their monstrous arrogance, selfishness, and assumption, have proved the

bane of their race. In the cultivation of these vicious qualities they are at one, but in all other respects, they are the most mutually inharmonious and discordant people on the face of the earth.

The spread of caste and the multiplication of separate mutually exclusive and inimical tribes among the lower Hindu grades, also lies at their door. The detestable example they set could not but be slavishly followed by an imitative people, without brains of their own, and entirely guided by the brains of their social and religious superiors. These Hindu tribes would never have dared to establish an infinity of castes among themselves without the direct sanction and assistance of the Brahmans, enforced by their pernicious practice. Moreover, when the Brahmans perceived that castes were increasing beyond decent limits, until the whole country was threatened with an endless number of caste subdivisions, all, for the most part, mutually destructive, they might have peremptorily stopped their further multiplication. But they did not. On the contrary, it is plain that they looked on with the utmost satisfaction, pleased at the alienation of tribe from tribe, pleased that all the castes were animated by the spirit of themselves, pleased at the prospect of the augmentation of their own authority and majesty with every increment added to the castes, and pleased above all at the thought that their own order was at the head of the entire system, and exercised command over all its ramifications.

A nation divided against itself is the proper description of the Hindu race. So minute are the divisions of the people that in most parts of the country not merely does every profession, trade, and occupation constitute a distinct caste, but over extensive tracts, in Northern India especially, every occupation has given birth to at least seven clans, which are estranged from one another both in respect of marriage and eating together, and, although not so recognized, are, to all intents and purposes, distinct and separate castes. Even the lowest and most degraded of the people, who are spurned from the temples, and are engaged in the most loathsome employments, have taken their cue from their more respectable neighbours, and have their own castes and sub-divisions, together with all the paraphernalia necessary thereto. Indeed, it is a notorious fact in Northern India, at the least, that the most debased castes yield to none in the punctilious strictness with which they observe caste prejudices, and carry out caste regulations. In the city of Benares, not to speak of India at large, there are scores, and probably hundreds, of clans or tribes which are commonly regarded as out of the pale of Hinduism, being neither Brahmans, Rajpoots, Vaisyas, nor Sudras, yet are

in reality so many distinct castes, governing themselves with extreme rigidity, and animated with the spirit of pride and exclusiveness, as though they were Brahmans instead of an abhorred race. The epithet applied to them by Hindus of the four original castes is that of outcastes, a palpable misnomer, in this respect, that although they may not be included within the charmed circle of Hindu castes, they have nevertheless long ago constituted themselves into castes, and observe all the rules of their orders with as much pertinacity and sincerity as their betters. Indeed, so much are all the castes, whether high or low, attached to their own fraternities, and so thoroughly are they reconciled to their condition, that during all the years I have lived in India, I do not remember a single instance of a member of one caste striving to enter another.

The Infatuation of pride, self-esteem, and exclusiveness, penetrate all the castes, of whatever denomination, through and through. The curse of Brahmanism has fallen on all native society, and blighted it. The spirit of the Brahman, essential to him in the formation and propagation of his distinctive caste, by virtue of which he has isolated himself from all mankind, and the various members of his caste have been led to isolate themselves from one another and to separate into numerous independent fraternities, each being a distinct unity, has fallen on all other Hindu and non-Hindu castes. This spirit is reproduced in each one, is its *raison d'être*, is its animating principle, is at once the ground of its existence and the cause of its perpetuation. If you carefully observe the working of any caste which you may select, in any rank of native society, you will infallibly find in it the presence of those special characteristics, which, as previously shown, tended unitedly to the origination, in primitive times, of the Brahmanical caste, and have maintained that caste with its manifold divisions in its condition of isolation. No caste, for this reason, wishes to be other than it is. Though it may be very low in comparison with, and in the estimation of, many other castes, nevertheless it is puffed up with arrogance, and with a strange, and except for the reasons given, unaccountable conceit of superiority and self-importance. Each caste, down to the lowest, is eaten up with self-satisfaction and self-admiration. It will never defer to another caste in any matter, because it regards itself as an entity quite as important to its component members as that of any other caste, of any degree, to the members of which it is composed.

I may state incidentally that this circumstance, namely, the presence of these characteristics in all the castes, is by far the strongest of all the reasons that can be assigned to account for the difficulty of the Hindu race amalgamating with Englishmen,

and with all foreigners. Difficulty, forsooth! such amalgamation is an utter impossibility. If all the castes shun one another with an eagerness amounting to frenzy, we may take it for certain that they will avoid all contact with outside races with not less energy and feeling. If they have determined that all mutual approaches among themselves are impracticable, not to say, chimerical, we may rest assured, once for all, that any social approaches of foreigners, must be resisted with resentment. This is a necessity arising from the fundamental constitution of caste.

I may further remark that, as, I think, I have already substantiated, inasmuch as caste is based on certain vicious qualities of the mind, which have been cultivated in India to an extent entirely unknown in other lands, this circumstance affords, in my belief, the most pregnant of all reasons to account for the great and manifest difference in the intellectual and moral results arising from the spread of education, especially in its higher forms, in this country. A Hindu with a university degree, indicating that he has acquired extensive knowledge in various branches of human learning has been, as a rule, drawn but slightly in the direction of true civilisation; and his moral sentiments, though confessedly somewhat improved, remain destitute of that robustness, which is one of the grand concomitants of the advanced education which English youths receive. The truth is, the Hindu's mind is enslaved by hereditary pride and exclusiveness. He values English education, but he values his caste more. The former is useful for obtaining a livelihood, but after all is of no vital importance; the latter is of infinite moment, and must be retained at any cost. The possession of vast stores of knowledge brought from the West, cannot, in his estimation, possibly place him in a higher social position than that which he formerly occupied, or raise him into a nobler sphere, or generate in his mind loftier aims and purposes, or compensate in the smallest degree for the loss or abandonment of the ancient customs and privileges of caste. Sublime arrogance and moral progress are natural enemies. And thus it comes to pass that the Hindu, wedded to old prejudices, and inflated with conceit, although adorned with degrees, indicating the knowledge which his intellect has acquired, and in some measure the quickening which it has received, has hitherto made little advancement in the highest forms of civilization. He has failed utterly to comprehend the deep meaning of the Delphian axiom, 'Man, know thyself!'

Such is a brief outline of the special conditions of Hindus, under which they have lived for many ages, and by the operation of which they have become a separate people, unlike all other races that have ever appeared on the earth, and have first of all

framed, and then, with extraordinary perseverance and patience, perpetuated a peculiar social system, to which, in spite of its unnaturalness and extreme oppressiveness, they have ever passionately clung.

In the second place, having already unfolded what seems to me the essential cause of caste, I am free to admit that one other powerful influence, at the least, has had great weight in producing the result which we see. This is of a geographical character, and is to be found in the country itself, which has been peculiarly favourable to the development of caste. This influence would have had no effect alone; nevertheless, in association with others of a vital and transforming character, it has been of immense use. India, as a country, has been well suited to be the home of caste in three ways—by its almost perfect isolation, by its climate, and by its physical conformation. We will consider the natural influence on the people of the country of each of these elements separately.

First.—The isolation of India.

This land, by its lofty frontier mountains, is almost completely cut off from the rest of the world. True, these mountains have their passes, which at intervals a desolating enemy has traversed, and bursting on the plains, has fought with, and subdued, the Hindu inhabitants, and holding them in subjection has to some extent modified their habits and customs. Three great inroads of this nature I will briefly allude to. One was that of the Greeks, led in the first instance by Alexander the Great, and subsequently by the Greek kings of Bactria. A second was that of the Indo-Scythians, who destroyed the Bactrian monarchy, and in the first century before, and in the first century after, the Christian era, exercised authority on both sides of the North-Western frontier. The third was that of the Mahomedans, who for eight hundred years and upwards were lords paramount of India, and during that period were entering the country in a ceaseless, though at times very attenuated, stream. Other incursions of foreigners have also occasionally taken place, as of the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English. Now, everyone of these external influences has produced a certain modifying effect on the caste and habits of Hindus, some much more than others; and yet, as all acquainted with the subject must acknowledge, their aggregate effect on caste has been very slight. Mahomedanism has notoriously succumbed to caste, so that Indian Mahomedans, instead of shaking the foundations of the system, which, judging, *à priori*, from the intolerance and despotism of Mahomedan rulers, was imminent, on their taking possession of the country, have themselves become Hinduized, and have been brought into the

meshes of caste. Greek art, and science, and politics, were undoubtedly at one time powerful in Northern India. The most violent assailant of the system is English influence in its many-sidedness operating at the present day.

None of these external influences was brought in contact with Hindu caste until it had taken firm hold of the native mind, and had been elaborated into the complicated and cumbrous system which now prevails. Had caste at the very period of its inception met with an external opponent, like Mahomedanism, or modern civilization, it would probably have been an abortion. But it had for centuries its own way, and soon grew into a monstrous shape. The opposition it met with at the outset, though fierce, was of men rather than of principles, and being from within the circle of Hinduism, was short-lived and spasmodic.

In spite of the fact that India has always been a prey to invaders, who have left their mark behind them, it is nevertheless true that throughout its history it has been left to itself and its own devices in a very remarkable manner. Few countries have been so isolated. The result has been that, on the whole, it has met with little external opposition in carrying out its peculiar social projects. Its subjugation repeatedly by foreign foes has affected its political, but not its domestic, life. Without any counteracting authority of sufficient interest and weight, the Hindus have been free to inaugurate and develope whatever mode their acknowledged chiefs invented, as best calculated, in their own judgment, to represent the principles they had formed respecting the ties and relations of Hindu society. They have experienced no friction with other nations. They have not been in the smallest degree amenable to the public opinion of neighbouring countries, which, in some parts of the world, has been a powerful factor in the growth of social customs.

An isolation almost as complete as that of the Hindus has fallen to the lot of the Chinese. And with what result? Left to their own imaginings they have become a people as peculiar and extraordinary in their way as Hindus in theirs. It is manifest from their writings that they have followed their philosophical and religious leaders with as much blindness and infatuation as Hindus have shown in following their Brahmanical teachers. Had Confucius elaborated for them a system of caste, they would unquestionably have adopted it; and would have adhered to it with as much persistency and self-sacrifice as have been exhibited in India. Although they have had a narrow escape from caste, they have, nevertheless, during the long period of their existence, displayed as striking idiosyncracies of national life and character as their neighbours on the plains of Hindustan.

We may regard it as an axiom that the isolation of a country tends to the generation of national peculiarities, and that the greater the isolation the stronger and more marked they are. The rapidity with which national peculiarities may develop is illustrated by a country which has risen to greatness in modern times. Scarcely one hundred years have passed since the United States were severed from Britain, and yet the inhabitants, although in the main of British parentage, are in many respects exceedingly unlike their progenitors of the country from which they sprung.

The separation of India from all other countries, and its isolation, have imparted a great impetus to caste; and although not in themselves affording a sufficient reason for this singular condition of Hindu life, have incontestably rendered it great support and encouragement.

Secondly.—The climate of India.

How much the climate of England combined with its insular position has contributed to the development of the Anglo-Saxon race, is well known to the philosophic historian. Had England not been separated from the continent, and had its climate been of a milder and more relaxing character, there is every reason to suppose that its inhabitants would have been devoid of the individuality, love of freedom, and common sense, for which they are distinguished. Few, I imagine, will doubt that the clear and genial climate of France has fostered the development of the light-heartedness and volatility which are charmingly exhibited in the genuine Frenchman. And going further southwards, where the sun exercises greater power, and life is spent in an exquisite realisation of nature's gifts, how sensuous, and withal how sparkling, is the enjoyment of the Spaniard, while in spirit and energy he evinces a strange contrast to the lively and yet practical Frenchman!

The hot climate of India has been a powerful modeller of Hindu character. Provoking meditation and poetic sentiment, and at the same time inflaming the imagination to a white heat, it has produced one of the most rhapsodical and unreal beings that ever was created. Thoughts the most whimsical and fantastic, the most extravagant rhodomontade of which the human mind is capable, and the boldest and most magnificent speculations in ontology and pshychology, make up the extensive literature of the Hindus. With minds so singularly constituted by nature, so prone to excess, and endowed with such an intense craving for strange situations and wild fancies, the Hindus have adopted caste with the same mental heat which they have displayed in all other matters. The Brahmanical brain has always

been in a state of intense and unrestrained excitement. There are some countries specially adapted to peculiar mental effort which would be entirely out of place elsewhere. We are not shocked at monstrous and unnatural forms of thought in a torrid, as in a temperate, clime. The rhapsodies of the human intellect are not so offensive in India as they would be in England. And caste, though considered by people bred in a temperate region to be opposed to sense, propriety, and humanity, is thought differently of by persons dwelling in the country which has given it birth, who foster and heartily approve of that which all the rest of the world with one voice condemns.

Moreover, while the heat of India inflames the mind as well as the body, it induces, on the other hand, lassitude in both. The 'let-alone' principle, as applied to daily practical life, is thoroughly carried out in every grade of native society, and is very apt to creep into the ranks of English residents. There is a fatal tendency induced by the excessive heat, to allow things to remain as they are from week to week, and from month to month. An effort is required to deviate from the beaten track, which is commonly distressing, if not painful, to make. Customs which would not have been tolerated for an instant in a cool climate have been allowed to grow up and to exercise gradually a masterly authority, solely because of the general indolence and heedlessness, produced by the long and all-pervading summer heat, which enfeebles the mind and prevents it from rousing itself to a contrary action.

Thus caste, which, like rank, luxuriant plants of the jungle, could only have been generated under the inflammatory influences of a torrid clime, has been in no small degree perpetuated until it has become an omnipotent agency in Hindu social life by the intense lassitude induced by the heat, and by the unwillingness which everybody feels to alter that which is already established.

Thirdly.—The physical conformation of India.

Rivers, mountains, forests, and plains, have, in the world's history, played no unimportant part in the formation of national character. Rugged, bleak mountains produce a love of freedom and independence, as illustrated by the Swiss, or of intrepidity and manliness, as displayed by the Highland Scotch. Forest life fosters a spirit of retirement and exclusiveness; while streams and plains are favourable to meditation and repose.

The Hindu is accustomed to spend half his time on the banks of some sacred stream, from which, having leisurely bathed and performed his devotions, he retires to the cool shade of a neighbouring tree, or to the grove attached to his favourite shrine, where it

fruit-trees, among which a multitude of monkeys disported themselves. He saw with what agility these animals climbed upon the trees, leapt from branch to branch, and selected the most exquisite fruits. Accordingly, he considered how he might capture a monkey, and force him to collect fruits for him. For this purpose he betook himself to a spot where the monkeys appeared to be most numerous, and embracing the trunk of a tree wished it to appear that he intended to mount higher. He remained, however, immoveable for a while, then pretended to the monkeys that he could no longer keep his hold of the tree, and slid down from it. Having fallen to the ground, he jerked his paws about, ceased at last to move them, opened his mouth, and feigned to be dead.

The bear and the little monkey.

The monkeys then crowded around the animal, but one of them more prudent than the others said :—"It is not impossible that this bear is playing some trick. Prudence, therefore, requires us to be on our guard, and not to go too near him. But if we are at any rate to approach him, we ought first to collect some wood, place it around him, and set fire to it. If he only pretends to be dead, we shall find it out; but if he is really so, what harm is there in burning him?"

It is said :—"A foe is a contrast to you. But reason tells us that contrasts shun and flee each other; therefore, increase the distance between you and your enemy. Do not tread the same soil with him unless you take the greatest care; and do not allow the knowledge that he has departed to put you off your guard; for he may, before doing so, have stretched a net to ensnare you. Never encounter your enemy without arms, caution, and vigilance. Do not be deceived even if he throws away his weapons, because not all can be seen."

"In the same manner," continued the monkey, "the hermit twitted the robber, and turned the scales against him."

"Narrate to us how that happened," said the other monkeys, and that learned ape continued to speak thus :—

"It is said that a certain hypocritical monk retired to a hermitage without the city, where his co-religionists often visited him from devotion, and eagerly recommended themselves to his prayers. He made them understand that often many destitute persons whose misery lacerated his heart, applied to him for relief, but that he could not help them. Accordingly the devotees commenced to bring him large sums of money, supposing, as he had said, that nobody else knew better how to distribute them in alms than himself. The monk appropriated the said money, and buried it, not, however, without disbursing a few pence to the indigent, in order the better to deceive his almoners.

The hermit and the robber.

It is said :—'An impostor equals a thief in roguery, but excels him in vileness and impudence.'

A robber who knew how much money that recluse had collected, made sure of finding a treasure in his house, and determined to rob him by scaling the wall of the hermitage. One night he accordingly undertook the work, climbed over the wall, and finding the hermit at his prayers near a lamp, shouted :—'Surrender thyself, old fellow, or I shall cut off thy head!' Turning up his eyes at these words, and seeing before him a powerful young man, with a bare sword in his hand, the hermit knew that he could offer him no resistance; he, therefore, interrupted his orisons, and ran from the brigand to a side of the chapel where a niche had been excavated in the wall, and put his head into it, placing his arms on his back, assuming the posture of a man who has them tied. The robber thought that the hermit had submitted to his fate, and concealed his head from fear; he therefore put aside the sword, and advanced to tie him, when, lo! the ground yielded under his feet, and he fell into a trap with such violence that he broke some of his bones.

Now, the hermit approached to have a look at him, and seeing him discomfited and imprisoned, exclaimed :—'Here you are, my darling!' The brigand replied :—'So it is, oh impostor!' The friar continued :—'You may burst here. Do you fancy that I, who was able to collect all this money, could not take care of it?' 'But it seems to me,' replied the robber, 'that you could not take care of it, or defend it by prostrations!' 'Simpleton,' quoth the monk, 'think of the nets I spread, the deceit I used, the sighs I heaved, the tears I shed, the pious exclamations I uttered till I caught all the little birds!'

The brigand remained thus the whole night, and could find no means of escape from the hole into which he had fallen. When the morning dawned, the hermit accused the robber to the authorities; he was carried to the city, and punished. The hermit had excavated a deep hole in the direction of the niche, and had placed over it a trap-door, which turned and yielded as soon as a man stepped on it; and this he covered with one of the mats of the chapel. When he fled from the robber to the niche, he took good care to avoid the trap, whilst the brigand who knew nothing about it ran straight after the monk, and fell into it."

When the monkeys had heard this parable from their learned companion, they were extremely careful not to approach the bear, and dispersed to gather faggots for burning him. An inexperienced little monkey, however, who had not been present, and had therefore not heard the above advice, went near the

Continuation of the apologue of the bear and the monkey-cub.

bear, intending to place his ear near his mouth to ascertain whether he breathed. The bear at once caught this monkey-cub, tied a long rope to his body, and compelled him to climb up the trees to pluck the choicest fruits and to throw them to him, whilst he was holding the other end of the rope with his paw. This sport lasted during the remainder of the day, and in the evening the bear led the monkey to a grotto, where he imprisoned him, by shutting its aperture with a big stone. The next morning he drew out the poor animal, compelled it to spend the hole day in gathering fruits for him, and in the evening imprisoned it again. Thus some time elapsed; the bear fully enjoyed his position, whilst the monkey deplored his, which compelled him to be a slave during the day, and a prisoner by night.

It is said:—"He who meddles with what does not concern him will meet with things that afflict him."

The passions of a wise man are governed by him. When any desire arises in his mind, he first examines its origin and its tendency; then he comes to a decision according to the dictates of reason. But the passions of a fool overpower his reason. If a wish arises in him, he runs headlong to realise it, and nothing in the world can restrain him.

The little monkey, reflecting on the position in which he found himself, discovered that the fidelity with which he served the bear would be an impediment to his liberation. Therefore, he repented of his loyalty, and, being persuaded that astuteness might open for him a way of escape, he resolved to play a trick on his master.

It is said:—"When all the passions have died out from the breast of a slave, his mind is obtuse, and his thoughts are abject, he will be sincere towards his master. But if he be also the slave of various qualities, his master will have other powerful co-partners in the ownership of the man he possesses. The first of these are the passions, which will govern the slave if he be subject to them. Secondly, if he be of an intelligent mind, he will employ it to lighten his troubles, to deliver him from captivity, and to defend his own person. Thirdly, if the thoughts of the slave are somewhat aspiring, they will inspire him with disdain and hatred, and will lead him to do things which his master dislikes."

Among the tricks which the monkey-cub devised against the bear, one was the pretence that his sight had become very bad. Accordingly he began to throw at him fruits, which were neither good nor beautiful; the bear reproved him without avail; then he beat him, but he would not change his tactics. When this contumacy had lasted for some time, the bear said to the

monkey:—"I am tired of reproving and beating you; it occurs to me that I ought to devour you, to save all further trouble."

It is said:—"If you have no other than awkward servants, dispense with them; because the annoyance you will suffer from them equals the fatigue you would endure if you were to serve yourself with your own hands."

The little monkey replied to the threats of the bear:—"I am not as awkward as you imagine; and if you were to devour me, you would have to repent, like the miller who killed his donkey."

"Narrate to me this story," replied the bear, and the monkey spoke as follows:—

The miller and his donkey.

It is related that a miller had a little donkey who turned his mill, and a bad wife, greatly beloved by him, but who had fallen in love with one of his neighbours; he, however, hated her, and fled her. One night the miller dreamt that he beheld a person saying to him:—"Dig up a certain spot within the circumference of the mill, and you will find a treasure." He instantly communicated his dream to his wife with the request not to inform a living soul about it.

It is said:—"He acts like a fool who takes pleasure in divulging his secret, because the labour a man performs without calling any one to his aid, is generally a less evil than the danger he incurs by communicating his secret to another."

Women are good to sweep the house, to cook food, to nurse the children, to turn the spindle, to kindle and to extinguish our passions. Who entrusts them with other business, and communicates to them secrets, only lowers himself to their own level, because they are wanting in the strength necessary for ascending to ours.

The miller had no sooner narrated his vision to the woman than she ran to meet the neighbour whom she loved so much, and hoped to entice by communicating this information. The neighbour promised to accompany her the following night to the spot and to dig with her. They went, and actually found the treasure. Then the neighbour asked:—"What will you do with all this money?" She said:—"We will divide it equally among us, and depart to our homes with our respective shares. Then you will divorce your wife, and I, for my part, shall find means to separate from my husband, so that you may be able to marry me; and having become man and wife, the money will again be united in our hands." "No," replied the neighbour, "I fear that these riches will change your mind, and that you will take a fancy to another lover."

In fact it is said:—"Gold shines in the house like the sun in

the world, nor can any other persons do without it except ascetics who bear such hatred towards this nether world, and are so disgusted to dwell therein. But a true ascetic is he who leads an austere life when his blood is yet boiling in his veins. That is only false virtue which pretends to bridle the desires of an exhausted and decrepit body, and turns towards abstinence only during the saddest period of life."

The neighbour continued :—"It would be better that all the money should remain in my hands, so that I may adopt efficacious means for detaching you from your husband, and uniting you to myself." "And I," replied the woman, "fear precisely that you will do what you apprehended I might do. I do not mean to entrust you with my share of the treasure. Why should you grudge it me? Have not I pointed out to you that treasure in preference to everybody else?"

When the neighbour heard the above words, the wickedness of his heart and fear that the woman might accuse him to her relatives, induced him to kill her. After he had slain the woman, he threw her corpse into the pit from which they had dug out the treasure. Before the morning dawned, he shouldered the treasure and walked off quickly, without covering the dead body of the woman. He had scarcely departed when the miller arrived with his donkey, harnessed him to the pole of the mill, and shouted to him to turn it. The animal began to move, but stopped short on reaching the pole with the corpse. Thereupon, the miller began to beat his donkey, who would, however, not stir a single step. This obstinacy so enraged his master that he pricked the poor brute with his knife several times. As he got more angry he stabbed it more violently than he intended, and the donkey fell dead. When it was full day-light, and the miller at last perceived the hole, he saw also the corpse of his wife, and discovered the vestiges of the treasure. He became furious at the loss of the money, of his wife, and of his ass, and killed himself with his own hands.

When the little monkey ceased speaking, the bear said :—"I can very well understand from your parable that the ass had a just cause; but what may be yours?" The monkey replied :—"That my sight has become weak, and I dread to lose it altogether. If you wish to get me cured, it depends upon you."

Continuation of the apologue of the bear and the little monkey.

"And whom do I know," rejoined the bear, "who might restore your sight, upon which the selection of the fruits, and therefore my health depends?" "There are many physicians," quoth the monkey, "but any one who has a grain of sense will, when sick, consult no other doctor except of his own species. But the

monkeys of this region boast of possessing a doctor who is as celebrated for skill in his art as for his disinterestedness; nor have I the least doubt of recovering my health by going to consult him, and I shall feel relief even at the sight of him."

After the bear had complied with this request, the little monkey got himself conducted to a monkey who was famous for his malignity and astuteness, but took refuge on a tree as soon as he saw the bear approach. When the bear had taken his position under the tree, and had explained the case of his slave, the old monkey promised to cure him, but added:—"You must allow him to come up here, that I may examine his eyes." Accordingly the bear lengthened the rope, and permitted him to climb up, whereon the old monkey looked hard at his eyes and put him many questions, whereby he obtained the opportunity of telling him under what conditions he lived with the bear, and to adjure him to devise a stratagem for his liberation. Then the malicious one said:—"Be sure that I shall persuade him to watch in the night. Then you must find an opportunity to escape whilst he is asleep." Then he made the little monkey get down from the tree, and, turning to the bear, said:—"Before giving any prescription whatever, I must make you acquainted with the infirmity of this slave of yours; since it would be absurd to indicate a remedy without making known the malady. You ought accordingly to know that monkeys are so healthy, nimble, and intelligent, because their natural disposition induces them to watch a great deal and to make a portion of their exibitions in the night.

"Verily," added the melancholy ape, "by causing this servant of yours to abandon his usual mode of life, you have inflicted upon him a cause of dissolution, *i. e.*, a malady, as those did upon the little bird who had caught it for the daughter of the king." "Tell me how this happened," said the bear, and the old monkey spoke as follows:—

The little bird and the king's daughter.

"They narrate that a king of the Greeks had a little daughter who was the light of his eyes; she was troubled by black bile, assailed by so many maladies, and reduced to such a state of weakness that she could no longer take any food or medicine. The physician who treated her, accordingly proposed to convey her to a villa which stood in a delightful garden, irrigated by numerous brooks. This having been done, she perceived, on the very first day she spent in that place, a small parti-colored bird, perched on a twig, pecking at a grape, and then warbling a sweet song full of tender melodies. At this scene the little lady was so rejoiced that she suddenly asked for something to eat.

The little bird, however flew away, and did not return all that

day. Its absence distressed the little maiden greatly; but, when it came back the next day at the same hour to the vine-arbour, the daughter of the king had scarcely become aware of the fact when she felt great relief, ate and drank, and was cheerful till the bird flew away, as on the previous day, when she relapsed into restlessness again. When this was reported to the king, he ordered the bird to be caught, which having been done, it was put in a cage, near which the young lady always stood, and was so much pleased that she again ate food and took medicine. The physician, who knew nothing about the little bird, and saw the child thus gaining strength, attended more diligently to the treatment, hoping to effect a speedy cure.

The little bird had, however, spent several days without singing or even eating, and all the beauty of its plumage began to wane. Thereupon the girl fell back into her former state, and became worse, pining away from this new addition of grief to her malady; whilst the father, when he became aware of this, repented of having ordered the bird to be caught.

The physician, taking notice of the young lady's relapse, considered it to be the effect of some sudden accident, and, on making inquiry, the history of the above bird was narrated to him. This instantly suggested to him the idea of spreading out a very large net so as to enclose the whole garden in it from top to bottom, which having been done, the bird was set at liberty therein after being taken out of the cage. Having thus recovered its former habits and sojourn, the health of the bird soon revived, and it sang as sweetly as ever. The little girl likewise regained her health, and was rid of her malady.

When the old monkey had finished his story, the bear said:—"I have listened to your parable and understood your speech. Prescribe, therefore, for this slave of mine, and I shall do as you wish." "My prescription is," said the cunning monkey, "that you should spend a good portion of the night in the place where you are accustomed to gather the fruits during the day. I have no doubt that this will prolong your life, will procure you better appetite, give you cheerfulness, increase your wish for sleep, and will at the same time cure your slave."

End of the apologue of the bear and the monkey-cub.

Having thanked the old monkey, the bear went away, and made the little monkey gather fruits all day, which he did in a sulky manner; but when the night set in, he displayed more alacrity, and threw down some beautiful fruits as formerly. Thus a few hours of the night elapsed, when the bear led him back to the grotto and shut it. The next morning they continued their usual mode of life; and thus the monkey spent several days

always pretending that the night strengthened his eyes, and throwing better fruits during it, but especially when the moon was shining. The bear nevertheless placed no faith in the loyalty of the monkey, but, on the contrary, considered him more and more to be a hypocrite, a liar, and a deceiver, so that the more the monkey increased his deceit, the more suspicious the bear became. At last, one night, when he intended to return to his lair, the little monkey endeavoured to delay him, saying to him now and then:—"Here, here, there are some delicious ones." Accordingly the bear, ferocious as he was, and desirous to verify the suspicion he entertained, agreed to remain outside, especially as it was a beautiful moon-lit night, in which the little monkey could perceive how he pretended to sleep. He assumed a posture of repose, and began to snore as if plunged in sleep. The little monkey who had waited for no better opportunity than this to escape, now took advantage of it and ran; the bear, however, pulled the rope with such force towards himself that he strangled and killed him.

Continuation of the story of Bahram Gur.

When Hils had terminated his recital, he was silent; and Bahram said:—"What a pleasure it is to me to have you by my side! I am delighted with the precepts you have given me, the examples you have propounded, and with the wise maxims you have made me acquainted with! Should I live to attain supreme power, you shall be my vizier; I intend to govern according to these maxims; and as to the rest, my trust is in God." At these words Hils prostrated himself, and implored heaven to grant all these desires.

One fine spring-day Yezdegerd had made an excursion to one of his pleasure-grounds, where the soil was covered with flowers, resembling carpets of velvet and gemmed diadems. The king was in the height of enjoyment, and Bahram stood near in his capacity of superintendent, watching over the assembled guests and casting sorrowful glances at the sight before him, as the beautiful flowers reminded him of the joyful days of his early youth, which he had spent at the court of No'man. He thought of the smiling gardens, the pleasure of sitting among dewy flowers, the delight of sallying forth at the first flush of morning to frighten the game from its lair, the joy of pursuing it in the chase and bringing it down; then he fixed his eyes on the ground with a pre-occupied mind, a dismayed countenance, and sighing heavily. Yezdegerd kept his eyes fixed for some time upon the youth, till he perceived it, and finding that he had been observed by his father, he became confused. The good humour hitherto displayed by Yezdegerd was now gone; he contracted his forehead, and all the

guests rose unanimously, it being the usage at the court of Persia that, when the king became taciturn or displeased, all present should leave their seats, and humbly take up a standing position at a distance from him.

In this company a buffoon of the king, prompt in speech, acute in mind, inventive, and full of curious stories, was present. Having observed that Yezdegerd was displeased with the melancholy and silence of his son in a resort of pleasure, the buffoon considered how he might aid Bahram and turn away the wrath of the king from him. Yezdegerd looked up and cast a glance at the man with a view to encourage him to say something funny which might distract him a little. The buffoon prostrated himself, rose upon his knees, and squatting down, said :—"The abject slave of the king supplicates his majesty, to be allowed to narrate a very strange fact which happened to himself." Yezdegerd made a sign of assent, and the buffoon spoke as follows:—

The buffoon of the king of Persia.

"The humble slave of the king was in his youth a great admirer of the ladies, and very amorous; whenever he saw a handsome woman he fell madly in love with her; but he soon got tired, as he knew not what constancy was."

Our looks are to be guarded, because, often, a dangerous inclination ensues from a bold glance. With reference to this, it is narrated that a certain hypocrite, whilst doing penance in a pilgrimage, had in his company a very beautiful woman whose face he kept always veiled. On being asked for the reason, he said :—"The eyes which dart love, are her own, and not those of others."

> "Fickleness deserves to be crossed in every wish.
> Inconstancy is a quality of base and not of noble minds.
> To pass from one tender mistress to another is like changing one's religion."

"When the slave of the king," continued the buffoon, "travelled in Sind, and roamed about in a city of that province, he met with a lady, who surpassed in beauty of countenance, in the just proportion of all her limbs, in the lightness of her steps, in the grace of her movements, in the enchantment of her looks, and the charm of her aspect, all other women he had ever beheld. The slave of the king incontinently followed her, and was so confused that, as he walked, he knew not where he placed his foot. After she had entered her house and disappeared, he watched the door of it day and night. The lady sent out a request that he should move away, lest her relatives might play him some ugly trick, but the servant of the king had no other reply for the messenger except the statement of the great love that tormented him, and

the assurance that nobody in the world could remove him from the door, as he meant to court the lady even at the risk of his life. He also offered everything he possessed as a dowry to his mistress, who remained, however, deaf to his entreaties, and sent him another message of the same import as the first. At last the lady sent him the following message :—

'I suspect you to be of a fickle disposition, and capable of betraying me ; if it were not for this, I might perhaps consent to make you happy. I shall therefore espouse you under a pact of fidelity on your part, and take good care not to abandon me, for I shall not only put you to death without fail, but, before killing you, I shall, in your person, put forth a terrible example, which will pass into a proverb. If you agree to this condition, you may come, or else save your life, ere the way of escape is closed to you.'"

It is said :—" Four kinds of simpletons are undeserving of pity when some calamity befalls them ; he who abuses a physician, because he tells him that he is sick ; who takes upon his shoulders a weight he cannot bear ; who squanders his property in amusements ; and who ventures upon an undertaking of the dangers whereof he has been warned."

"Who opens your eyes, aids you ; who admonishes you, wakes you up from sleep ; who declares and explains matters to you, is your sincere friend, and honours you."

"The servant of the king," continued the buffoon, "accepted the condition, and offered his own person as security for its observance. In this manner he espoused his mistress, and lived with her in peace for some time. It happened, however, that a visit was paid to her one day by a friend, a young girl whom the servant of the king looked at, and was so captivated, that his whole soul turned towards her ; he followed her, sent her messages, and clandestinely entered her house. Disgusted with this persecution, the girl complained to his wife, who overwhelmed him with reproaches, reminded him of his pact of fidelity, and prohibited him from having anything more to do with the girl. This admonition served, however, only to make him more obstinate. To cut short this stubbornness, which had continued for some time, the wife performed an incantation by which he was transmuted into a very ugly negro, whom she henceforth compelled to become her drudge in the most menial and laborious services.

This punishment could not change his nature, and produced no other effect, except that he fell in love with a negress, whom he then courted, but after having obtained from her what he desired, ill-treated. When the negress was unable any longer

to bear his brutality, she complained to his wife, the enchantress."

It is said :—"The nature of a man governs him more than his education, because it is innate, and all the faculties, growing up therewith, reinforce it. Being aided by so many partisans, and closely allied with the mind which is its seat, what wonder is there that it preponderates so much over education, which is merely adventitious and engrafted?"

"When the wife had been informed of the new escapades of the king's slave, she was so incensed with ire, that she transmuted him into a donkey, so that he was compelled to undergo most fatiguing toils, and to carry heavy burdens, in which condition he remained for some time. The hard labour he was subjected to, contributed, however, so little to subdue his nature, that he ran with his usual fury after a she ass as soon as he perceived her, and grew so violent in his attentions, that it became necessary to restrain him with blows. Thenceforth the servant of the king lived in perpetual misery. It happened one day that his witch-mistress paid a visit to the daughter of the king of that country, and they were sitting on a terrace whence the whole surrounding country might be seen. The servant of the king happened at that time to be carrying the chattels of a decrepit old man, who was leading him to the palace of the princess, and, lo! near it the she donkey for which the servant of the king burnt with love, came in sight. He could no longer command his passion, but ran headlong towards this donkey, among the shouts of the people who were beating him, whilst all the boys had their sport, and although the animal tried to escape, he by no means gave up the chase. The daughter of the king, who had witnessed this scene, could no longer restrain her laughter. Hereon the enchantress said :—'O daughter of the king, I might tell you things about this ass, which would astonish you more than all that you have seen.' 'I shall willingly listen to you,' replied the princess. Then the witch narrated the tale from beginning to end, to the great amusement of the princess, who at last requested her to let me go. She acquiesced, and, after reciting an incantation, the servant of the king was again transmuted into a human being; and the first thought which entered his head was to run away from Sind."

End of the story of Bahram Gur.

Here the buffoon became silent, and Yezdegerd who had almost dislocated his jaw-bones with laughing at the narrative, and at the gestures by which it was accompanied, became again sedate and grave. Turning at last to the buffoon, "Idle fellow," said he, "what has induced you to concoct these

filthy lies? Do not you know that we have prohibited our subjects from lying, and that we punish them when they do so?"

It is said:—"Lies resemble poisons; when administered alone they kill, but when given with medicines they may be of use. It is not proper for kings to allow lies, except to such men as use them for the benefit of the State, for instance, to deceive enemies and to conciliate the disaffected; for the same reason kings must not grant licenses for keeping poisons, except to men of good character, and must refuse them to those whose conduct is bad."

"O, most august prince," replied the buffoon, "this story of mine embodies precepts which turn to good for those who learn them; but the reason which induced me to narrate it is one to be revealed by the king to nobody here present." Hereon Yezdegerd made a sign to the company, all of whom arose and left the hall; and the king, turning to the buffoon, said:—"Well, what is it?" "The servant of the king," replied the buffoon, "means to say that your illustrious son, Bahram, is very much in love." "And with whom?" rejoined Yezdegerd; and he continued:—"With the daughter of the Siphebud." "According to what we have this evening observed in Bahram," replied the king, "you appear to be right; nor would we discourage the youth, as it is not degrading to love the daughter of the guardian of our principality and the leader of our faithful people. When Bahram sees this desire of his fulfilled, you shall be rewarded for having informed us thereof. Mention it, however, to no one until we have carried out our intention."

Now, by the permission of the king, Bahram, the guests, and the musicians returned to the hall, took their seats again, and resumed their amusements, whilst Yezdegerd again gave himself up to joy, and the pleasures of music, till the whole entertainment came to a happy conclusion. The buffoon, who had departed with the company, followed Bahram, informed him what the king had said, and was rewarded as well as thanked by the prince.

Yezdegerd then gave his son in marriage to the daughter of the Siphebud; whereon the young man brought his mind to be contented in the service of the king, because the mind allows itself to be led by the dictates of the intellect. Thus Bahram remained at court till the arrival of the Qayser's brother, to treat with Yezdegerd about a peace, a truce, or on other matters; and the king of Persia, who was proud of this embassy, honoured the Roman according to his rank, and entertained him with sumptuous hospitality. When Bahram saw how highly the brother of Qayser was esteemed at court, he requested him to intercede with his father that he might be sent back to No'man. At this recommendation

Yezdegerd granted the requested permission, and Bahram departed to Arabia, where he remained, to his great joy, until death overtook Yezdegerd, and he himself became king, which took place as follows:—

Exaltation of Bahram to the throne of Persia.

Yezdegerd went from bad to worse in violating the principles of justice and clemency followed by his ancestors, so that the nobles of Persia most conspicuous for their rank and virtue, united in a conspiracy. So it is said; but it is more probable that those who had suffered injustice from the king were the real conspirators, who united in prayer to God, imploring Him to deliver them from the tyranny of Yezdegerd; and, moved with pity at their unhappy condition, God fulfilled their vows.

Accordingly, when the king was one day standing in his hall, a chamberlain entered to inform him that a wild steed, unrivalled in beauty and stature, the like of which had never been seen before, and adorned with all the trappings of war, had arrived in full gallop, but stopped at the gate of the palace; that the people were all oppressed with terror, no one dared to approach the charger, and that even the jockeys had run away frightened. Considering all this to be mere nonsense, Yezdegerd himself went to see the horse. He found, indeed, a brute of stupendous size, which, however, became quite gentle as soon as he approached it; wherefore Yezdegerd, also impelled by a feeling of self-importance which never left him, stroked the forehead of the horse, caught hold of its mane, and ordered his own saddle and bridle to be put on it. It is said that now Yezdegerd touched also the croup of the steed, whereon it suddenly kicked him, so that he fell dead to the ground; then it ran away furiously, and no one knew in what direction. According to others he actually mounted the steed, which ran away with him, and at last precipitated him into the sea. Which of these accounts is true, God alone knows.

When the Persians saw that they had thus, by divine aid, been delivered of Yezdegerd, they all agreed to exclude his son from the throne, lest he might tread in the footsteps of his father, and elected a scion of the ancient dynasty of their monarchs, whose name was Chosroes,—a man acceptable to all. He abrogated the iniquitous laws established by Yezdegerd, and enfranchised the Persians from an odious government, so that they had reason to be contented with the choice they had made.

When No'man heard what had taken place, he re-assured Bahram by promising him aid, and placed his person as well as all his property at the service of the prince, who thanked him, and requested him merely to make incursions upon the Persian territory without shedding blood. The Arabs accordingly invaded the

country and committed great depredations, and Persian ambassadors presented themselves at the court of Hira, who requested No'man to abstain from hostilities, and to withdraw, as a loyal vassal, to his own province; he excused himself, however, and said that he owed allegiance only to Bahram, by whose orders he had acted; therefore they went to see him.

When the Persian orators presented themselves before Bahram, they were struck by the beauty of his countenance, and so awed by the majestic aspect of his person, that they prostrated themselves at his feet, pleading for oblivion and clemency. He spoke affably to them, gave them the best hopes, advised them to return home, and to assure the people that his intentions were the best, that he desired nothing more than the public welfare, and that he would forthwith set out on a tour for the purpose of making himself personally known, and of asserting his claim to the throne; wherefore they ought to prepare themselves to receive him. After this reply he dismissed the legates with many demonstrations of honour.

By the permission of No'man, Bahram had enrolled ten squadrons, each of which consisted of one thousand brave Arab cavaliers, at whose head Bahram entered the Persian territory. The king of Hira preceded him with a powerful army, superior to any forces the Persians could oppose to it. When the Arabs had reached Gandishapur, which was at that time the capital of Persia, they encamped under its walls. The nobles of the land came out of the city with the Mobedan Mobed, or pontiff of their religion, and proceeded towards the throne on which Bahram was seated, with the king of Hira standing by his side. When they arrived they prostrated themselves before Bahram, and took up positions near him.

After the customary ceremonies the Mobedan Mobed, whom Bahram invited to speak, praised God and thanked him for his mercy, shown to all creatures. Then he alluded to the tyranny of Yezdegerd, and to the manner in which God had delivered the people from it. He mentioned the repugnance of the Persians to exalt his son to the throne, as they apprehended that he would tread in the footsteps of his father. As the prince had, moreover, been brought up among Bedouin Arabs, who enrich themselves by devastating other countries, he believed it might reasonably be supposed that he had become imbued also with their customs. He concluded by requesting Bahram to renounce his pretensions on condition of receiving a payment of tribute from the Persians. This, added he, the Persians are induced to do by their love of peace, but as to the royal power, they would not only refuse to grant it, but would take all possible means to restrain him from acquiring it.

When the Mobedan Mobed had finished his speech, Bahram replied. He praised God, gratefully acknowledged the benefits he had received, and accepted the accusation of tyranny and of iniquity alleged by the Persian pontiff against Yezdegerd. He stated that he had always desired to attain the supreme power, for the purpose of cancelling all the vestiges of that tyranny, for establishing his government on the basis of justice, in order that his subjects might taste the sweets of his meekness and beneficence, whereby they would forget the severity and harshness of his father's rule. Lastly, Bahram said that, although he meant on no account to abandon his paternal inheritance, or spare any trouble to obtain it, he would nevertheless be ready to undergo a trial. He proposed, namely, that the crown and the other royal insignia should be placed between two savage lions, and that he with Chosroes, the usurper of the throne, should attempt to snatch the insignia away from the untamed beasts; and that he who succeeded should be considered worthy to become king. Bahram also said that he intended thus to risk his life from no other motive than the welfare of his subjects, as they would thus be spared an internecine war. He entertained a firm hope in the aid of God, because his purpose was just, his intention pure, and his aim nothing besides the prosperity of the people and of the country.

The Persian nobles accepted the proposal of Bahram, because they hoped to get rid of him without exposing themselves to the calamities of war; they could, however, not return to the city without great admiration of the personal beauty, the perfect courtesy, eloquence and royal demeanour of the son of Yezdegerd. They found two untamed lions whom they allowed to fast three days, and on the fourth conveyed them in two cages to the spot where the trial was to take place. The royal insignia were placed between the two cages, and the chains of the lions were so long that they could reach and defend the crown; and an extraordinary multitude had assembled to witness the spectacle.

Then Bahram sallied from his tent, tucked the skirts of his garments into his girdle, stopped opposite to the lions, and exclaimed in a loud voice to Chosroes:—"Come here, oh rebel, oh usurper of my inheritance, come and take the royal crown which you have robbed from him to whom it belongs." "You yourself," replied Chosroes, "must be the first to court the danger to which you have been pleased to expose yourself; you have provoked it, and spontaneously offered yourself; you, moreover, aspire to power by hereditary succession, and I do not; it was offered to me, and I accepted it."

Without replying anything, Bahram approached the lions

unarmed, when the Mobedan Mobed, seeing him resolved to brave the peril, shouted :—"You are going to meet death, oh Bahram! The guilt will not be upon us." "Well," replied the youth, "I take it all upon myself: although I expose my life for the sake of the love I bear towards you, no one shall restrain me." "If you do so at all hazards," quoth the pontiff, "confess your sins to the Most High God; ask his pardon, and implore his aid." Bahram did so, and approached one of the lions.

The ferocious animal rushed at him, but the youth avoided it dexterously, took a leap, vaulted on the back of the lion, and squeezed his sides so terribly with the knees, that the brute fainted, stretched forth its paws, let its tongue out, and remained immoveable. Meanwhile, the other lion assailed Bahram from the rear, being, however, unable to advance further than the end of the chain; Bahram shielded himself with the head of the lion under him, and then catching hold of his ears, the young hero began to strike the cranium of one lion against that of the other, so that both fell dead. Then Bahram rose to his feet; thanked God for having protected and aided him; unrolled the skirts of his garments from his girdle, took up the crown, and placed it on his head.

"Long life to king Bahram, the royal scion," shouted Chosroes, "may he enjoy the inheritance of his ancestors, which God has granted him; here we are all to receive his commands and to obey them." The multitude rose now simultaneously, with a tremendous shout, and saluted him as king. The Mobedan Mobed approached him, took him by the hand, led him to the throne, put with his own hand the royal insignia upon him, paid him homage, and after him all the great nobles of Persia. Bahram mounted a horse, entered the capital, alighted at the palace of his father, and distributed large sums of money among the needy and the valorous. He also rewarded No'man with magnificent gifts, invested him with royal garments, crowned him, and gave largesses, according to their various ranks, to all the Arabs who had followed him in this enterprise. He faithfully kept his promises, and governed with justice and kindness, earning the gratitude of his subjects till he died.

Yezdegerd II., like many other kings, was a philosopher in his speech, but a tyrant in his acts, and was therefore surnamed *The Wicked*. He reigned from A.D. 399 till 420, but had the misfortune to see all his children perish in infancy. When Bahram was born (A.D. 400), he consulted his astrologers about the destiny of the infant as well as the education most suitable for him. They informed him that Bahram would not die prematurely, but

Historical note to the story on the education of Bahram Gur.

would become his successor, and that he was to be brought up in a foreign country. Accordingly, Yezdegerd placed his son under the care of his vassal, No'man, king of the small Arab State of Hira in Iraq. When Yezdegerd died, A.D. 420, the Persians placed Chosroes, a descendant of Ardeshir, on the throne, and Bahram marched, to conquer it for himself, with Mondhir the successor of No'man at the head of 30,000 cavalry, preceded by a vanguard of 10,000 more, under command of No'man, the son of Mondhir. They encamped near Medayn (Ctesiphon), where the combat with the lions, after which Bahram was proclaimed king, is said to have taken place.

Bahram was surnamed *Gur*, the "onager," because he had, with a single blow, killed a wild donkey, or onager. He reigned with justice and liberality. He distinguished himself by bravery in his wars against the Khakan of China, as well as the Turks, and died A.D. 439 by falling during the chase, together with his horse, into a deep morass or lake.

E. REHATSEK.

Art. V.—THE EARLY ARYANS AND THEIR INVASION OF INDIA.

THE labours of comparative philologists have brought to light a doctrine regarding the origin and movements of the Aryan branch of the Caucasian race of man which is accepted by all the experts of to-day. There seems hardly any doubt left that, after the departure of the Semitic races to the south of their original seats, the Aryan branch kept together for some time, ultimately settling in the countries between 40°—30° N. Latitude, and 50°—70° E. Longitude, now known as Persia and Western Turkestan. From this second centre there took place a fresh departure by which Europe was occupied; and the Aryans who remained between the Caspian Sea and the great mountain range of Pamir, though sub-divisions arose among them, continued to use the same language and to live together as neighbours till a third separation. By this Upper India was invaded, and the foundations of Hindu society were laid. Kashmir and the Punjab formed the earliest settlements; but these regions, being on the border, continued to be a debatable land; while the main stream of the Hindus, moving always Eastward, became more or less absorbed in the native population. But they infused into the life of that population their own language, creed, and (partially at least) their institutions. This is generally accepted, though there is the greatest difficulty in determining the precise period at which the settlement began to take effect.

"In the first place," says Dr. Weber, writing of the origin of the Hindu written record, "Indian tradition has been itself adduced in support of [its antiquity] and for a very long time this was considered sufficient. It is, I think, useless for me to waste words in showing the futility of such evidence. In the next place, astronomical data have been appealed to . . . But these dates are given in writings which are evidently of modern origin, and may be the result of calculations instituted for the purpose. Further, one of the Buddhist eras has been relied upon, according to which a reformer is supposed to have arisen in the 6th century, B. C., in opposition to the Brahmanical hierarchy; but the authenticity of this era is extremely questionable."*

As to the classical Sanskrit of which the *Institutes of Manu* are supposed to be one of the earliest specimens, we are in equal perplexity. Placed by Sir W. Jones in 1280 B. C., by Schlegel about

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* *Ind. Liter.*, p. 2. (Eng. trans.)

1000 B. C., by Elphinstone a century later; by Prof. M. Williams in 500 B. C., and by MaxMüller not earlier than 200 B. C. Dr. Weber does not seem to see his way to a clearer date for Manu than this; that the book is earlier than the next oldest law-book, which he dates in the second century A.D., and not earlier than the later parts of the *Mahábhárat*, about 50 years before.* This would bring the date down about thirteen hundred years later than the estimate of Sir W. Jones.

The name of this illustrious pioneer is never to be mentioned without respectful admiration by seekers for the true path in regard to Indian history. But he laboured under the disadvantage of living at a time when the facts were but imperfectly known; and we cannot wonder if some of his conjectures have not been ultimately verified. The subjoined extracts from his *Third Discourse* (delivered to the Asiatic Society in February 1786) will enable us, once for all, to see how bold and original were his views, though expressed with an enthusiasm which has not been altogether justified by later discoveries :—

"The Hindus believe their own country * * to have been the portion of Bhárat, one of nine brothers whose father had the dominion of the whole earth; and they represent the Himálaya mountains as lying to the north, and to the west those of Vindhya * * beyond which the Sindhu runs in several branches to the sea * * This dominion of Bhárat they consider as the middle of the Jambudwip * * * But since their civil history, beyond the middle of the nineteenth century from the present time, is involved in a cloud of fables, we seem to possess only four general media of satisfying our natural curiosity concerning it, namely, 1*st*, *Languages* and *Letters*; 2*nd*, *Philosophy* and *Religion*; 3rd, The actual remains of their old *Sculpture* and *Architecture*; and 4*th*, The written memorials of their *Sciences* and *Arts*.

"I. It is much to be lamented that neither the Greeks who attended Alexander into India, nor those who were long connected with it under the Bactrian Princes, have left us any means of knowing with accuracy what vernacular languages they found on their arrival * * * Analogy might induce us to believe that Hindi * * was primeval in Upper India, into which Sanscrit was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms in some very remote age... The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the

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* *Ind.*, Liter. pp. 186, 279 f.f.

forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed that no philologer could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from some *common source, which perhaps no longer exists.*

"II. Of the Indian philosophy and religion, I shall here say but little, because a full account of each would require a separate volume... This may be a proper place to ascertain an important point in the chronology of the Hindus. * * We may fix the date of Buddha, or the ninth great incarnation of Vishnu, in the year 1014 B. C. Now, the Cashmerians, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, assert that he appeared on earth about two centuries after Krishna, the Indian Apollo, who took so decided a part in the war of the *Mahabharata.* * * * We have therefore determined an interesting epoch by fixing the age of Krishna near the three thousandth year from the present time."

For the 3rd and 4th heads he assumes that we may postulate an Egyptian and Grecian origin, but does not go into dates. But, from the whole of this and of other discourses, it would seem that he had not observed the difference between the Vedic language and the classical Sanscrit, and that he looked upon the *Puránas* as similar in time, in authority, and in character, with the Vedas and the Epic poetry.

Without presumption it may be said that this kind of criticism is now seen to have been conjectural, tentative, and wanting in true foundation. The question of the origin of Hinduism is no doubt still obscure, but modern inquirers are now agreed that the Aryan invasion of India by which the ethnology, creed, and language of that country have been made what they are, took place later than the date of the Rigveda, and within historic times.*

It is assumed by Jones, 1st, that Buddhism is a movement within the sphere of Hinduism; and, 2nd, that it took place more than a thousand years before the birth of Christ. Both points are now known to be more than disputable. The movement was antagonistic to Brahmanism in the strongest degree, and it was not nearly so ancient as he supposed.

Assuming Buddhism, however, to have been a reaction of Aryan origin, and specially directed against the religion of the Vedas, it would still not follow that Vedism was spread over Upper India six or seven centuries even before the Christian era. But Buddhism has not been proved to be such a reaction. Fergusson indeed takes it for a Turanian system. And it may not be as old even as the now generally accepted era of Sakya Muni (whose death is currently dated 543 B. C.), for there seems grave reason

* *Vide* Note A.

to doubt whether that teacher ever existed, and the records of his teaching bear a much more modern date.*

Among the almost universal uncertainties of Indian archaic chronology, we scarcely dare to affirm more than this, that the earlier hymns and ballads of the Vedas are not of Indian origin, but are the remains of Proto-Aryan songs which the element-worshippers used before their great migration into Kashmir and the Panjab. And that we must look beyond purely Indian sources for information as to the causes which led to that migration, and the approximate period at which it occurred.

Amongst the grounds for this theory, the following may be briefly mentioned. The marks of civilisation in Northern India cannot be certainly dated much earlier than the very vague and scanty notices in Greek and Latin accounts of the invasion of the Panjab by Alexander the Great in 377 B. C., and of the subsequent relations of his successor with the Court of Palibothra. The cannon of Buddhist tradition is supposed to have been fixed in the reign of Asoka, about 250 B. C., prior to which there is no authentic Buddhist history.* The celebrated edicts of that ruler, found on rocks and stone-monuments in various parts of India, are neither in Vedic nor in Sanscrit, but in languages intermediate between the two, and partaking of the character of the sacred language of the Buddhists. And these edicts cannot be earlier than the successors of Alexander named in them, none of whom began to reign before 285 B. C. The first mention of a Buddhist missionary by Chinese historians belongs to 217 B. C., and the earliest known building in India—the nucleus of the temple at Buddh-Gáya—is dated about the time of Asoka.† These indications,—even if regarded as purely negative, are manifestly unfavourable to the assertions of the Pandits and of their supporters among the older school of European writers on the subject. It is further to be remembered that the other arts are not in any instance known to be older than architecture;‡ that no literature (excepting the older parts of the sacred books) can be traced positively so high as the period before Christ; that classical Sanscrit certainly flourished many hundred years later; and that the eras in general use among the Hindus in no case go higher than 57 B. C. (supposed by Cunningham to be the era of an Indo-Scythic conqueror). Hence it will be seen that the evidence, at present, is all on one side. (*Note* C.)

Further, it is to be borne in mind that neither classical Sanscrit nor the highly organised systems of philosophy and polytheism

* *Vide* Note B.
† *Vide* Note C.
‡ This must be understood with a limitation as to domestic and minor handicrafts.

of which it is the vehicle, are of Vedic or purely Aryan origin. The older portions of the Vedas present us with a very simple creed and ritual consisting of the propitiation of elemental powers by the offering of fermented liquor, and perhaps by occasional animal sacrifice. The sky, dawn, fire, the winds and the clouds, are the fundamental ideas expressed by the hymns; and, if Vishnu is ever named, it is but as a synonym, or at most a personification, of the Sun. The mythology of modern Hinduism was introduced by the *Puranas*, which, in their modern form, are not seven hundred years old, and which cannot, it is believed, be founded on anything more ancient than about eight hundred years earlier. Their avowed object is to give to women and low-caste men a popular cultus; and for this purpose they teach either the power of Vishnu (incarnate in one of his *autárs*), of Siva (apparently a deity borrowed from the indigenous Pantheon), or of the female principle. For the more learned classes an esoteric philosophy was at the same time promulgated in the *Upanishads* and later treatises which were their offshoots.*

If, now, we enquire into the origin of the old præ-Sanscrit or Vedic system, we shall find the task almost beyond our present means and appliances. All that can certainly be stated is that, according to the common belief of all experts, there was a very old Aryan settlement in the country between the Jaxartes and Balkh.† Of this population, some eventually went West, and founded the Empire of the Medo-Persians; while others, entering first Kashmir, and afterwards the Panjab, became the progenitors of the high-caste Hindus. What was the original religion of these Bactrians or proto-Aryans, can only be matter of conjecture; though there is reason to believe that, like their Athenian descendants, they were great "demon-fearers." Their monuments, if any they had, have not been discovered, and probably do not exist. Their very speech can only be partially and painfully re-constructed, like the carcass of some palœolithic monster of whom the zoologist finds a modern successor, and the geologist a few old bones. We do not even know positively what was the religion of the ancient Aryans of Persia before the reform attributed to Zoroaster. If we may trust at all to the *Dábistán*, however, it was originally founded on the obvious, though illusory, appearance of the planetary system, in which it was supposed that the affairs of men were ruled‡ by the guardian spirits of the seven

* For a learned account of this philosophy, see four articles by Professor Gough in the *Calcutta Review*, 1878-79-80.

† Balkh, "the mother of cities," was the old capital, and must be explored some day.

‡ The old root *raj* means "to shine," and is the origin of "Rex," *Latin*; "Reich," *German*, and "Raja," *Hindi*. (Bopp's *Glossarium*.)

spheres. And it is to be observed, in corroboration of this, that nearly all the oldest mythologies of the Caucasian races preserve vestiges of such a system. The Jews hankered after "the hosts of Heaven," and called their God the "God of Sabaoth;" the Birs Nimrud of Babylon was a temple of planetary worship; and to this moment the days of the week bear the same planetary nomenclature, and in the same order, among the nations of Europe as among the Hindus. This order, being quite arbitrary, is a very remarkable indication of an identical origin; for it is quite inconceivable that the Moon should follow the Sun, that Mars should follow the Moon, and that Saturn should follow Venus, by a mere accident, in countries so remote from one another as Scandinavia and Bengal.

Setting apart the testimony of the *Dábistán*, however, we know from the accurate and curious Herodotus that the ancient Persians used neither temples nor idols; that they offered worship on the tops of mountains to "Zeus" (the firmament*), and that they adored the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water, and the winds. This is a not inadequate description of the ideas prevalent in the earlier Vedic Hymns. (I. *Herod*,† 131.)

This religion was the subject of an innovation by Spitama. There have been great disputes as to the date of that reformer; the following considerations are offered to the attention of those who think that he is to be placed earlier than the time of Hystaspes, father of Darius, and either the Lohrasp or Gashtasp of the modern Persian Historians. In the first place this is the era assigned to him by his modern followers, the Parsis; and they are certainly entitled to be heard upon the subject, since it is among them that the remains of his writings, nay, the very language in which he wrote, have been preserved.‡ Moreover, it is quite contrary to experience that any priesthood should date too low the origin of their faith. Secondly, it is observable that the religion of Zoroaster was not known to be the State religion by those from whom Herodotus got his information; so that it could hardly have been generally propagated much before the time of that historian (484 B. C.) For he gives, as we have seen, a totally different description of the religion then prevalent in such parts of Persia as were known to him. Again, we find that the first Persian king mentioned

* *Aspice hoc subblime candiens quem invocant omnes Jovem. Ennius.*

† It seems not wholly impossible that the reference is to the later Hystaspes of B. C. 460. *Vide* Note A.

‡ The hymns of the original *Avesta* are in a different and a much older language, as will be noticed further on.

in the historical part of the Zend Scripture was Gashtasp; and that the eleventh *nosk* (or book) contained an account of the propagation of Zoroaster's monotheism by this monarch. Lastly, Isfandyar, the son of Gashtasp—perhaps named after one of the Zoroastrian angels—is said by the Persian historians to have been the first of the royal family to have embraced the new faith,—an example which was adopted afterwards by the king.* Another tradition is that the first convert was Lohrasp, Gashtasp's father, who abdicated and was slain in a massacre of the followers of the new religion which took place at Balkh.†

From these indications, numerous, if not individually convincing, it may be fairly inferred that the monotheism of the *Avesta* was first extensively propagated at some time subsequent to the Jewish captivity, and that it introduced into the religion of that people the doctrine, so consolatory to man's self-love, of the immortality of the soul. It is further conceivable that such a system was very unwelcome to those who had hitherto believed in the placability of the elements, and who had adopted the still more comforting doctrine that death was the absorption of being without the danger of everlasting punishment. We know from the evidence collected in Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, that Darius restored the ancient chants and ceremonies (III. 408), and Ezra's narrative of the return of the Jews shows that there was much sympathy between the founders of the restored or amalgamated creed and the worship of Jehovah. The fact appears that the State-church established by Darius was founded upon an attempt to reconcile the Magian fire-worship of the Medes with an ancient record of and proclivity towards monotheism, revived by intercourse with the Jews of the captivity. But for the causes which led to the schism in the Eastern Bactrian system, not affected by this factor, we are as much in the dark as we are in respect to its precise date.

After the fall of the Median power, we see that in the West a reconciliation and consolidation took place, both as to politics and language. The tendency of the Court was to be stationed at Ecbatana;‡ the expeditions of Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius, all threw the centre of gravity to the westward. Media, the conquered province, prevailed over Persia, her conqueror, in manners and in civilisation; and the simple people of Khorasan and Bactria were probably left to their old wild ways and their social and religious dissensions. While Media, on the border land

* I. Malcolm's Persia, p. 527.

† This may have been a dim memory of the Magophonia, which occurred at the beginning of Darius reign.

‡ *Vide* Ezra VII., 2.

between Aryan and Semite, developed a language from which grew the Pahlvi, and afterwards the modern Persian, the Aryan stock remained uncorrupted in the Eastern region. What wonder if, in the same Western border land, the monotheism of the Jews should have effected a similar modification of the faith of Medes and Persians, while the Eastern or Bactrian branches of the race preserved a greater similarity, both of speech and religion? Ultimately the Magianised form of faith would naturally prevail over the whole Empire under royal patronage, while those who clung to the old Deva-worship may have facilitated the spread of the new system by leaving their homes to search for freedom, like the Puritans of England and the Huguenots of France.

Whenever this happened, it may well be expected to have left traces on one side or other of the boundary-lines. Nearest to Balkh occurs the celebrated pass of Bamian, about nine thousand feet above sea level, and nearly a mile broad. The celebrated caves and other sculptures here are of a later date than the exodus of the Vedists; and, easy though the road may be, neither there nor in the valley of the Kabul river do we find any traces that can be positively dated so high as the time of the Achœmenid kings of Persia. But, in the N.-E. of this valley, among almost inaccessible Highlands, is an old Aryan settlement whose people have been supposed to have been left there by Alexander of Macedon nearly two hundred years later. For the rest, the country between Bamian and the junction of the Kabul river with the Indus was occupied, even then, by the Paktus, as we learn from Herodotus,* and they may have been then a fierce and rapacious people, even as those who bear a similar title have been since. Darius' officers did not go through their country in the expedition that he sent into the Panjab. Details of this expedition are far from abundant or complete. We only know from Herodotus (IV. 44) that Scylax, a Carian in the service of Darius, explored the course of the Indus, starting from the Paktu land, and proceeding for some distance eastward.† Whether this expedition ended in a total subjugation of the Punjab and Sindh, does not seem quite made out. (III. *Rawlins* on 430-1.) The map of the Persian Empire, given in the third volume of *The Five Monarchies*, shows India down to 22° N. Latitude, and gives the Dardæ a place just where the tribes called Dards are now, *viz.*, from 35° to 36° N. Latitude, and from 75° to 72° E. Longitude. It is in this region clearly that we must look for traces of the migration of the Aryans from

* Note D. *See* also II. Lassen, 514 f.f.

† The Indus never flows eastward; the allusion seems to the affluent which flows into it near Gilgit, and which opens a road nearly East and West from Yassin.

Bactria, who, in moving this way, would not only be avoiding the hostility of powerful tribes, but would be following a known route.

It was in all probability before the reign of Darius that the great separation which caused the migration of the Vedic Aryans took place, but how long, we have, it must be admitted, no means of knowing.* It may have even been a few years later, and in no case could it have been so long before as is often supposed. For, although the gáthas of the Veda tally with those of the Avesta in metre and in language, while the Ecbatanic Medo-Persian of Darius, as shown in his inscriptions, has undergone some modifications, yet the difference is not so great as to require any very vast interval of time to have brought it about. (*See* lists of words in III. *Rawlinson*, 250.)

Among the various ancient movements of the Aryans, then, from N. E. to S. W., we see that there must have been one, many centuries before the Christian era, going by way of Badakshan into Kashmir and the part of India to which Kashmir leads; and the difficulties of the route, exaggerated as they have been, were sufficient to induce the less energetic portions of the migration to spread laterally along the Upper Indus and its tributaries, while the more restless and enterprising moved on to the valley of the once famous Saraswati.† Objections to this theory may be partly met by the observation that they are grounded on the perfectly gratuitous supposition that the migration was due to a deliberate plan of military conquest. But it is obvious that it may have been nothing of this kind, but merely a gradual and natural percolation of nomad tribes once set moving by some cause which drove them from their old seats. Such cause may have been merely a religious schism, or it may have been complicated by political, social, and industrial considerations. Roth's view of their ultimate course (as quoted from his work on the Veda by Mr. Muir) is perhaps the clearest that our present scanty knowledge allows, namely, that the first settlement of those who penetrated to the plains was between the Indus and the Jumna, towards which latter river their pressure constantly tended. Later colonists seem to have sometimes taken this course at once. Lassen himself admits that "the Saraswati became the *western* boundary of the pure land governed by Brahmanic law." Weber also (*Muir*, 339, *note*) speaks of the Aryans being driven from the north into India, and not from the west, though he is understood to have somewhat modified this statement subsequently. It seems, indeed, that the settlements to the westward of which traces are supposed to be observable

* *Vide* Note A. *in fin.*

† *Vide* II. *Lassen*, 434 f.f.

in the later portions of the Vedas, were either of an earlier date or were a mere lateral expansion. Lassen elsewhere remarks that "the Indians distinguish...the nations between the Saraswati and the Hindu Kush into two classes." Those to the west of the Indus were still, he thinks, Indians, "but (with the exception of the Kashmiris) these Indians are not of the genuine sort." As no part of Kashmir is W. of the Indus, this mention of the "Kashmiris" must mean the Dards, who are therefore to be recognised as "genuine Indians." A later quotation made by Mr. Muir from Weber shows how the settlers of the far West were regarded by the Aryans who founded the Hindu nation,* and those tribes, it may be here noted once for all, are now represented entirely by tribes who (with one exception) have long embraced Islam, and thrown in their lot with the half-Semitic peoples of Afghanistan. In the older Hindu records the people of the Punjab are more than once condemned as impure in manners, morals, and faith ; and it is stated that they "have no Vedas or Vedic ceremonies, nor can any Arya dwell among them."

Thus, again, we see that it is from Badakshan down through Gilgit and the valley of the Upper Indus that we are to look for ethnic vestiges of the great Aryan stream. In Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* there is a fine chapter (Ed. 1866, II., pp. 48-50), in which the geographic knowledge then accessible regarding the border-lands is most ably summarised.† But since that was published we have somewhat increased our acquaintance with the tracts to the N. of India ; and, in particular, the Indus valley, from Ladak downwards, has been explored by travellers who have made important collections of facts connected with the languages and customs of the inhabitants. Some of these are evidently non-Aryan, in other instances the people have been influenced by the Thibetan and Turki bordering tribes on one side and by their Paktu or Pathan neighbours on the other. Yet, by far the greater portion of them retain clear and abundant marks of an Aryan origin. They are chiefly now to be found at the head of the tributary valleys, stronger races having taken possession of the warmer and more fertile lands. Some pay tribute to the modern Hindu State of Kashmir ; others are more completely independent, under chiefs of their own, or with wholly republican institutions. Their root words and their rude inflections are Aryan, their colour is blond ; ‡ their habits are pastoral, and in a less degree, agricultural, but

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* *Muir*, 484-5.
† *Vide* Note F.
‡ *See* Note H.

they have no other industries or arts. With the exception of one somewhat anomalous community, these tribes present all the tokens one would expect in the supposed conditions, *viz.*, that they are the descendants of those of the Bactrian Aryans who composed the *Rigveda*, and separated from the people of the *Avesta*. It is still more remarkable that on the other side of the great mountain wall, there are other, not wholly dissimilar, tribes called collectively "Galcha" (q. d. Welch), whose languages, instead of resembling the Vedic dialect, have affinities with its Zendic and Persian congeners. Lists will be found presently; in the meanwhile, by way of illustration, we may notice that, while the Dards on the South of the Hindu Kush use words connected with *Mánus* (q d. "mind") to indicate a man, their Gálcha neighbours on the other side use words derived from some such word as *mriti* (mortal). The whole of the Southerners thus compare man with other animals, while those on the N. compare him with the gods.

So a horse is named from some such word as *ghora* in most Dardish dialects, while the word is based on *aspa* in Gálcha. In fact, there is much the same sort of difference that we see in Europe between Piedmont and Savoy, where the one patois leans to French and the other to Italian. The researches of Lassen (Note F.) may be taken as showing all that was known of these countries at the time of his second edition. It was then his opinion that the Dards and Siaposh were descended from members of the great migration who had been hindered by bad roads and steep mountain-barriers from joining the main body that streamed into the Panjab; and that they still occupied the same places that they had been left in then. It is now the opinion of the best authorities that this can only partially be accepted; and that those tribes have not generally remained in their original landing-places, but have been pushed into their present seats by encroachments of more energetic neighbours from the South, the West, and even the East.

The part of the country between Bactria and India, with which we are now dealing, is commonly called "Dardistan" by modern geographers; and the name may pass, as a convenience, it being clearly understood to have no ethnologic significance. Even as a geographical expression it is hardly scientific, the boundaries being vague and changeable. Ethnologically its weakness is two-fold; the country referred to as "Dardistan" contains people who are not, and have never been, known as "Dards:" and the Siahposh, who have as much right to it as any one else, are beyond the boundaries usually assigned to it on the W., as some isolated tribes (visited by Mr. Shaw) are on the opposite side, in Little Thibet.

With these conditions the word may be used as designating the country known to the ancients as the land of the Dards, of which the situation is indicated on Prof. Rawlinson's map already mentioned. It has the Siaposh Kafiristan on the W., the Karakorum range and Kashmir on the E., Badakshan and the Hindu Kush on the N., and on the S. the British boundary line from Shabkadr to Darband, where the Indus breaks through into the plains.

This country, still spoken of by neighbouring peoples as the land of the Dards, was known to the ancients in the same character; Strabo and Pliny both use the word, the latter adding that it produces much gold (*Plin. IV.* 19): Ptolemy speaks of "Daradrœ" as living below the sources of the Indus; (*VII.* i.) and they are also named in Buddhist and Sanscrit writings. [See several citations in Dr. Leitner's Note. *Calcutta Review*, July 1858.] Whatever names the tribes there may have since adopted, they must be allowed to have been generally known as "Dards" for more than two thousand years.

In modern days their country has been overrun many times, as well by Hindus from the Panjab and Kashmir as by Musalmans from the neighbourhood of the Khaibar; and much displacement of the tribes has resulted, together with not a few changes in creed and in language. They have already generally embraced Islam, their blood will soon lose its purity, their vocabularies will become saturated with Dogra elements; and it may not take many years to obliterate a curious picture of what our ancestors may have been before Odin conquered Northern Europe, and when the British Islands were still peopled by Eskimos.

A sense of the deep historical interest attaching to so singular a set of communities, whose peculiarities are in a rapid course of detrition and decay, has led some European travellers to attempt their exploration in our own days. General (then Captain) Cunningham visited Ladak, and published a most interesting book on that part of the Upper Indus in 1854. But he did not go among the Dards; and the information that he received about them was not very correct.* Dr. Leitner afterwards visited Astor, Bunji, and Gilgit; and on his return published, from 1867 to 1877, linguistic and folklore materials which reflect great credit on his energy and research, considering the short time that he was able to pass among the people. Four years after Dr. Leitner's visit, Mr G. W. Hayward went into Dardistan; and much would have been gained had he not unhappily fallen a victim to the jealousy and cupidity of the petty ruler of Yassin, by whose order he was murdered in 1870. As it is, we have some valuable voca-

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* See an extract with comments in Leitner's Dardistan, pp. 101-2.

bularies which he sent down in private letters. Lastly, Major J. Biddulph, who, having accompanied Sir T. D. Forsyth's march to Yarkand, was afterwards appointed British Resident at Gilgit, has now printed a most able and important report, which is at once the latest and the most accurate source of our present information.

Few things of the kind can be conceived more fascinating than the study of this subject so recently brought to notice, and so soon likely to disappear. There are words in the vocabularies now collected which are possibly old Aryan synonyms, lost elsewhere. Other unknown words are waifs from the languages of neighbouring races, north or south. The inflections and declensions are somewhat anomalous. But the bulk of the languages, both in material and in structure, is familiar and almost European, not rubbed down by the process which has developed the modern languages of India through Páli and Prákrit, but consisting of crude roots, often presenting a strange resemblance to their equivalents in Greek, Latin, and even in modern European languages. Hindi forms are, of course, not wanting.

There are two other ways of accounting for most of these peculiarities. The Dards and Siaposh have been supposed to be the remnants of Alexander's men who remained in the country after the departure of the main body; and Cunningham suggests that they may be the descendants of the Greco-Bactrians whose power was founded by the successors of Alexander, and fell before the Christian era. To both these views there are the same objections. In the first place, they are not compatible with the phenomenon of the Gálcha dialects on the other side of the mountains. In the second, the words and inflections presented by the Dard languages are evidently not descended from Greek, but from some much more ancient language in which they and the Greek had a common origin. It would be as reasonable to suppose the Italian of Piedmont to be sprung from Spanish deposited by the armies of Charles V. Language may not always be a proof of race-identity; but when it is, it acts under certain known laws which would not produce the Dard dialects from Greek. This will be more fully illustrated hereafter. In the meanwhile, it may be mentioned that the roots are by no means exclusively or noticeably Greek, the peculiarities of that language being often quite absent. Thus, for instance, in the first personal pronoun, where the Greek prefixes a short (e) in the singular, and a long one in the plural, the Shina—a typical Dard dialect—uses the unaugmented word *ma*, genitive *mai*, and the Siaposh, coming nearer still to English, has *a* and *mai* for "I," "my." In Shina "we" is *be*, "ours" *ussé*, "thou" *tu*, and "thy" *toi*. The Kalasha (Siaposh dialect) sometimes presents startling resemblances

to our own language; *tu mai dári* means "thou, my dearie." Sometimes it reminds us of Hindustani; *toi nam kaa*? being "what is your name?" Sometimes we get a touch of Italian or Latin, *e.g.*, *assa tai bai é*? (Is he your brother?) where the first word recals *is* or *iste* ("he") the last *est* or *é* ("is"). Greek forms are not absolutely wanting, but they have no more than a fair share in the representation. "It is necessary" is expressed, as in Greek, by the impersonal form *dei* (Kalasha) and in Shina "drink" (imperative)' is *pi*. Among other Shina imperatives, *bo* ("go") is a fair reproduction of the Italian *va*; *shidi* ("beat") is like the Latin *cæde*; *tho* ("do") resembles the German root; *miri* ("die") is nearly the same as Latin and Italian; *bé* ("be") is again English; lastly we find the almost universal root *do* ("give"). "I was" is *ásis* in Kalasha; "he went" in Shina is *u göu*. The rule as to the word for "day" forcibly illustrates the difference between the Nothern and Southern dialects; for, while the Dard dialects have *des* or *dies* (like Latin), evidently based on the old Vedic for "sky," the Galcha forms it from the word for "moon," while the modern Persians use a third root, from the idea of "light," "shining" (*roz*, *roshan*). So, for "to beat," which in Dard, as noticed above, resembles the Latin, the Galcha dialects use words resembling the modern Persian *zadan*. In all this there is no evidence of a Greek origin, but the reverse.

Another curious indication is afforded by these dialects. The European emigration must have long preceded that of which the Dards are a survival. In Dard "Heaven" is called *Dava-Lok*, the place of Devas; while "Hell" is *Sarpa-Lok*, the place of Serpents or Dragons. So in European antiquity, where similar names occur. *Deorum locus* would serve for Olympus in Latin; many European traditions answer to the connection of Serpents and Dragons with the other locality, notably the *Edda* with its snake growing at the root of the world-tree of Ygdrasil. But with the old Persians the place of the *devas* is reversed, Indra being one of the chief demons.* Again, in regard to more secular matters, in Dard and Siaposh dialects "gold" and "silver" have usually names borrowed from Sanscrit, while "iron" is called by some name which, in all its variations, comes from Turkish. The Galchas use for "iron" a set of words apparently descended from old Persian; for "gold" and "silver" they have no names at all, and use Arabic denominations, evidently introduced by modern Mohamadans. These things point to the conclusion that the European emigrations took place before the Zoroastrian reform had turned the Dwas into demons, while the principal metals of civilisation

* II. Lassen, 631 f.f.

remained, for some time later, unknown to the simple Aryans who staid in Eastern Bactria. And here we see another reason for disbelieving that any of these tribes that we are now discussing could have been of Greek descent.

These remarks also apply to the Siaposh, or people of Afghan Kafiristan, who have not been specially described, because no European has visited them, but whose circumstances and conditions are probably almost identical with those of the Dards. In a lecture delivered before the Simla United Service Institution in 1879 Surgeon-Major Bellew gave a summary of the information at present available in regard to these people. He mentions their love of wine, which they make in a rude way, and their preference for sitting upon stools and chairs ; and he inclines to the Greco-Bactrian theory of their descent against which objections have above been shown. As to colour, he says that "the natives of the higher parts of the country are generally fair, more especially in childhood and youth. These are called "Sur Kafir" or 'Red Kafirs' by the people of Kabul, and are in great request as slaves. Their language Mr. Bellew considers to be "an Indian dialect closely similar to that spoken" in the neighbouring valley of Lughman. But the fact appears to be that there are almost as many tongues as tribes in this Asian Switzerland, and that the "Kalasha" of our vocabularies is by no means "an Indian dialect." Some of Mr. Bellew's conversations with the men from these valleys must have been amusing. Here is a specimen, conducted in colloquial Persian:—

BELLEW.—"What do you say for *Bini* ?"

SIAPOSH.—"Nose."

B.—"That's odd. We also say 'Nose.'"

S.—"Of course you do. We are brothers, are not we ? you're a Káfir and I'm a Káfir, and we have the same word for the same thing. Where's the oddity ?"

Mr. Bellew looks upon the Siaposh as the descendants of the Gandharas and Kambojas of old, who were driven out of the lowlands about five hundred years ago. Their religion he considers to be a mixture of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrism. They believe in a supreme Being and in a mediating son who once lived on earth.* They have a numerous pantheon of idols ; but the idols are only regarded as intercessors with the Almighty, and not only must fire be present upon their altars, but their offerings must pass through the fire. They have a sort of Easter festival, followed by a carnival in spring, and are strict guardians of their unmarried girls' chastity. Divorce is not recognised,

* Biddulph, p. 131.

though separation by mutual consent is not uncommon. As a rule, they are monogamous.

There can be little doubt that this country will be visited ere long, and that the results will be very interesting. The singular fact that the Siaposh have resisted the wave of Musalman proselytism that has invaded Dardistan, distinguishes them from their north-eastern neighbours. But it is time for us to return to the latter.

The Dard cantons for a long while maintained a wild independence, pressed upon by the Afghans on one side, and the Kashmirians on the other. By degrees it dawned upon the British authorities that here was—if not one of the often talked-of "gates of India"—at least one of its postern-doors. In point of fact, the passes about Yassin are tolerably easy, and much frequented by trading *káfilas* from Central Asia; so, while the "Káfir" Dards (the Siaposh) preserved their solitary valleys and their old-fashioned idolatry, the people of Yassin, Gilgit, Chilás, and Chitral were long since converted to Mohamadanism, and have ended by becoming objects of solicitude in Chowringhee and Downing Street. First of all, the protected State of Kashmir was allowed to exert a sort of tributary authority over the Dards; then, a more direct aggressiveness, accompanied by bloodshed on both sides, was manifested; and in 1878 a permanent British agency under Major Biddulph was planted at Gilgit. Since that time tranquillity has prevailed along the border-land, though the tribes are wild and of untameable character when not judiciously dealt with. The experiment, so successful on a small scale, may have to be hereafter extended; in the meanwhile we have to note a few facts recorded by Major Biddulph,* whose work is most creditable to his enterprise and to the liberality with which it has been brought out under the auspices of the Government of India.

Major Biddulph divides the people of these sequestered regions into four groups: First of all, come the Galcha (or Ghalchah) tribes of the northern slope, sharing the blood of the neighbouring Uzbegs, and speaking Turkish or Persian in addition to their ancestral speech. Next come the Khowar races of the Chitral valley, with their neighbours the "Kafirs," and perhaps some other mountain clans above Cabul. Thirdly, we have the Shinas and other tribes of the valleys, presumably modified by comparatively modern immigrations of the Hindus from the Punjab. Of these, the tribes belonging to the first, or northernmost, group speak dialects apparently springing from the Zendic form; while those of the third, or valley, group use languages akin to the Indian branch

* *The Tribes of the Hindu-Kush*, (157 pp.). Calcutta, 1880.

of the Aryan speech. The Khowar and Kafir dialects show affinities with both, and are very possibly an offshoot of the language from which both are alike descended. The fourth class differ in speech and partly in blood; these are the kindred tribes of Hanza and Nagar, called Yeshkuns, whose language, called by Major Biddulph "Boorish," appears to be an ancient Turanian one, and whose origin he traces with great plausibility to the Yaechis, who conquered Bactria about 120 B.C. With these, however, we have for the present no concern, but only with the pure Aryans.

"It is generally agreed," Major Biddulph writes, "that Badakshan and the Upper Oxus Valley was one of the earliest homes of the Aryan race. Their progress southward was probably gradual, and at first more due to natural expansion than to any desire of conquest... In the tribes of the first, or Galcha group, may probably be recognised the descendants of those who remained settled in their original locality, and who, in later times, were gradually driven up into the narrow valleys where they are now found.... The tribes of the second and third groups I take to represent those who migrated south at the earliest period. Of these a certain number must have settled in the ground first occupied, leaving the more energetic to push on further. In the Kho and Siaposh I would recognise descendants of these first settlers who, after crossing the Hindoo Kush, remained in occupation of the hill-country down to an elevation of about 2,500 feet, and probably spread along the hills for a considerable distance to the eastward."

The book consists of fourteen chapters, giving the topography, customs, and modern history of this Asiatic Switzerland—a country of gigantic Alps and glaciers, small lakes, and strong, rock-bound torrents, through which the Indus pursues its tortuous course towards the plains. The graphic description of the great Alp of Rakiposh will serve at once to illustrate the physical character of the country as to show the genuine observation and power of the author:—

"From the water's edge it rises without a break for 19,000 feet to its topmost peak, which is 25,000 feet above sea-level. Its lofty sides, girdled with dark pine-forests, and seamed with glaciers and *mers-de-glace*, some of which reach nearly down to the water's edge, overlook numerous fertile settlements which are nourished by streams flowing from the great mountain. Above the forest extensive fields of snow sparkle and glitter in the summer sun; while, overtopping all, great points of granite on whose steep sides the snow can scarcely find a resting-place, give emphasis and unity to a scene not easily forgotten." (p. 23.)

Major Biddulph summarises his report in his 14th Chapter, which readers in general will probably find the most interesting of

all. He begins by pointing to his Appendix, where he has given vocabularies of no less than ten languages—including sketches of the grammar of three—that are spoken in the country South of the Hindu-Kush. The most singular of all is that called *Khajuna* by Dr. Leitner, which prevails in Hanza, Nagar, and Yassin, and to which our author gives the name of "Burishki." Alone of all the languages of these regions in not being of Aryan origin, it has been identified as fundamentally Turanian, though showing no direct affinities with the existing forms of Turkish. It has forms which are only found among the most primitive races; and, in addition, is further complicated by having borrowed grammatical forms from the Aryan tongues among which it has become imbedded.

Under the convenient term of "Dardistan" have been included the whole of the valleys lying between the Western Punjab and the Hindu-Kush, and stretching from about Shabkadr to the neighbourhood of Skardo and the borders of Ladákh. The greater part of the tribes by whom these gorges are peopled, appear to be primitive Aryans who have been crowded out of more accessible localities by pressure from without. The testimony of ancient writers, both European and Indian, is cited to show that some of these tribes probably once extended much further to the Eastward, toward Thibet and the head waters of the Indus. Conjecture, Major Biddulph submits, must be allowed, in the absence of actual evidence as to the events which brought them all into their present centre. It is, as he observes, generally recognised that Badakshan, with the Upper Valley of the Oxus, was one of the earliest homes of the Aryan race. Their progress Southward was probably gradual, and more due to natural expansion than to plans of ambition. In the tribes of the "Gálcha" group, where the dialects resemble ancient Persian, we must see the descendants of those who remained in their original seats, or who took one step at most, and who were gradually driven up into the high valleys which they at present occupy. The remaining tribes are the earlier immigrants, and those who came on in the direction of India, or (in the first instance) travelled up the higher Indus. The Shinas possibly intruded upon them from the South; while the Yeshkuns, with their Burishki or Khajuna language, are tentatively identified with the Yuechi who conquered Bactria about 120 B.C., and may have overflowed into the N.-E. valleys at some later period. In the course of their depredations these Scythians may have subdued the original Aryans wherever they came in contact with them in large numbers; and, by absorbing Aryan blood, speech, and manners, and by undergoing the same physical influences, ended by producing the degree of assimilation now perceived. They are

evidently alluded to by Abu Rihan in the beginning of the 10th century A.D.

Lastly, it may be interesting to note the speculations of an accurate and able German ethnologist. Lassen, with less direct knowledge than we now possess, records remarks upon Dardistan which may be noted for what they are worth, as connecting this region with the early facts of the Old Testament narrative:—

"If we have hitherto rightly taken the bearings of the Hebrew poems, we obtain at the same time in them our earliest knowledge of the India which pressed close to the Western peoples; certainly not of the entire great India, but of a part which borders directly on the Persian Highland, and of which an account could easily be spread Westwards. The river Pison has already been accepted by earlier interpreters as the Indus. This flowed round the land of *Chavila* (Ang. Havila) which is brought so significantly before us in this briefly expressed poem, because its productions certainly and undoubtedly are represented as costly and rare: they are gold, precious stones, bdellium. The first is found, as we know, in the tributaries of the Upper Indus, the Darada-land, more plentifully than elsewhere in India and Iran: the immediately bounding territories are rich in precious stones; the Upper Oxus Valley in rubies and lapis lazuli, Khoten in the highly valued Jastein (?). If one considers bdellium to be pearls, one forgets that they could only be obtained in olden times from the Persian Gulf and Ceylon; the Pison did not encompass either of these lands, and the word otherwise cannot mean pearls. It appears that one can only consider bdellium to be an aromatic drug, most likely *musk*, which was priced equally with precious stones, and would be mentioned with them. In that signification it points to the land of the Daradæ." [In an antecedent paragraph the writer seems to assume that the Hebrews and Aryans once had a common source.]

"It appears from this, that this Northern land comes before us early in the descriptions of India, as well as in the first accounts of the Greeks, as a rich and wonderful land; so much the more does it appear to us also as such in these earliest poems. We must henceforth seek an Indian name in Chavila; perhaps it is the word "Kampila," which is understood to be a country to the N.-W. of India, by Wilson, and even might be proved to be the land of the Daradæ." I. 638.

But we must draw to a conclusion. Our notice only professes to deal with the proto-Aryan aspects of the ethnologic problem; and we must unwillingly forego the pleasure to be derived from the general study of this most attractive record. The object of this paper will have been accomplished if the mind of the reader has been stimulated to think of this singular country as the last

retreat of races who represent the rude forefathers of so many noble nations; the unprogressive originators of progress; the rude founders—in a remote and indirect degree—of all that is most precious in human virtue, knowledge, and civilisation. And a fit ending may be afforded by a list of some of the words of each group such as may best exhibit the linguistic grounds of such a claim. In this list, chiefly extracted from the vocabularies given in Major Biddulph's appendices, it will be sufficient to give roots only, and not to perplex attention by noting the grammatical forms which are so skilfully and carefully exhibited, and to which a brief and cursory advertence has been made above. As the classification is by groups, it will, further, be unnecessary to specify in each instance the particular dialects from which our words have been selected.

List of Words taken from Dialects of each Group.

English.	1st Group A.	2nd Group B.	3rd Group C.	REMARKS. { A. Tribes beyond Hindu-Kush. B. Central tribes, and Siaposh. C. Southern tribes, and Shinas.
One	i. eye.	Ek	Ek	
Two	Bui, do.	Du	Du	
Three	Trai	Tri	Cha	
Four	Tsavor	Chor, Chau	Chor, Tsor	
Five	Pánsh	Pouch	Pans, Panch	The numerals are strangely similar in all Aryan languages. But note the *m* in the word for "nine" recalling the Latin. The Gálcha for "six" is a Zend word.
Six	Khouskh	Choi, Sho	Sha, Sho	
Seven	Hub	Sáth	Sát	
Eight	Wokht	Asht	At, Asht	
Nine	Nao	No	Nom, Noh	
Ten	Dals	Dash	Dash	
Twenty	Bîst	Bishi	Mash, Mish	
Man	Marer	Mosh	Mánus	Persian *mard*, Sanscrit and German *manush*, *mensch*.
Woman	Ghin	Striya	Mulai	Greek *γυνη*. Sansc. *stri*, Latin *mulier*.
Father	Pid	Wáwa	Báp	Persian *pidar*, Hindi *Báva*, *Báp*.
Mother	Mád	Aya	Má, Yá	Ditto *Mádar*, Hindi *Ma*, *Amma*.
Son	Puser	Putr	Puch	Ditto *Pisr*. Sans *putra*.
Daughter	Dhagd	Ju	Di	Ditto *dukhtar* (also German) Sans. *duhita*.
Brother	Vrai	Brá	Báh	Ditto *brádar* (c f. Latin and German) Hind *Bhai*.
Dog	Shach	Kuri	Shu, Kutalun	Ditto *sag*, Bengali *kukur*, Hind. *Kutta*.
Cow	Ghai. Ghaneh	Goh, Gak	Go, Gáh	Ditto *gao*, Latin *vacca*, Hind. *gai*.
Horse	Ours, Asp	Hushok	Ashp, Ghora	Ditto *asp*, Gothic *horsa*, Hind *ghora*.
Fire	Yuts, Yáts	Angar	Agár, Angár	Ditto *atish*, Latin *ignis*, Hind *àg*.
Water	Yupk	Ug, Ak	Woi, U	Ditto *áb*, Latin *aqua*, French *eau*.
River	Dariao	Sin	Sin. Nád	Ditto *dariá*, Latin *sinus*, Hind *naddi*.
Village	Dyár	Grám	Qirom, Gaon	Ditto *deh*, Sans. *gráma*, Hind. *gaon*.
House	Khan	Ghona	Got	Ditto *khána*, Hind. *got* ("family").
Sun	Khor	Suri	Suri	Ditto *khorshed*, Sans. and Hindi *Surya*, *Suraj*.
Moon	Moghoh	Mas	Yun, Masoi	Ditto *máh* Hind. *más*, Greek *μην*.
Bread	Naghan	*No word like any*	*of our languages*	Ditto *Nán*.
Butter	Maskoh	*None like.*	*Not given*	Ditto *Maská*.
Milk	Kshira	Chirr	Dut, Chir	Ditto *shir*. Hind. *dudh*.
Head	Sar, Pusir	Sor, Shish	Shish	Ditto *sir*. Hind. sir, sish.
Eye	Cham	Achu	Achi	Ditto *chashm*. Latin *oculus*, Hind. *dnkh*.
Nose	Náz, Nedz	Násur, Nos.	Nats	Latin *nasus*, Hind. *nák*, Germ. *nase*.
Beard	Reghish	Rigish, Dári	Daia, Dari	Persian *rish*. Hind *dári*.
Hand	Dast	Hast, Dusht	Hut, Hast	Ditto *dast*, Sans. *hasta*, Hind. *háth*.
Foot	Pádh	Pug	Pa	Zend *páde* Persian *pá*, Latin *pedis*, Hind *pag*.
Ear	Ghokh	Kar. Koron	Kor, Kan	Zend *gosh*, Persian *gosh*, Hind, kán.
Heart	Zil	Hardi	Hiyo, Hidda	Persian *dil*, Latin *cordis*, Germ. *herz*, Sans. *hrid*.
Blood	Wákhun	Lui	Lel	Zend *vohoné*, Persian *khun*, Hind. *lohu*, *lál* ("red.")
Bone	Ustkhn, Vastoh	Atti	Ati	Persian *ustakhán*, Latin *ossis*, Hind. *haddi*.
Day	Már, Mat	*None like others*	Des, Dis	Ditto *roz*, Latin *dies*.
Night	Kháb	Ratt	Rat	Ditto *shab*, Hind. *rát*.
White	Spi, Sped	Gora	*None like*	Ditto *safid*, Hind *gora*, ("fair").
Black	Shù	Sha	....	Ditto *siáh*.
Red	Surkoh	....	.....	Ditto *surkh*.
Go	.....	Eivra	Boj	Latin *Ire*.
Be	....	Assi, Aza	Bo	English *was*, *is*, Persian, Germ., Greek, Latin, *all alike*.
Die	....	Mara	Mri	Persian, Sanscrit Latin.
Eat	....	.. .	Ko	
Do	......	Kara	To	Ditto Sanscrit *kar*, German *thun*.

Such are some of the root words of these old and rude Aryan dialects; the Northern words, it will be observed, maintaining their Persian peculiarities almost without exception. It only remains here to be added that the Southernmost, or third group, besides the more Indian form of their words, have the already mentioned Indian planetary nomenclature for the days in the week, in which they resemble not only the Hindustanis, Dogras, and Panjabis, but also ourselves. Those tribes are called *Danqarik* by their neighbours; but although this word would seem to be derived from the Hindi word for cattle, yet it is very strange that the bovine race, instead of being holy, are, for them, unclean. They will not wear leather or drink milk; and, in bringing a calf to its mother, they use a forked stick to push the little animal.

Major Biddulph's book has a new map, and is illustrated by Captain Cole, R.E. It deserves, and will no doubt obtain, a large share of public favour, and will be attentively studied by those interested in the early history of Aryan man.

H. G. Keene.

Notes and References.

A. Taking the Vedas to have necessarily originated after the settlement of the Aryans in Upper India would no doubt compel us to ascribe a very high antiquity to that event. Colebrooke, from astronomical evidence, dated the earlier part of these scriptures about 2000 B.C.—before Abram, let us say, while Professor Goldstücker lays down the more moderate doctrine that no portion can be of date later than the second century B.C., after which it must have taken some time even to develope their language into the artificial Sanscrit of the classical books. These last, however, appear from the latest studies of the subject to belong to a more recent date than was supposed by Sir W. Jones and the early British scholars. There seems, nevertheless, good reason to surmise that the classical literature is ancient, though the earliest period of that literature does not reach within centuries of the end of the Vedic era. But is it necessary to suppose that the Vedas were written in India? May not, at least, the very old portions represent the breviary of the old Bactrian Church before the Zoroastrian reforms? It is made out by the arguments and testimonies adduced by Muir (*Sanscrit Texts*, Vol. II.) that there was a Proto-Aryan civilisation, with an organised language, before the dispersal and division into Zendic and Sanscrit; and to this generic original the name of "Aryan" or "Bactrian" has been given. It is quite possible that the *Deva* sect had one set of

hymns, and the *Ahura* sect another. Professor Weber gives but few dates in his latest work;* the following are the most important:— The Vedas, he thinks, were completed in the third century B.C. There was then a long interval, during which Sanscrit was slowly elaborated as a learned language. Panini, the great grammarian, is not shown to have written much before the Christian era; the lexicon of Amar Sinh and the great epic and grammatic works are probably not older than the tenth century A.D. But, as Weber often observes, there are scarcely any "external" dates.

General Cunningham, in the treatise on the Punjab ethnology prefixed to the 2nd volume of his *Archæological Survey Report*, states that the settlement of the country took place in the time of Darius Hystaspes. But he holds that the settlers were Turanians, driven out by Afrasyab. Since, however, the General gives no detailed reasons for this theory, it must be taken for whatever it may seem worth. The truth about "Afrasyab" seems to be that the name does not represent an individual but a dynasty or nationality. It is most likely of comparatively modern origin, and stands for some formidable adversaries of the Eastern Iranian nation, known only by tradition, treated fancifully by Firdusi, or those from whom Firdusi derived his notions, and located in Turan, because the Persians of Firdusi's day looked upon the Turanians as their hereditary foes. Looking to the other tradition of the overthrow of Zohák and his serpents, coupled with the Greek statements as to the fall of Median power, it may be permissible to surmise that Astyages, or *Azdehák*, was the real enemy; that the word denotes a Median or Medo-Assyrian power which used the dragon for its standard; lastly, that the wars with "Afrasyab" were wholly, or in great part, carried on in the Western, rather than in the Eastern quarters, and ended in the consolidation of the Medo-Persian Empire under Darius Hystaspes. His grandson, who also bore the name of Hystaspes, tried unsuccessfully to become independent in Bactria 460 B.C., but the Government of Artaxerxes suppressed the attempt, and reduced Bactria to the condition of a province (III. Rawlinson, 472.) An emigration may possibly have followed.

B. In mentioning Mr. Fergusson in the text, I have not forgotten that his supremacy as a critic and historian of architecture has not been so generally admitted in matters of history and chronology. He has been referred to rather as showing that there is a possibility of regarding Buddhism as a Turanian movement than as conclusive evidence that it was so. Mr. Spence Hardy (*Legends and Theories*, pp. XXIII f.f.) shows

* *Indian Literature*, Eng. edition, 1878.

reasons for believing "that the time at which Buddha lived was strictly neither Vedantic nor Brahmanical." "Also that the reign of Asoka (250 B.C.) is the starting point of Buddhist chronologists, and . . . they are not far from the truth." The Cingalese scriptures do not seem to be older than 90 B.C. ; the canon, as stated in the text, was not fixed in Magadha before 240 B.C. H. H. Wilson gives thirteen different dates assigned by the Buddhists themselves for the origin of their system : and he concludes that the whole thing is very likely an unhistorical myth. Max Müller holds that, in any case, we have no authentic history of Buddhism previous to the time of Asoka; and that before the year 161 B.C. their chronology is full of absurdities, and founded on tradition (*Spence Hardy*, 75-6). Mr. Turnour is cited in the same place as throwing doubt on the supposed Buddhist chronology ; and it is shown that a difference of twenty centuries exists in the various dates assigned for Buddha's birth. To say, therefore, that Buddhism, being a protestation against Brahminism, shows that the latter was established in the sixth century, is to go far beyond what can be sustained. The most that can be said is that a religious heresy sprang up in Upper India in the third century, from which it appears that a hierarchy was in existence which was accused of having corrupted, added to, and otherwise perverted the Vedas. (*Spence Hardy*, 45 f.f.) It is observable that no symptoms appear in the early history of Buddhism to show that it met with any organised or general opposition, as must have been the case had the power of the Brahmins been either general or organised ; for Buddhism was eradicated from India, nine or ten centuries after Christ, in a manner more complete than ever happened in the case of any other religion. By that time, however, Brahminism had become a most powerful system, though its development evidently took place after the rise of its rival, and during that rival's universal supremacy.

C. As to the question of architecture, it is of course possible that excavations at such Indian sites as Hastinapur, or in the Panjab, may bring to light evidence of stone buildings earlier than the time of Darius Hystaspes ; but at present it must be admitted that the evidence is all the other way. The rock-temples show signs of having been modelled from timber buildings ; and none of them have been proved to be older than the second century B.C. (See *As. Soc. Beng. Journ.* 7. 1878 I., p. 72.)

D. It is not meant, by the reference to Herodotus in the text, to argue that the ancestors of the present Afghans were in the Cabul Highlands at the time of Darius Hystaspes. But from that historian down to Pliny, there is an unbroken chain of

evidence that the country was inhabited, as it is still, by an important race called Paktu.* In this connection we cannot neglect the curious geographical passage, in the 1st Fargard of the *Vendidad*, where the Deity is represented as describing various countries that he has created. Scholars have differed as to the meaning of this record; some maintaining that it contains the history of the early Aryan migration, which others deny. Following the former view, it has been understood to indicate that the first departure was from the Pamir mountains, necessitated by the cold of that region; that the earliest migration was to Soghdiana, the next to Merv, the next to Balkh, thence to Khorasan, Kabul, and Kandahar, on by the Helmand, and at last into the Panjab. But Sir H. Rawlinson does not believe that India lies within the Zoroastrian sphere; and he has given reasons for believing that the *Haptu Hindu* of the *Vendidad* are no other than the seven head-streams supposed to issue from Pamir, and to unite to form the main stream of the Oxus. (*Monograph on the Oxus*, read in September 1870 before the British Association at Liverpool.) Max Müller on the other hand goes so far as to deduce from the chapter referred to, and other evidence, that the Zoroastrians had been settled in India before they appeared in Persia. Yet he ends with accepting the "purely mythological" character of this chapter. Spiegel, a well-known and very judicious German writer concludes that the passage is of later date than Zoroaster, and is "nothing but a specification of the countries known to the Iranians;" and by no means a chronicle of migrations. This period of geographical knowledge must be "a very recent one." He concludes that Zoroastrianism was of Median origin, that the Zendic Aryans and the Vedic Aryans lived together after the other kindred races had separated; and that their own ultimate separation was due to religious causes. In Muir (II. 317. ff.) will be found some interesting extracts going to confirm the belief that the primitive Aryans consisted of several races, loosely confederated by a common language, and located in what is now known as Western Turkestan; the Easternmost tribe, the parents of the modern Hindus, being chiefly settled in Badakshan.

It is to be remembered that most of the best authorities quoted by Muir, and notably that very learned and careful writer himself, agree in looking upon this Aryan element as only one of the factors of the modern Indians. Even without taking notice of the races of the Deccan and the Carnatic, and of the Bhils and Koles of the Central highlands, it is pretty certain that the black, wiry-haired, undersized low castes of Upper India are

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* *See* II. Lassen, 513-14.

non-Aryan. It is also very probable that such tribes as the Gujars and Jats (although immigrants from the North) belong to another race. Still the *Aryan* element is, no doubt, of paramount interest.

E. The fact that the holy land of the Hindus is rather in the Valley of the Saraswati than in that of the Indus seems to follow from all post Vedic testimony. Thus Max Müller:—

"It is now generally admitted that this holy land of the Brahmans, even *within its earliest and narrowest limits, between the Saraswati and the Drishadwati,* was not the birth-place of the sons of Manu......Traditions among the Brahmans as to the Northern regions, considered the seats of the blessed, may be construed into something like a recollection of their Northern immigration." These holy seats are spoken of in early Brahman writings as the "Uttara Kurus." (*Muir*, 322 f.f.) But there is a famous passage in Manu (II. 17—24) referred to at pp. 397-9, where the Indian sacred region is spoken of as Brahmavartha, and where its boundaries are so given as to show that it lay in what we now call Sirhind. To use the language of H. H. Wilson:—"These indications render it certain that, whatever seeds were imported from without, it was in the country adjacent to the Saraswati river that they were first planted and cultivated and reared in Hindustan." Lassen gives, by the bye, a curious instance of the exaggerations of Hindu chronology. The era of Chandra Gupta must be placed in the time of Seleucus Nicator. The Purana cited by the German Professor puts him over 1,500 B.C., an excess of about twelve centuries. (II. 601.)

F. The following are the most important passages in the chapter referred to in the text:—

"The territory between the Hindu-Kush to the W., the Himalaya to the S., the Karakorum to the N. and E., this Upper Indus territory lies high above the sea, say, 10,000 ft., intersected by many high mountains, with long severe winters, short and often-interrupted summers, where we might expect all vegetation to cease... On the north side of the Himalaya** villages are found 12,000 ft. above the sea; shrubs grow at 16,000 ft., but agriculture forms but a small part of man's occupation; the care of flocks predominates ..the land is rich in auriferous earths.... The Indus Valley from Iskardu to Attok offers no good thoroughfares... To the N.-W. of Kashmir live the Dards... Nagar, or Burshal; the tract to the N. of the Indus, has Dungars for inhabitants, as also Hanza, or Kanjat, further north, towards Pamir. In Gilgit live Dards, who also possess lands on the Gilgit river, who speak a language of their own as well as Afghan (Pushtu), having recently become Mohamadans. . . . . All that is known [about these tribes]

is that at Chitral* is centred an ancient people which is widely spread over the Hindu-Kush.... which will be proved to be a remnant of the old immigration, and also occupies the slopes of the range towards the Upper Indus, which appears to be the ethnical frontier.... This is no new immigration; we can trace the Dard to the oldest records, and always in this region of the Upper Indus."

G.—There is no instance in the history of science of a truer confessor than Auquetil du Perron. After devoting his life to a most obscure and novel investigation, he had the mortification to die branded as an impostor. The labours of Rask, Westergaard, and Burnouf have completed both his justification and his work. Many points, however, remained to be cleared up in regard to the Zoroastrian Scriptures; and no one has done more for the subject than Dr. Haug, late Professor of Sanscrit in the Puna College. Even Dr. Haug's studies have not given the subject entire historic certainty; and perhaps there is something in the extreme antiquity and the obscure character of the evidence which will always leave it under a veil. So far as can be made out, the following appears to be as much as can be asserted about it as connected with our present inquiry. In the old Bactrian days, then, there were certain sacrificial rites and certain hymns which embodied a belief in the power of natural forces and a propitiation of them. There were two sects of these worshippers,—the one nomad and pastoral; the other more settled and devoted to agriculture. The former used services which are preserved in the older parts of the Vedas; the liturgy of the others is represented by the earlier texts of the Avesta. No conjecture can be safely formed as to the date of this state of society. In the course of time the divergence became more marked, and the nomads gave trouble by preying upon the fields of their more stationary neighbours. Things were in this position when Gushtasp or his father overthrew the Median power, and founded the dynasty of the Achœmenids. About this time appeared an inhabitant of Rhages, or Rai, a Median city, where, as we know from the Book of *Tobit*, a Jewish settlement was formed after the captivity (popularly dated 587 B.C.). His name was Spitama, and he obtained the co-operation of the new dynasty. He accordingly took up the Breviary of the Zoroasters, or Magian priests, and edited it, with additions in the form afterwards known as *Zend-Avesta* (or rather *Avesta-Zend*) meaning "Text and Comment," which became the scriptures of the State Church of the day in Persia. Finding that the unpopular Bactrian nomads clung to the worship

* Only 5,200 ft. high, in 72° E. Long. and 36° N. Lat.

of Indra and the other elemental Devas, he regarded these powers much as Luther may have regarded the Saints of the Roman Church two thousand years later, first as respectable but superfluous intervenors between man and his Maker (for the Supreme Being of Spitama was the AHURA MAZDA, "Creative Deity"), and latterly as demons to be exorcised without compromise. And Haug gives a formula for the use of people disposed to renounce the Devas and all their works which shows that the new faith was of a most aggressive character. (*Essays*, &c., p. 163). Dr. Haug puts Spitama's birth as high as 1200 B.C., but admits that the *Avesta*, in its collected form, did not exist till 450-350 B.C. "Zoroaster" is merely a title, so that to seek for the "age of Zoroaster" is like seeking for the age of "Pharaoh," or of "The Pope."

H.—The following is the description recorded by the lamented Hayward of the physical appearance of these races:—

"The inhabitants of Dardistan, in which may be included Gilgit, Chilas-Hanza, Nagar, Dilail, and Upper Chitrál, are a fine, good-looking, athletic race, and the difference is at once perceived on crossing the Indus." [We have already seen Lassen's view of the ethnic frontier.] "Light and dark-brown hair, with grey, hazel, and often blue eyes, are seen. The women have a more English cast of countenance than any I have yet seen in Asia. Black hair is the exception amongst them, light-brown locks prevailing. The country, such as is under cultivation, is fertile and productive; but the population is scanty." (*Letter to Colonel Showers*, dated "between Gilgit and Yassin," 17th February 1870). In another letter, dated a few weeks later, the ill-fated adventurer, espousing the cause of the canton of Yassin, where he was soon to fall a victim, drew attention to certain atrocities alleged to have been committed by the Kashmiris at the expense of the Dards. The English public must, he said, remember that these people were not "niggers," but "descended from ancestors of the true Aryan stock," and their women "have eyes and tresses of the same hues as our own wives and children."

ART. VI.—THE POOR.

IN countries lying to the West of Palestine, the cradle of Christianity, before the teachings of the Nazarene had begun to influence the people of the West, Celts, Teutons and Slavs and the descendants of these races, while either retaining, in more or less simplicity, the original Aryan beliefs of their race, or rearing a new structure of faith, with numerous deities and multitudinous ceremonies, and developing a high form of civilisation like that of Greece and Rome, were characterised by a ferocity and an utter disregard of human life and human suffering that to modern civilization seems appalling. Down even to the lapse of the middle ages, which brings us to the verge of the Reformation, society was divided into two unequal classes, those who ruled and those who served; those who owned slaves, bondsmen, serfs, villeins, and those who *were* slaves. To the latter class belonged the great mass of men, who received such care and attention from their masters as the labouring ox does from its ignorant owner. All the peoples and nations of antiquity, whether in the East or the West, whose religious systems had got beyond mere fetichism, included almsgiving as an integral part of their faiths. Whatever laws or customs were in existence amongst those early peoples in the West at least, it was only by exception that the slaves enoyed their benefit. They had reference only to freemen who had in any way lost their possessions. The most usual procedure, however was, for some of his less unfortunate brother freemen to lay hold of his person, and those of his wives and children, and by enslaving them, relieve himself from the burden of their support. Amongst the Hebrews there was no such thing as a Hebrew slave. A servant, a dependent, he might be, but the year of jubilee brought to every son of Israel, throughout the Jewish border, freedom and his family inheritance. The theocratic element in the Jewish polity made such an arrangement possible, and we have, in this brotherhood and equality of the Hebrews, probably, the earliest historic germ of every socialistic and communistic scheme for the reconstruction of society that has formed itself in the brain of man.

It was and is among Western peoples only that almsgiving has been treated as a matter of State policy. In the East, almsgiving, whether amongst Hindus, Buddhists, or Muhamadans, is a part, and a very essential part, of religion. In Greece, the Athenian Senate decreed that the children of those who had fallen in battle should be supported up to their eighteenth year,

and then sent into the world. In the democratic States of Greece there were what have been called embryo friendly societies, out of whose funds impoverished freemen were assisted. The methods by which the Romans sought to limit the increase of poverty were of two kinds: 1*st.* Grain was distributed at reduced prices and ultimately gratuitously; 2*nd.* The amount of land a Roman citizen might possess was limited; all over that amount was taken from him and given to those who had none. Regarding the wisdom of these enactments even their own writers were at variance. So far as they went, they may have been good and wise arrangements, as they met, in some measure, the exigencies of disastrous battle, plague, or famine. Before the influences of Christianity began to make themselves apparent among the people of Europe, the condition of the majority was a hard and hapless one—ill-fed, ill-clad, swept off by famine and pestilence, and subjected to the cruellest usage. The dawning light, of which Christianity was the fully risen sun, was gradually deepening in intensity in the ethical systems of the best philosophers of the Greco-Latin race. Seneca, during the reign of Nero, enunciated the existence of a bond of brotherhood between master and slave which nothing could sever. Nero, Antonine, and Adrian legislated for the slaves, took the power of life and death from their masters, forbade their mutilation or employment as gladiators, prevented their exposure on an island in the Tiber when old and infirm—where they were left to die—and appointed officers to receive their complaints. (Lecky, History of Rationalism, page 257, Vol. II.) In tracing some of the consequences of the impact of Christianity on European civilization, we shall mainly follow, though somewhat briefly, the admirable exposition of Lecky.

As soon as Christianity began to make itself felt in a community, the equality of all men in the sight of God gradually took root, and grew in strength. Laws for the protection of slaves were revived or enacted, and emancipation became common. Many of the monasteries contained freed slaves, who used their influence to obtain the freedom of their fellows. The liberation of a slave was regarded as a work of devotion; the most sacred day and the holiest place were chosen for the act of manumission; and thus slavery was merged in serfdom. Charitable institutions, before the advent of Christ, were unknown. There was no public refuge for the sick or destitute; infanticide was not regarded as a crime. Both Plato and Aristotle considered it expedient in the case of deformed children. It was no unusual thing for orphans to be brought up for the avowed purpose of prostitution; and some of the spectacular shows of the church, as well as the punishments inflicted on heretics, were characterised by a brutal indifference

to human suffering. At a very early period in the history of Christianity the hospital and the refuge for the destitute and the stranger made their appearance; and the epitaphs of the Catacombs bear ample evidence to the fact, that numerous foundlings were supported by Christian charity. When it became the dominant religion of a country, the protection of infants was one of the first changes manifested in its laws. The ravages made by war and famine were met by a benevolence the most lavish. "It is scandalous," says Julian, "that the Galilæans should support the destitute, not only of their own religion, but of ours." "In an age," says Lecky, "when the government of force had brought about universal "anarchy, Christians taught the doctrine of passive obedience. In "an age when unbridled luxury had produced unbridled corruption, "they elevated voluntary poverty as a virtue. In an age when the "facility of divorce had almost legalized polygamy, they pro-"claimed, with St. Jerome, that marriage peoples earth, virginity "heaven."

The great work of reorganizing society in the West was accomplished before the Reformation. The bulk of the population of Europe was emancipated between the eleventh and twelfth centuries though serfdom has scarcely yet disappeared. Hospitals, houses of refuge, monastic institutions, with all their peculiar organisations for the relief of the poor, the inculcation of the duty of honest work by the practical example of churchmen of all grades from the highest to the lowest—Becket himself is said to have laboured in the hay-field——, the nursing of the sick, the teaching of the ignorant, and the founding of Universities, were all accomplished facts before the Reformation either in England or Germany.

It is not, perhaps, so fashionable, now-a-days, ignorantly to malign the church organisations of pre-Reformation times as it was before the study of History began to bear fruit in a calmer and more just estimate of the work of the Christian Church before the great rupture—the first of a seemingly endless series of ruptures and schisms—of the sixteenth century. The immorality, corruption, ignorance, superstition, idolatry, and, not the least sin, the wealth of the clergy, have been favourite themes of reproach, denunciation, reviling and vituperation among Protestant communities for, at least, the last three hundred years; and it is only now, after three centuries of the bitterest war of words the world has ever seen, that educated men, reared in Protestantism, are looking with calmness and judgment on the work accomplished by the Church of Ante-Reformation days. Religious fanatics, of course, there will be to the world's end, who will continue to cry, "Can any good come out of Nazareth." In any view of what Christianity had accomplished before the Reformation, monastic institutions must

occupy a prominent position. The actuating principles which gave vitality to the brotherhoods and sisterhoods of the Christian church, some men may sneer at, and it is easy to point out defects in their organisation; but this century has all the advantages of the experience of the past. If the men and women who composed them were ignorant, so were the times; if they were immoral, so were the most chaste; and if they were superstitious, so were all men. The electric shock that passed through Christendom at the Reformation, shaking to its very foundations, and, in a majority of cases, utterly destroying, the organisation of centuries, after giving all due prominence to love of truth, desire for purity of doctrine, life, and manners, was traceable in no insignificant degree to a dominant and settled mistrust, if not hatred, manifested by the higher ranks of society against the church. The wealth it possessed was a standing temptation to the needy noble; the influence it exercised on the side of the weak and oppressed, even in opposition to civic and kingly authorities, was a source of continual irritation, and its power had always been, on the whole, used for what were then believed to be the best interests of mankind, in opposition to what were declared to be the interests of individuals or sections of men. The spoliation of the church was the outcome of this mistrust and hatred, and there can, we think, be no question, that the great outburst of pauperism which was one of the characteristics of the wonderful sixteenth century, was in a large measure due to the suppression of the monasteries, whose estates were confiscated and parcelled out amongst the greedy and the needy tools that worked the destruction of the only organisations then in existence to stem the tide of poverty. No one, we think, will maintain that the distribution of charity, as practised in the Church of pre-Reformation days, was always discriminating, and a thing to be perpetuated in every detail. There are, on the contrary, sound reasons for believing that the very means employed to lessen poverty, created a race of sturdy beggars who roamed the country, or settled on Church-lands, and were supported by alms till they died, and gave place to younger and more shameless mendicants, who, in turn, lived out their drone life in full-fed laziness. This seems to be the result, more or less distinctly marked, of every scheme ancient and modern, political and ecclesiastical that has ever been applied to lessen the ills of poverty. But, on the suppression of the religious houses and the appropriation of church property by the nobility, the poor, deserving and undeserving alike, were cast adrift on their own resources, to wander the country in hungry bands, to take to evil ways, or to follow, in the train of menials and dependents, the fortunes of the great, while much of the energy that might have been expended in working out schemes of

usefulness and helpfulness, was dissipated by the leaders of the age in profitless wrangling over the "supremacy," justification, transubstantiation, and other topics as far asunder as the breadth of the whole heaven from holy living and holy dying.

There is probably no country in the world where the political necessity of legislating for the poor was admitted so early in its history, and so continuously acknowledged in its enactments, as in England. A survey of the Doomsday book of the Conqueror reveals the fact, that in all the counties of England the land was occupied by slaves or villeins who worked it for their owners, and were themselves incapacitated from holding property. They were in all respects as much the chattels of their masters as the crops they grew and the cattle they tended. The number of husbandmen and occupiers of land who could not be removed at pleasure was small indeed, compared with the herds of men who toiled and laboured for their lords. The emancipation, brought about chiefly by the influence of the church, its own indiscrimate almsgiving, the rise of a commercial and industrial middle class, and other causes, resulted, among other things, in a large percentage of vagrancy, vagabondage and beggary, which long before the reign of the third Edward had become a serious evil in the State. By the 23, c., 7, 1349, of that monarch, it was declared illegal to give any thing to a beggar who was able to work; and by 12, Richard II., 1391, poor people were ordered to abide in the place of their birth. The statute of Richard II. was the first attempt to make any provision for the impotent poor. Henry VII., 1531, divided the poor into vagabonds and impotent. The latter were licensed to beg within certain districts, their names registered and certified at quarter sessions; and all found without a license were imprisoned, put in the stocks, and fed on bread and water. Vagabonds were flogged at the cart's tail, and sent to the place of their birth; this was in reality a system of authorized begging. Five years afterwards, Henry VIII., 1531, there is the first allusion to a regular rate, The chief officer was to cause alms to be collected, so that none might go abegging. The collections were made on Sundays and holidays. If vagrants had already been whipped, they were to be whipped again and have the upper part of their ears cut off. Edward VI. decreed that all who refused to work, and remained idle three days, were to be branded on the breast with the letter V (vagrant); and adjudged the slave, for two years, of whoever informed against them. Slave vagrants were to be fed on bread and water, and made to work by withholding food, by beating, and by chaining. If he absconded for fourteen days, he became a slave for life; a second offence was punished by death as a felon. One can scarcely

realise that such an act was passed in England towards the close of the sixteenth century, the most famous in some respects in English history, under the rule of a monarch whom some men call the saintly Edward, and others, more bluntly, "the tiger cub." The 43rd Elizabeth, 1601, concentrated in one Act all the others, appointed overseers of the poor, authorised the erection of poor-houses, and taxed householders in order to raise a poor rate. The 2nd Charles I., made the poor laws almost what we have them. 1691, the 3rd William and Mary, relates chiefly to settlement. George I., 1723, established indoor relief, and introduced the workhouse-system. In the year 1796 the poor rates amounted to a million and a half; and for the twenty years before that date they averaged eight millions. In 1817 a commission of the House of Commons stated that, unless checked, the system of assessments would swallow up the profits of the land. The Poor Law Amendment Act, 4 and 5, William IV., 1834, instituted the "poor law commissioners." These were superseded by "The Commissioners for administrating the laws for the relief of the poor in England, Victoria 1847," and two years afterwards the commissioners were named the "Poor Law Board." Ireland had its first Poor Law Act in the July of 1838, and in Scotland the relief of the poor is regulated by 8 and 9 Victoria, 1845, and subsequent Acts.

From the foregoing summary of Acts, it will, we hope, be apparent that if the poor in England are not cared for, it is not for want of legislation. The state of things revealed by the Commission of 1837 was most deplorable. The independence and morality of the labouring poor in many parts of the country had all but become extinct; and the relief given by the poor rates found favour with land-owners, farmers, and others, who reduced their rates of wages as relief from the rates increased. "The Industrial Schools Act" of 1867, one of the most important legislative enactments, probably, since the Reformation, helps materially to dry up at its source vagabondage, vagrancy, pauperism, and crime. The Industial Schools Act provides that all children of either sex, who are orphans, or without visible guardians, or who are unmanageable, and in a fair way of entering on a life of vagabondage and crime, may be brought before a magistrate and placed in an Industrial School for a term of years, and the parents or guardians compelled to help to support them. The weak point of the Act seems to us to be, that it turns the children out at the age of 15, leaving them in many cases, notwithstanding the supervision of the Industrial School Staff, to fall a prey to the evil courses of their immoral surroundings. This Act completes the list of civil enactments for the poor in Britain down to the present day.

If we turn to the church, and endeavour to estimate what it

has effected for the poor since the Reformation, either in Britain or the Continent of Europe, the computation will be an easy, and, we venture to think, a disappointing, one. The struggle which began at the Reformation between Prelacy and Puritanism in England, and between Prelacy and Presbyterianism and Dissent in Scotland, and which has been continued with more or less virulence to our own days, seems to have absorbed most of the energies, both of Church and Dissent. From the Reformation down to the beginning of the present century there is a dead level, a barren desert of little else than religious polemics, with a few oases here and there, marked by such names as those of Andrewes, Bunyan, Whitefield, Wesley, Newton, Chalmers, and that band of men whose purity of life and high ideas have elevated the whole tone of Christian thought and action in Britain, America and the Colonies in the "Oxford movement." In Scotland, up to the reign of the fourth William, the Church *plate* collections and poor-box were the only attempt at poor relief made by the Church. In Britain the small balance of wealth that escaped the ravages of the Reformation, available for poor relief purposes, went little beyond distributing bread on Sundays and holidays, and clothing at less frequent times. With the exception, then, of the Church doles and a few Dorcas societies, contemptibly inadequate to work any real improvement, the Church has literally done nothing either to grapple with poverty, or lessen its evils. Of Church building and sermon preaching there has been enough, and to spare; but the student of Church history and Church enterprise during the last three hundred years will fail to light on any well-thought out and energetically worked scheme put in operation, and consistently developed, which has either adequately attempted to lessen the ills of poverty, or ever risen higher than the regions of mere talk. There are exceptions, of course, and Dr. Chalmers' organisation and working of the parish of St. John, including, as it did, at that time, the lowest and most poverty-stricken quarters of the city of Glasgow, is a notable one. Chalmers worked his parish splendidly with a band of helpers almost entirely voluntary, and from the Church door collections he was able to support the entire poor of the parish without the need of a single penny of poor rates. When the moving spirit of the great Scotchman that presided over it, passed away, the scheme sank into insignificance. The Church of England is in possession of an "Order of Deacons," and other sections of the Protestant Church have officers who are supposed to have a special care of the poor in their localities; but, amongst dissenting bodies at least, their attention is so much taken up with such matters as Church repairs, Church debts, minister's salary, and the evangelisation of the Hottentots and others, that the poor

of their own Church, and, certainly the poor in their own immediate vicinity, would not feel that the mainstay had parted from their lives, if these Church officers and the Church organisation they represent, ceased to exist. With individual acts of benevolence and munificence we are not at present concerned; these are numerous and praiseworthy in all sections of society and the Church; but there is no great scheme in any of the Churches of the Reformation at all worthy of that common Christianity which they all profess to revere. The splendid sums that are yearly contributed for Church extension, missionary and other objects, are probably usefully expended, but who that knows the squalor and the vice, the preventible disease and death, and the poverty-stricken wretches who swarm in the immediate vicinity of many Christian Churches in every city and town of Britain and the world, may not long for a resurrection of the truth, "He that provideth not for his own, especially those of his own household, hath denied the faith, and is *worse than an infidel.*" Every instrument, civil and ecclesiastical, for the relief of the poor has again and again broken down, and proved itself shamelessly inadequate to meet any of the ordinary periodic emergencies which war, dull trade, or an epidemic are sure to occasion. To organise a rural parish, or a district of a large city, and care for the bodies, as well as the souls, of its inhabitants, seems utterly beyond the ability of the bulk of the clergy of all denominations. Any organisation set agoing by the Protestant Reformed Churches cannot, in the nature of things, have any existence other than a very sickly and feeble one. The men and women employed have, as a rule, their own living to earn; and they are in the midst of the full bustle of the activities of life on behalf of themselves and their own families. Many of them would be serving God and their generation better by staying at home and minding their own concerns. They can, at the best, give only the tail end of a too brief leisure snatched from the imperative duties of their own personal affairs, to that which deserves and demands the closest and most painstaking care and the most systematic labour. We estimate very highly, and hold in much respect, the unrequited labour of those voluntary workers who may be found in almost every congregation of Christians, who give what is better than money, their time and personal influence, to aid those least able to help themselves; but the "sweet vision" of the future is yet very far off, when Christian sects shall forget wrangling and strife and mutual proselytising, and shall organize and officer each its own district in all the great cities of the world, and wherever else ignorance, poverty, disease, and crime are bred and nurtured; and in unity and concord, each

with the other, labour to build up healthful bodies, well instructed minds, habits of thrift, forethought, prudence, self-helpfulness, and all else that lie so very near the root of individual, family and social happiness and wellbeing, and that are the broad and sure foundations on which may be built all that constitutes a people's greatness and a nation's stability.

Christianity is, in some of its aspects, but a higher idealising and further development of the brotherhood, the almsgiving, the charity, and the equality which so distinctly marked theocratic Judaism; and which both Christianity and Judaism possess, in a more or less marked degree, in common with the ancient religions of the East. The things of God, as opposed to the things of Cæsar, brotherhood and socialism, as opposed to imperialism and egotism, have distinctly characterised Christianity from its earliest days. The picture we have of the primitive Church in apostolic times is that of a socialistic community, selling possessions and goods, and parting them to all men, as every man had need; having all things in common, "neither was there any among them that lacked." This dream of socialism and common equality, the earliest historic germ of which, as we have said, lies so far away in Judaism, has been a most important factor in the history of the peoples of the West; and, in these modern days, in France, in Germany, in Russia, and in America, it has almost entirely disassociated itself from Christianity, and adopted the gross materialism of the Free lovers, or striven after the attainment of a Celestial Utopia here on earth, by the inculcating of a philosophic idealism and the planting of communities to work a social reformation, such as those of Saint-Simonism, Fourierism, Communism, and that on the shores of Lake Erie in the village of Brocton, Chantangua country, State of New York, founded by the Rev. Thomas Lake Harris and Mr. Lawrence Oliphant. The efforts that have been made outside State polity and ecclesiasticism to equalise the distribution of wealth, and thus make poverty and want impossible, and to build up a new social order of things, have been neither few nor insignificant. In England, during the reign of the second Charles, John Bellers published and advocated, by petitioning the Lords and Commons and by appeals to the public, "Proposals for raising a *Colledge of Industry* of all useful trades and husbandry with profit for the rich, a plentiful living for the poor and a good education for youth." To the Lords and Commons John Bellers says:—"The cries and miseries of some, and idleness and lewdness of others of the poor, and the charge the "nation is at for them being great, both encourage me to present "you with some proposals of embodying the poor so together that "thereby they may be made of equal value to money (by raising

"a plentiful supply of all conveniences of life.)" Bellers' *College of Industry* was simply a joint-stock company, shares £25 each, capital £18,000 to purchase and stock land and build house and workshop accommodation for three hundred tradesmen. The community were to live in common, and produce all they required. The labour of two hundred was deemed sufficient for this; and whatever might be produced by the other hundred was clear profit, to be divided among the shareholders. We are unable to say what fate befell Bellers' "proposals" in his own day, but his scheme seems to have commended itself to Robert Dale Owen, who reprinted John Bellers' tract in 1817, along with his own "New Views of Society;" and one of Owen's three sons was, some years ago, in one of the Western States of America, an active worker and leader in a socialistic community which endeavoured to carry out some at least of Bellers' ideas and to improve on the successful experiment of New Lanark, with which Owen's name is so intimately associated.

Co-operation, not its mere make believe, joint-stockism, but co-operation with the lofty aims of the Rochdale Pioneers and their successors, has, within the last fifty years, added materially to the comfort and savings and advancement of the poorer classes in every village and town in Britain, and it has yet before it a large field of usefulness. The future historian of this century who follows the rise and progress of co-operation, will find in John Jacob Holyoak's "*History of Co-operation*" and in the pages of the "*Co-Operative News*" and other journals, a record more or less complete of one of the greatest social movements begun and carried on by the labouring people of England themselves, which it seems to us, forms one of the distinctive features of the social history of the people of this age. But, after all that has been and that is, clubs, friendly societies, savings banks, poor laws, church doles, socialism, communism, co-operation and whatever else may be, Poverty, like a shadow, follows man wherever he goes. It is as needful to day for society and individuals to fight down the ills of poverty, as it was in the long past, when the religions of the East and the West incorporated almsgiving as a duty to be practised by all men who hoped hereafter to see the joys of Heaven. It is as needful now as when Sakyamuni fled from his regal surroundings, donned the ochre-hued dress of the pauper, and, with alms bowl and staff in hand, traversed the plains of India and lingered in its villages; even more needful now than when the unknown and despised Nazarene toiled in the carpenter's workshop and made himself the friend of the poor.

One of the great problems to which civilisation, year by year, is being brought nearer and more near is, how to deal more or less effectively with that mass of poverty, the fruitful source of

much suffering, disease, vice and crime, which every civilised nation finds, in greater or less abundance, in the very centres of its commercial and industrial enterprise? The evil seems to grow, rather than to lessen. Splendid sums of money are yearly cast into this modern morass, with but intermittent diminution of the evil. In England, as we have noted, the legislature has framed enactments for its control, from the time of the third Edward to the reign of Victoria; the church has grappled with it and been baffled; philanthrophy has put forth the noblest efforts for its amelioration, and modern political economists and sociologists who can tell to a nicety how it all comes about, have little better to offer for its solution than the Malthusian doctrine of the principles of population, a doctrine which, in effect, points out the extreme importance of controlling the increase of population, by comparing the natural ratio of its increase with the natural ratio of the increase of capital. On this point, probably, John Stuart Mill is the most outspoken of all who have written on it. "Poverty," he says ("Principles of Political Economy," page 226), "like most social evils, exists because men follow their brute instincts "without due consideration." . . . Religion morality and statesman-"ship have vied with each other in incitements to marriage, and to "the multiplication of the species, so it be but in wedlock". . . . "While a man who is intemperate in drink, is discountenanced and "despised by all who profess to be moral people, it is one of the "chief grounds made use of in appeals to the benevolent, that "the applicant has a large family and is unable to maintain them"; and, in a footnote to the same page, Mill says, "Little improvement "can be expected in morality until the producing large families "is regarded with the same feelings as drunkenness or any other "physical excess. But while the aristocracy and the clergy are "foremost to set the example of this kind of incontinence, what "can be expected from the poor?" McCulloch argues to the same effect (see page 113). "It is obvious and certain, that, if the "natural tendency of population to increase, in countries advanced "in the career of civilisation, and where there is, in consequence, "a considerable increased difficulty of providing supplies of food, "be not checked by the prevalence of moral restraint, or by the "prudence and forethought of the people, it *must* be checked by "the prevalence of vice, misery and famine. . . Unless the passions "are moderated, and a proportional check given to the increase of "population, the standard of human subsistence will not only be "reduced to the lowest assignable limits, but famine and pestilence "will be perpetually at work to relieve the population of wretches, "born only to be starved." It appears to us that the arguments of Sismondi, Malthus, McCulloch, Mill and others that might be

enumerated, unfold the originating cause of the ills of poverty and strike at its very root; but who shall say what greater evils, physical, moral, social and national, might follow from restriction of population, and what legislature could be sufficiently well informed to be prepared to regulate by enactments the ratio between population and subsistence? Men who bring into the world beings whom they can neither educate nor provide for, and who must inevitably live a bitter life of pinching want, drudgery, disease and suffering, are not by any means benefactors of mankind; are, in their struggles with poverty, not less worthy of reprobation than of commiseration; and, until this crime of heaping wretchedness, and misery, and more or less lifelong suffering, on children brought into the world to pine, and wither, and suffer, to take to evil courses and become burdens on society, is vigorously denounced from the pulpit and the press, and regarded as a moral wrong and a great wickedness, mankind in all ranks of society will put little restraints on themselves, and wretches will be born to struggle and jostle each other out of existence, to suffer and to die. So far as the clergy are concerned, a new generation must arise, who can practise, as well as preach, this Malthusian evangel. Beyond this, we fear, it is Utopian to hope for anything more definite from the law of population and subsistence; but even this advocacy of continence in the married state, within the bounds of reason and common sense, would be a clear gain to society and to individuals; would add materially to the happiness, and comfort, and well-being of many; and would wipe out much poverty and its attendant train of evils.

Political economists are, in the main, loud in their denunciations of the mischief of charity, voluntary or legal; and it is beyond doubt that legal and voluntary charity, injudiciously or heedlessly administered, has created evils of no common order; has blunted, or altogether destroyed, the feeling of shame at receiving alms; tends to raise up a class of professional beggars, skilled in every wile to extract alms in money or kind, and has all but wiped out, from among large sections of the labouring poor, any desire to provide for the future,—they say the parish will care for us,—has, in short, in many cases carried away that sturdy independence which would content itself with the scantiest fare and the hardiest lot, rather than be recipients of a charity dole. In order to change the habits of the less intelligent lower ranks of society, J. S. Mill advocated a two-fold action, on their intelligence and their poverty, by means of an effective system of national education, and a combination of devices, emigrations and the creation of peasant proprietors, that would destroy poverty for one whole generation.

To raise the entire body of the labouring poor to a state

of comparative comfort, and keep them there till a new generation should rise, with an education and with tastes and habits sufficiently strong to retain their position of comfort, and transmit them unimpaired, if not improved, to succeeding generations, is a dream not easily realised. A national scheme of education, the cultivation of common sense and sound judgments on the circumstances by which individuals and society find themselves surrounded, and the tendencies of their actions; the creation, in short, of caution, forethought, prudence and thrift, combined with a steady flow of youthful emigrants to thinly peopled lands, would aid, and have, no doubt already aided to advance considerably the material prosperity of the population of densely peopled lands; but, after all, in Britain as elsewhere, the ratio of population and food supply shows no tendency to adjust itself, or be adjusted. The emotions, feelings, and appetites cannot be legislated for. Population increases; wages tend to a point below which it is not possible to sustain strength for labour; emigration helps to lessen the supply; war, famine and pestilence at intervals sweep off a greater or lesser fraction of the population; so, with longer or shorter intervals between increase and diminution of population, and with more or less severity, the struggle for existence, the battle between life and death, goes on. The solution of the problem of poverty is yet in the future, how distant a future, who shall say?

Here, in India, with a climate and soil so luxuriant that it is possible to sustain life and a low type of health on a less sum than almost anywhere else in the world, the tendency of population, fostered by early marriage, is ever towards increase. The only outlet for surplus population is in the clearing of jungle, the spread of planting enterprise, railways, and other public works, and whatever may be absorbed in the development of commercial and industrial effort. Some of the great natural checks on increase of population have been removed since India has passed under the rule of England. War between native States and princes is at an end; dacoity has been put down; sati and infanticide have been abolished, and the loss of human life in the war between man and the lower animals has been considerably diminished, so that the ratio of the increase of population is probably greater than at any time in the history of the people of India. The natural result of this great increase of a population, a large section of which are utterly destitute of savings, and have nothing between them and starvation but the safe gathering of a few crops which are subject to destruction either by insects, flood, or drought, is that, at intervals, famine, more or less widespread, sweeps the land; and even the loss of life from famine is being materially lessened by irrigation, public works and the ready philanthrophy of England

and her colonies, thus, still further augmenting the possibility of increase in population and whatever evils may arise from this cause. So prominent and certain a factor has the outlay on account of famine become in the expenditure of the Government of India, that, two years ago, it was deemed expedient to impose an additional tax on the already heavily taxed Indian people, to create what was called a famine insurance fund; and the present administration has avowed that it has become necessary to set aside for this purpose alone a yearly sum of between one and two millions. We venture to think, bearing in mind the total removal of some of the natural checks to population and the considerable diminution in severity of others, that this sum, taking one year with another, will have to be largely increased rather than diminished. It should be borne in mind that there is no great scheme, either of emigration or of colonisation, at present possible for the people of India. Apart from the natural timidity of the Hindoos and their caste prejudices, their race characteristic has always been that they have accepted the rule of successive conquerors; the natives of India cannot extend their borders, unless at the expense of other races. The history of British colonisation, from Raleigh's day to the present, indeed, the history of mankind in all ages and countries, has been a history of conflict between unequally matched races. In North America the wigwams of the red man have disappeared, and in their place have risen the cities of a great Republic. In Tasmania the last aborigine has died out, and in Australia and New Zealand the native races are slowly vanishing, their vitality sapped by the vices of civilisation. It would be unwise to forecast what influence and results centuries of English rule, example, education, thought and enterprise may effect on the people of India; and how far these may be effectual in producing such features in their character as will, in the end, leave them the dominant race in Asia. However possible or impossible this may be, at present there is no outlet, either in colonisation or in a great scheme of emigration, that will in any degree sensibly relieve the evils incident to a people who are too numerous for the standard of living to be other than a very low one; and a large fraction of whom, even in years of plenty and prosperity, are able to do little more than exist. These are some of the conditions which, it seems to us, render it imminently probable that a considerable amount of suffering, disease and death will henceforth be apparent at an earlier stage in times of scarcity and famine than has been the case in the past; and that, while famines may be rendered shorter in duration, they will be no less sharp and more destructive.

There are no poor laws in India; but there is scarcely a threshing-floor in the land where a handful of the newly thrashed grain

is not set aside for the poor ; and there is hardly a village which does not contain the hut of some poor creature who owes much to the kindly helpfulness of neighbours. As we have said, almsgiving has occupied a very high place in the religions of the people in all ages of their history, and the lavish distribution of alms in the form of money, food and material for clothing, at marriages, festivals and *poojahs*, has, in Western minds, conjured up many a dream of Eastern splendour and munificence. It is not easy to estimate the sums for religious and charitable endowments, in all parts of India, that have been bequeathed by the faithful to support in ornate state and dignity the religion of their fathers, and to perpetuate the name and virtues of the faithful departed. In all these endowments the poor have a share unquestionably ; but in many cases these endowments, and the offerings of the threshing floor, have been perverted by unscrupulous Brahmins to perpetuate their own and their families' comfort and ease, rather than maintain the pomp and circumstance of religious worship, and the tending of the poor.

The family system of the people is wholly unlike its counterpart in the West. A Hindoo household consists of the families of brothers and cousins and other relations, all dwelling together in one house, having their own apartments and each a share in the family property, which is usually managed by the head of the family, on whom devolves the duty of supporting a crowd of dependents of both sexes and, in poojahs, and festivals, and marriage festivities, and gifts to the poor, maintaining, as far as the joint means will admit, the traditional munificence of the family: in Calcutta, and probably in many other large towns, there are households of this sort numbering several hundreds. At a marriage of a native gentleman of some position, it is no unusual thing for crowds of beggars to assemble, and in their struggle for alms, trample some of the weaker to death. The position of the poor in India to day thus presents a pretty close analogy to the condition of affairs in mediæval Europe, with a poorer populace, and an almsgivng, as indiscriminate and more spasmodic.

The charity organisation societies which have done so much in the cities of America and England to put down professional begging, and to discriminate between the needy and the greedy, the deserving and the undeserving, are applicable only to the larger cities of India, and there they would work immense good in helping the really destitute and punishing the professional *loafer*. In rural India the traditionary institutions of the people, their village system, the threshing floor offerings, the money lender, the profuse almsgiving, and in many cases, the costly and ruinous display of a wealth that seemingly is, but is not, at family, social and religious festivals and gatherings, should not, it seems to us, be rudely interfered with. It is only by a slow process of education,

carried on for generations, that the evils inherent in the inherited institutions of a people, will gradually fade out; and the philanthrophy or the legislation that would injudiciously hasten this natural decay of evil and growth of good, will either dash itself into foam, "white as carded wool," against the prejudices, the traditionary institutions, and the race characteristics of the people; or shatter in pieces, and lay in ruins, an eastern civilisation, a religion and a race, whose mission it may be to carry the triumphs of peace, industry, commerce and brotherhood to the people of Asia. On the other hand it is neither wise nor statesmanlike to nurture and perpetuate the evils of the past or the follies and anomalies of the present. The extravagant, and in many cases, ruinous expenditure at marriage festivities, ought to be controlled and curtailed, the abuses in the administration of religious and charitable endowments unsparingly condemned and wisely reformed, and facilities provided and encouragement offered for thrift, prudence and enterprise.

We are not alone in condemning the licence tax of Strachey notoriety. It was a crude measure, cruelly oppressive in its incidence, hastily adopted, speedily modified, and plausibly imposed for an *avowed* purpose which it never served, however well it served the purposes of men who seemingly gave to party what should ungrudgingly have been given to India. The tax for a famine insurance fund, if it was necessary and politic to impose a tax of this nature should, in our estimation, have been laid on all the people of India from the highest to the lowest, who, by contracting marriage, add to the possibility of the increase of population. Whether or not a tax of this sort, proportionate to the social position, and the amount of money expended on marriage festivities, and the tawdry and ostentatious display, and profuse almsgiving, of the parties concerned, would tend to curtail something of this lavish expenditure, or act as a deterrent on marriage, and the consequent increase of population, this at least is clear, that a substantial addition would be made to the imperial Exchequer from which the periodic expenditure on account of famine, or some part of it, might be defrayed. It is a tax that, in the majority of cases, would occur once only in a lifetime; and in the present financial condition of India it might not be altogether unworthy of the consideration of the Government.

There are two measures that, it seems to us, might easily be introduced into India, and worked to the great advantage of the people, and to the building up of prudence, thrift, and forethought, in large sections of society where they are little practised. These are a system of Post Office Savings Banks, and a system of Government Assurance and Annuities in connection with the Post Office, as these already exist in Britain. Adapted to meet the requirements of the rural population of India, they would, we venture to

think, prove great blessings, to the people of India. This is not the first occasion in the history of this *Review*, that a system of Government Assurance for natives has been suggested and advocated, (*See* Vol. LVIII., Article IX., page 136); and in the January number, 1879, of *The Nineteenth Century* the whole subject of national assurance has been ably discussed. All that, on the present occasion, we venture to suggest is, that Post Office Savings Banks, and Government Assurance and Annuities, as already in active operation in England, should be fairly tried in India, and means taken to acquaint the rural population with their existence and with the advantages they offer. The marked success that has already attended the taking over of the *money-order* system by the Post Office, may, we are sanguine enough to believe, be taken as an augury that Savings Banks and Assurances, once they were properly known and appreciated, would be largely taken advantage of, and aid materially in fostering those habits which it is of paramount importance that the lower ranks of the people of this and other lands should possess.

A complete solution of the problem of poverty will be sought for in vain as long as the intellect and the feelings, the reason and the appetites, of men are warring each with the other. When the lower nature of man has been brought under control and subordinated to the higher, to reason enlightened by knowledge and experience, then this may become the "best of all possible worlds," with a minimum of the ills that burden humanity. Whatever systems and methods, religious, moral, political, social, and individual already exist, or may be devised, which in any way tend to bring about harmony in the moral nature of man, so that the feelings and the appetites shall suggest and crave only for what reason and conscience approve of, are so many instruments that work together for the welfare of mankind, and the blotting out of those grosser evils, at least, that bring about such woe and misery in all communities and in every stage of civilisation. Whoever effects this victory of self in himself, and in any way helps others to achieve it, is making potential additions to the prosperity and happiness of mankind. Lord Chief Justice Hale has quaintly and truly said:—"They that are rich are stewards of their wealth; and they that are wise are stewards of their wisdom, unto that great Master of Heaven and Earth to whom they must give an account of both; and one (I am sure) of the best accounts they can give of both, is to employ them in the reformation and relief of those that want both or either."

THOMAS EDWARDS.

ART. VII.—A PLEA FOR THE PEOPLE'S TONGUE.

DURING the past few years the Government of Bengal has been gradually substituting the Kayathí for the Persian alphabet in writing all official documents in Behar. To the uninitiated the numerous Government Resolutions, and the very considerable mass of correspondence, on the subject, may seem to have been little more than an attempt to define accurately the difference between Tweedledum and Tweedledee, and irreverent scoffers might have been heard to talk of the "tremendous profit on a saxpence" to be achieved by the proposed change. Others there were who distinctly deprecated the alteration as made in the wrong direction; but, not heeding the clamour raised by the indolent and the interested, Government has adhered to its resolution; and finally, by a late order, all vernacular writing of any kind except that in the Kayathí character has been prohibited from the 1st of January 1881 throughout Bihár. That this change has emphatically been one in the right direction, no disinterested person can deny; and it is not my purpose to discuss it at present: but now that the higher authorities have shown a desire to make official documents legible to the mass of the people, I wish to advance some arguments to show the propriety of making these documents also "understanded of" them. Here I am probably interrupted by an energetic enunciation of the fact that, now-a-days, all official documents are, or ought to be, understood by everyone, because they are written in Hindí; and that, so anxious is the Government to ensure that this Hindí should be understood by everybody, that it has ordered that it is not to be the Hindí of the *pandits*, but is to admit freely into its composition the more commonly used Arabic and Persian words.

To this I reply that there never has been, is not, and never will be a Hindí such as is alluded to by the objector, and that Hindí, as meant by him, is not understood by ninety per cent. of the people who are supposed to speak it.

This may seem a sweeping assertion in the face of the Hindí Dictionary of Bates, and of the existence of Hindí grammars, such as those of Ballantyne, Etheridge, and Kellogg, but it is literally true nevertheless.

The intention, therefore, of this paper is to show that official documents should not be in the so-called Hindí language; that, if the official language is to be understood by everyone, it should not be this Hindí, and that, as it is useless to destroy a theory without re-constructing another in its place, another language should be substituted in our Education Department, and in our cutcherries which people *can* understand.

In the first place, it will be necessary to show what so-called Hindí is, and to trace it from its source—the Urdú *lingua franca*, the *fons et origo malorum.*

Most of my readers know the origin of Urdú from the preface to the *Bágh-o-Bahár*, but as some may not have read that not uninteresting College text-book, I quote the following from Forbes' translation :—

"The account of the Urdú tongue I have thus heard from my ancestors,—that the city of Dillí, according to the opinion of the Hindús, was founded in the earliest times, and that their rajas and subjects lived there from the remotest antiquity, and spoke their own peculiar *Bhákhá.* For a thousand years past the Musalmáns have been masters there. Mahmúd of Ghazní came there first; then the Ghorí and Lodí became kings. Owing to this intercourse, the languages of the Hindús and Musalmáns were partially blended together. At last Amír Taimúr (in whose family the name and empire remain to this day) conquered Hindustán. From his coming and stay, the bázár of his camp was settled in the city, for which reason the bázár of the city was called Urdú (or camp).

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"When King Akbar ascended the throne, then all tribes of people, from all surrounding countries, hearing of the goodness and liberality of this unequalled family, flocked to his court, but the speech and dialect of each was different. Yet, by being assembled together, they used to traffic and do business, and converse with each other, whence resulted the common Urdú language.

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"From the time of Amír Taimúr until the reign of Muhammad Sháh, and even to the time of Ahmad Sháh, and 'Alamgír the Second, the throne descended lineally from generation to generation. In the end, the Urdú language, receiving repeated polish, was so refined, that the language of no city is to be compared to it; but an impartial judge is necessary to examine it. Such a one, God at last, after a long period, created in the learned, acute and profound Mr. John Gilchrist, who, from his own judgment, genius, labour, and research, has composed books of rules for the acquisition of it. From this cause, the language of Hindústán has been

polished anew; otherwise no one conceives his own turban, language, and behaviour, to be improper. If you ask a countryman, he censures the citizen's idiom, and considers his own the best; 'Well, the learned only know what is correct.'"

The above complacent description of this *lingua franca* is by the man who first gave it the dignity of being reduced to writing. The Bágh-o-Bahár was written by Mír Amman in the year 1801, so that Urdú can only boast of an existence as a written language of 80 years. Before that it was as little studied and as little cared for as the pidgeon English of Hong-Kong. It had not amongst the English even the name that it now possesses, but was called contemptuously "Moors," and in such a tone we find even the judicious Colebrooke, writing to his father in 1783, or 18 years before the Bágh-o-Bahár was written. "You recommend my being assiduous in acquiring the languages. It is what I intend, but there is no danger of my applying to it too intensely. The one, and that the most necessary, Moors, by not being written, bars all close application; the other, Persian, is too dry to entice, and is so seldom of any use that I seek its acquisition very leisurely." Colebrooke at this time had only been some three months in the country, and we can understand a novice's disgust at finding what was then the only means of communication between Natives and Europeans to be an unwritten *lingua franca* without a single rule of grammar.

It is commonly supposed that Urdú is a composite language, having its body and grammar consisting of the so-called Hindí, and its clothing of a large number of Arabic and Persian words substituted for their Hindú equivalents. But this is of a truth putting the cart before the horse with a vengeance. Urdú, as a spoken language, is more than three hundred years old, while Hindí did not exist even in name till seventy years ago. As a matter of fact, it is Hindí which is derived from Urdú, and not Urdú from Hindí. It is Hindí which has borrowed the body of its language and its grammar from Urdú, and which has supplied a number of Hindú words in exchange for the equivalent Arabic and Persian ones. This will, however, be dealt with later on; it is first necessary to see what Urdú actually is, to dissect it limb from limb, and to account for the conglomeration of its forms.

At the time of the Musalmán invasion, Hindústán contained many languages of Aryan descent, traceable to a common origin closely allied to Sanskrit. These languages were not separated by any distinct boundary line, but insensibly merged into each other, it being a common saying that the language of the people changed every ten *kos*. These changes were, however, only slight, and it is quite possible to map out the

country into certain well-defined tracts, each possessing a separate dialect or language. At this time the languages in existence were—

1 Panjábí.	7 Baiswárí of Audh.
2 Sindhí.	8 Gánwárí of Banáras.
3 Gujarátí.	9 Maithilí of Tirhut.
4 Maráthí.	10 Magadhí of Southern Bihár.
5 The Rájput dialects.	11 Bhojpúrí of West Bihár.
6 Braj Bháshá of the Doab.	

Each of these languages, while having much of its vocabulary in common with the others, differed from them in the remainder of its vocabulary, and also in its grammar. It was this difference of grammar which was the distinguishing mark between the various languages. As an example, I give here the following table showing the various terminations of the genitive in most of these languages at the present day:—

Panjábí ...	... dá, dí, de;
Sindhí ...	... jo, jí, je, já;
Gujarátí ...	... no, ní, nun, ná, nán;
Maráthí ...	... chá, chí, chen, che, chyá, chín;
Dialect of Alwár	... ko, kí, ke, ká;
...... Marwár	... rá, rí, re;
Braj Bháshá ...	... kau, kí, ke;
Gánwári ...	... kai, ke;
Bhojpúrì } Magadaí } ...	... ke
Maithilí* ...	... k, ker.

The Musalmán conquerors invaded India through Sindh and the Panjáb, and hence the languages of those countries, Sindhí and Panjábí, were the languages they first came in contact with. As they extended their conquests southwards and eastwards, they gradually came upon Gujaráti, Braj Bháshá, and Baiswárí, and finally with the other dialects above mentioned. The invaders did not speak any of the languages of the invaded country. The language of the bulk of the troops was either Turkí or Persian, the latter of which, although undoubtedly a language of the Aryan family, had so long separated from the common stock as to have lost all trace of resemblance to the tongue of the Aryan brothers of Hindústán. Moreover, the invasion was not a Persian invasion, nor was it a Turkí one. It was essentially an invasion of Muhammadans of many countries, whose common language was Persian, but a Persian, which with the change of its religion had changed its dress, and which was overloaded with the Arabic words of its

* I am indebted for part of this table to Dr. Hoernle's essay on the Gaurian languages.

Musalmán conquerors. Hence the first spectacle which strikes the eye at the time of the Muhammadan invasion of India is an invading army speaking one language full of Arabic and Persian words, and an invaded people talking a dialect more or less closely connected with Sanskrit, the language of each being unintelligible to the other.

The conquest of India by the Muhammadans was not a matter of a few years. More than five centuries elapsed from the first invasion of Mahmúd of Ghazní, to the consolidation of the Empire at Dillí by Akbar, and these five centuries were the scene of a continual struggle between the Musalmán and Hindú nations, and between the Semitic and Aryan tongues. The Hindús were at length conquered, and gave up their freedom after a desperate struggle ; but two things the Musalmáns never could overcome, which were the Hindú religion and the Hindú tongue, and in the end they themselves were almost conquered by the latter. The same dialect which was spoken by the cow-herds who sported with Krishna on the banks of the Jamuna is now spoken by their descendants, as they wend their way to the cutcherries of Agrá and Mathurá; and it is the same all over Hindústán ; the Musalmán language never penetrated to the mass of the people.

In the meantime, all these centuries of invasion had brought the contending races more and more into contact. An invading army in those days was by no means self-contained ; it had to depend upon the country bordering on its line of march for supplies, and hence arose a necessity for some common means of communication. Only two courses were open,—one was for one side to adopt at once the language of the other, and the other was for both to unite and form a common language, formed partly of one original and partly of the other. The latter expedient was perforce adopted, and gradually there grew up a language of the camp (Urdú), whether you call it a Hindú's attempt at talking Persian, or a Muhammadan's attempt at expressing himself in the local vernacular. It was a sutler's language to which the Hindús contributed the grammar and part of the vocabulary (including the more common words) and the Musalmáns the rest, and it was so far an exact counterpart of the Pidgeon-English described by Mr. Leland.

We have now to consider what the grammar was which the Hindús contributed. To this the answer is,—the grammar of no one Indian dialect. The invasion of the Musalmáns was essentially progressive. Its motto was "onward." It first attacked the Panjáb and then Gujarát, and subsequently its victorious waves spread over Audh and the Doáb, and thence over the whole of

Hindústán. The conquering armies passed over many countries possessing many different languages, and hence, as it accompanied the troops, the sutlers' language adapted itself to its new surroundings, picking up part of the peculiarities of the new dialects which it came across, and sometimes discarding, and sometimes retaining the peculiarities of the provinces where it first came into existence. This Urdú is, therefore, both in grammar and vocabulary, a most composite *lingua franca.* Its vocabulary includes Arabic, Persian, Turkí, and Telugu besides the words belonging to the Northern Indian vernaculars, while its grammar has levied a contribution from almost every language of North-Western India. Hence it is impossible to say what language is responsible for Urdú grammar? Many of the forms have been so deformed in Musalmán mouths as to render it extremely difficult to trace them to any special language. Thus, while we can trace the Urdú genitive in *ká*, *ke*, and *kí* to the Braj Bháshá *kau*, *ke*, and *kí*, opinions differ as to whether we are to ascribe the instrumental in *ne* to Maráthí or to the dialect of the people immediately surrounding Dillí, only one thing being certain, that *ne* was never used in this sense in Braj Bháshá. This must suffice, as an example, to show how Urdú never was the language, either in grammar or vocabulary, of any one people; it is as unfair to call it so as it would be to shake a number of Provençal, French, Italian, Wallachian, Spanish, and German words out of a pepper caster on to a sheet of paper, to tack on to them the Spanish inflexions for the nouns, the Wallachian inflexions for the pronouns, and the Provençal inflexions for the verbs, and to call *that* a language. In the time of Taimúr, the language of the camp became (as described by Mír Amman above quoted) the language of the market; and as such, became a useful means of communication between men of different nationalities, but up to the time of the conquest of Bangál by the English it never became even the language of the Courts, much less that of the country-folk. As Mír Amman says:—"If you ask a countryman, he censures the citizen's idiom, and considers his own the best," and, I may add, in spite of our author's sarcastic proverb about only the wise knowing what is correct, no wonder. Who would not prefer his own language strong, vigorous, capable of expressing every idea, and often possessing a literature of great merit, to a bastard mixture of all languages, unwritten, without a literature of its own and obliged to have recourse to the most recondite Arabic and Persian words which nobody can understand, for expressing all but the most simple ideas.

When the English first arrived in India, they came as merchants, and for many years remained as such; they therefore abode, with

few exceptions, only in cities, and were continually moving about from one large market to another. Hence the only language which they had to acquire for business purposes was this language of the bázár, which Clive and Colebrooke called "Moors." This Pidgeon language was no doubt most useful to them, and we thus find Colebrooke, while living in Calcutta, talking of Moors and Persians as if there were no such thing as Bangáli, the only language spoken for hundreds of miles around him. And Colebrooke's was no solitary case. All the older English visitors to India appear to have imagined that the language of the bázár was that of the people, and that the language of the people was (with perhaps a few dialectic peculiarities) "Moors." It has taken more than a century to get that out of most people's heads, and there are many who still believe it.

It was not till the end of the eighteenth century that it struck men like Gilchrist, Sir William Jones, and others, that it would immensely facilitate communications if a grammar and a series of text-books of the language of the Moors could be drawn up. Young Assistants fresh out from home would then find the path to its attainment made smooth, and would more speedily be fit for work in the mufassal. Accordingly Gilchrist wrote his Hindústání Grammar, and made a number of learned Maulawís translate into this *lingua franca* a number of popular Arabic and Persian books, such as the *Túti Náma*, portions of the *Ikhwánu-s safá*, and the *Chár Darwesh* of Amír Khusrú. At this time the only language really studied and known by Europeans in India was Persian; Sanskrit learning was as yet in its infancy, and hence we need not wonder that scholars like Gilchrist, Lockett, and others, who knew little or nothing of the real languages of the people, should have been satisfied that works like the Urdú *Ikhwánu-s safá* and the *Bágh-o-Bahár*, full of high-flown Arabic and Persian words, were in "the pure Hindustání tongue, which the Urdú people, both Hindús and Musalmáns, high and low, men, women, and children use to each other." This is the character which Mír Amman claims for his work, and we can imagine the grin on the old reprobate's face as he concocted his book, the meaning of which even Muhammadans have to learn with the aid of a teacher, and pretended that it was in a dialect, "just such as any one uses in common conversation." "The *sáhib log* want me to write a book. *They* won't understand it unless I make it half-Persian; and so, here goes,"—and he *did* go it. There is not a woman or a child, and there are very few men in Hindústán who speak the language of the *Bágh-o-Bahár*. The foregoing accounts for the origin of the language of a few books, and for up to lately the official language—

Urdú. Originally a mere kind of Pidgeon-Persian, it was made into a language, and given the honour of being a written one just eighty years ago, by order of Government.

But by and bye Gilchrist, Lockett, and the others, found out their mistake; they had raised a Frankenstein, and it was too late to exorcise it. They discovered that their improved *lingua franca* was nowhere spoken, simply because, excepting a few educated Muhammadans, no one knew either Arabic or Persian. In the meantime the Asiatic Society, founded in 1784, had developed the study of Sanskrit. Translations of elegant odes by Háfiz had given place to more solid investigations into the Hindú language and religion. The first volume of Transactions appeared in 1788, and thereafter the band of Sanskrit scholars founded by Halhed, Wilkins, and Sir William Jones, attracted by the novelty and vastness of the subject, pursued the never-ending vistas of Sanskrit learning with more and more enthusiasm. The study of Persian was for a time forsaken for that of Sanskrit, and one of the results discovered was that the Hindús of India did not know Persian, and that they spoke a different language capable of employing Sanskrit words *ad libitum*. I say advisedly "a" language, for the founders of Sanskrit Philology appear to have still imagined there was one language common to the whole of Hindústán.

In their haste to correct the errors of the Bágh-o-Bahár, Gilchrist and Lockett went to the other extreme, and in 1810 invented a language which had never existed before, and which they called Hindí, because it was, as they imagined, spoken by Hindús. Here they rested satisfied with their efforts, and, till quite lately, it has been a cardinal point of belief among many people who ought to know better, that the Hindí of the Prem Ságar, a little simplified, is the vernacular language of I forget how many millions of people. But in spite of this belief,—in spite, too, of the well-meant efforts of a fatherly education department, which prints moral little stories, about the cock who found a pearl in a dunghill, and about the good little boy who told the truth, and the bad little boy who told a lie,—in spite of all this, Hindí is not spoken in the household of any Hindú in Hindústán. The Hindú prefers his own language, and sticks to it.

And this was how Hindí was made:—Take an Urdú book, strike out all the Arabic and Persian words, and put in their place words used by Hindús, and principally of Sanskrit origin. The result is Hindí. It is our old friend Urdú in a new dress. So anxious were Gilchrist, Taylor, Hunter, and Lockett, to ensure that there should be no mistake this time, that they instructed Lallújí Lál, the translator of the Prem Ságar, to rigidly

exclude every foreign word of every description from his pages. This was certainly a step in the right direction, but it went too far, for a certain number of foreign words had come down to the masses, and had become part of the Vernacular, and it was wrong to exclude them. But the cardinal mistake they made was to use the conglomerate grammar of the market language, containing forms and idioms hailing from the four quarters of the earth, as if it had been the grammar of a living spoken vernacular, while it was no such thing. The result is that Hindí contains a little Gujarátí, a little Braj Bháshá, a little Baiswárí, a little Magadhí, and so on, through all the vernaculars of Hindústán, while it is a foreign language to all of them, and understood by no one without the aid of a special teacher.

It is as much a *lingua franca* as Urdú was before it became a written language, and it is less intelligible, because it is too one-sided. It is all Hindú without being a Hindú language,—and the result is that there is a large portion of its vocabulary which an average Musalmán cannot understand. The fact is that book-Urdú and book-Hindí are exactly in corresponding positions; each is founded on the same *lingua franca* without possessing any of the peculiar advantages of it. Spoken Urdú, before it was reduced to writing, at any rate had no humbug about it. It had as little disguise as the Pidgeon English I have so often mentioned. It was an abominably bad "lingo," a little of all things and master of none, but it possessed the advantage of being mutually understood in the *bázár* by both Hindú and Musalmán when they were brought into contact by business. The Musalmán was too proud to learn the local language, and the Hindú was too proud to learn Persian, and so the two met on a convenient neutral ground. But book-Hindí is one, and not the other. It keeps the character of spoken Urdú in being an extremely corrupt form of speech, and no longer retains its useful character of being a neutral ground. It is understood by Hindús, and Hindús alone, and even they have to be taught it before they can understand it. Religious feeling alone has made these book-languages tolerated by the two sects. The Musalmáns find book-Urdú easier to understand than Persian, while it has a Persian air about it, and so, especially in public, they affect it in the cities; and, in a similar way, Hindús have found Hindí a useful *lingua franca* between two Hindús who have no common language (such, for instance, as a Maráthá talking to a Maithil Bráhman), and they have also adopted it in certain prayers and solemn invocations, much in the same way that Monkish Latin was used in the middle ages, current everywhere, and understood only by the learned.

It is this book-Hindí, slightly ameliorated by the introduction of

some of the commoner foreign words current in Urdú, which it is the present policy of Government to encourage in Bihár. It is the language of the courts, and is that taught in primary schools under the auspices of the Education Department. It is in fact put forward as the standard literary language of the country. What would be said if the Chinese Government were to issue an order forbidding the teaching of Chinese in all Government schools, or, if the English Government forbade English to be taught anywhere in England, both Governments substituting, instead, Pidgeon-English as the only recognized language? And yet that is exactly what Government is doing, and has been doing in Bihár. Or take another example, not so strong, the language of the island of Malta is, it is well known, a corrupt Italian, largely mingled with Arabic words. In fact, it is a language half-Italian and half-Arabic. I think it would excite considerable astonishment if the Italian Goverument were to direct that for the future the court language of Italy should be a modified form of Maltese, with the greater number of Arabic words omitted and Italian words substituted in their places.

But here I may be met with a flat denial on the part of many, including possibly a number of Government officials, who maintain that an ounce of fact is worth a bushel of theory, and that there is one fact which I can't get over, and that is, that Hindí is generally spoken over all Hindústán, and that, all my fine theories to the contrary, it *is* the vernacular language of a people. Here arises a simple issue of fact, and I am prepared to meet it. It is true that where Europeans most do congregate, most natives can speak Hindí, and that, including even the lowest. Quite true; but also in Hong-Kong Pidgeon-English is spoken by the Chinese, yet that does not make Pidgeon-English the language of China. Let the Chinaman go home from his day's work to the bosom of his family, and let him there meet another man equally expert in what he calls the language of the foreign devils, and how will they address each other? Not in Pidgeon-English assuredly, but in Chinese,—and so it is with Hindí. The most voluble speaker of that language in the presence of Europeans, drops the hated idiom as soon as he has no further use for it, and relapses into what the superior student of the Prem Ságar may call the "homely Doric of the people."

The most educated Bráhman and the most ignorant sweeper do the same. Here is a specimen of a letter written by one educated Bráhman to another. I know both these men, and they both speak book-Hindí faultlessly. Even when speaking to me, though they know that I can understand Maithili (their native

language), as well as I can understand Hindí, I find a difficulty in making them talk it. There seems to be a glamour of officialdom surrounding a *sáhab*, know they him ever so well, which prohibits them from using any but the official speech. And yet, once removed from the restraints of my presence, these men never speak anything but Maithilí, and they are only an example of what occurs fifty times a day with me. The following letter is given with an interlinear translation in the ordinary book-Hindí which they would use in talking or writing to me, and which shows how radically different the two languages are :—

Maithilí	Agá ham asust chhí bástáb
Hindí	Age maiṇ bímár húṇ achchhí tarah se
Maithilí	chúṭal achhi nahiṇ Jhanjhárpúr
Hindí	chhúṭá húṇ nahiṇ, Jhanjhárpúr
Maithilí	o dhari jaeb se sattá nahiṇ
Hindí	bhi tak jane ki aisí sakti nahiṇ
Maithilí	bhel achhi ; aháṇ likhal achhi
Hindí	húí hai ; ap ne likhá hai
Maithilí	je inám pannarah solah din
Hindí	ki inám pandra solah din
Maithilí	meṇ bánṭal jáetaik, se bújhal,
Hindí	meṇ banṭe jáenge, wah bujhá,
Maithilí	parantu áebák sattá nahiṇ bhel
Hindí	parantu áne kí sakti nahiṇ húí
Maithilí	achhi je áeb : jauṇ sattá hoeb,
Hindí	hai ki áúngá : jadi sakti hogí,
Maithilí	taun ashṭami mangal dhari,
Hindí	to ashṭamí mangal tak
Maithilí	áeb, se jánab, &c.
Hindí	áúngá, wah (áp) jániyegá, &c.

Translation.

"Moreover (you must know) that I am sick, and am not yet perfectly recovered. I have not even gained sufficient strength to go to Jhanjhárpúr. You write that prizes will be distributed on the fifteenth or sixteenth ; I have understood this, but I am not (yet) strong enough to attend. If I gain (sufficient) strength, I shall be with you by Tuesday, the eighth ; be good enough to understand this," &c.

I appeal to every official who has mixed intimately with the people, and to every non-official resident in the mufassal to bear me out in what I say above.

And here I must use a word of caution. Let not the official who rides into a village, and who talks with the first one or two

people he meets, think that he has reached to the bottom of the language of the people. The native of India, and the Bihár villager especially, is the most timid and suspicious human being that can be imagined. He is hampered by the knowledge of his inability to understand what an ordinary official *sáhab* says; and if he thinks that there is any probability of the *hákim* accosting him, he promptly retires into his own house until the danger is past; but there are always one or two men hanging about the village who profess to make *hákim-log* their study, and who can talk Hindí with more or less fluency. These men are only too glad to be noticed by the great man before their fellows, and, as most of the villagers have hidden themselves, they find it easy to throw themselves in his way. Both part mutually pleased at being able to understand each other. But let the *hákim* get off his horse, and sit under the village *pípal* tree for a friendly chat with the intelligent *ráiyat* whom he has picked up, and he will soon have a different tale to tell. Like frightened rabbits taking courage, the more timid villagers will issue gradually from their holes, and, attracted by curiosity, approach him. Woe betide him if he attempts a conversation with *them*; high-flown Urdú and cutcherry Hindí are alike useless with them, and the European who was so proud of his familiarity with the native language, will soon be obliged to have recourse to the intelligent native whom he first met as an interpreter.

These intelligent men, who know what is indifferently called "*Fársí*" (*i.e.*, book-Hindí and not Urdú) or "*Sáhab lokanik bolí*," are always chosen by the villagers as their ambassadors to officialdom. They are the witnesses who appear in the petty cases of the village which are not taken in hand by the police; men who really know the facts of the case often refusing to go, on the ground that they do not know their way about court.

André Kempe, in his work on the language of Paradise, held that God spake to Adam in Swedish, that Adam answered him in Danish, but that the Serpent addressed Eve in French. André Kempe cannot have known book-Hindí, or, as it is called in Tirhut, Fársí, which is in truth the language of lying. A proverb is current in this district concerning a fool. "*Fársí na jáne, kacharí chale!*" "He does not know Fársí, and he goes to cutcherry!" To the native idea, before appearing in a case, no matter how true it is, a man must be thoroughly taught how to give his evidence, and how to say it in a language which the magistrate can understand. If he has any doubts as to his own capabilities as a witness, he does not go himself, but sends one of his intelligent friends as a substitute. If a witness is telling a false story,

he has been assuredly taught it thoroughly and by rote in the court-language, and he finds it extremely difficult to tell exactly the same facts in the vernacular of his village. Many a lying witness has broken down hopelessly by my simply insisting upon his telling the story in his own language.

To conclude this portion of my subject, I will quote what Mr. Beames says on the matter :—

"In an Indian language there are always three or four shades or strata of talk existing side by side at the same epoch. Thus, there is in the Bangálí of to-day the highly Sanskritised style of the pandit, the somewhat artificial, but less Sanskritised style of gentlemen of education and refinement, the practical every-day speech of the middle classes, which contains only the simpler Sanskrit words, the strange jargon of the women, and the rough homely patois of the peasantry. It is quite possible for a foreigner to know one of these languages, or strata of language, without knowing the other. It often happens that the English indigo or tea-planter, mixing only with the lower classes, speaks with fluency the peasant speech, while the high official speaks equally well the dialect of the educated, and the planter cannot talk to a native gentleman in the habitual dialect of the class, nor can the official understand the peasant without an interpreter."

What Mr. Beames says of Bangálí is intensified with regard to the languages of Hindústán, by the imposition of a foreign language in addition to the many strata of language already existing in the country. Every planter of experience will bear me out in what I say.

And now that I have, I hope, satisfactorily proved that so-called Hindí is not a vernacular language at all, but that it is a language made to order of Government, and invented only sixty or seventy years ago, and that hence it should not on any account be the official language of either the cutcherry or the school-house, I am fairly called upon to provide a substitute, and to show what language Government should adopt for the purposes of its business.

Before proceeding, I wish to give one word of warning, and that is, that it would be dangerous on this point to trust too implicitly the *dictum* of the Education Department.

There is no department of Government for which I have a heartier regard than this, nor is there one which numbers in its list a larger and brighter array of ripe and sound scholars. I hope, therefore, that they will not be offended when I say that they are, in my opinion, as a body, not to be depended upon for their knowledge of the actual spoken vernaculars. There are, of course, bright exceptions, and the names of such men as Hoernle

and Fallon will long be remembered with gratitude by all lovers of vernacular scholarship, but, as a body, a knowledge of the actual spoken languages of India is not their *forte*. The reason is not far to seek. A member of the educational service is either a Professor at a college, or an Inspector of Schools. If the former, he lives in a city, and has no need to use any other language than the official *lingua franca*, which is current round him; and if the latter, the extent of his circle is too great (generally as large, and sometimes larger than a commissioner's division) to permit him to go into the *mufassal*, and mix with the people. An example of this want of intimate acquaintance with the actual spoken dialects is shown in the elementary Hindí text-books authorised for use in the lower class schools. The pupil is first taught book-Hindí, concerning which I have already sufficiently expressed my views, and then, when he is supposed to have mastered that, he is suddenly faced at another foreign language—the Braj Bháshá of Tulsí Dás, —a tongue as different from any of the languages of Bihár as Italian is from French. He is never once taught his own language, although in at least one instance, to be noted further on, it possesses an elegant and fairly copious literature, and he *is* made to learn an archaic form of the language of a foreign province, whose habitat is the Doáb, situated I know not how many hundred miles away. By all means, let him learn to read and enjoy the beautiful poetry of the Rámáyán, but teach it to him as a foreign language, and after he has first mastered his own.

Omitting Panjábí, Sindhí, Gujarátí, and Maráthí, which are already classed as separate languages, the tongues mentioned on page 154 are—

1. The Rájput dialects.
2. Braj Bháshá.
3. Baiswárí.
4. Gánwárí.
5. Maithilí.
6. Magadhí.
7. Bhojpúrí.

These languages have hitherto been considered as dialects of the so-called Hindí, but it is manifestly absurd to class them as dialects of a language which never existed. A separate classification must therefore be adopted. Experts in comparative philology have divided these dialects into two groups, possessing each marked signs of distinction. These groups may be called the Eastern Hindúí, and the Western Hindúí groups of dialects. Roughly speaking, the boundary line may be drawn at 80° Long. To the western class belong the typical Braj Bháshá spoken in the Agrá and Mathurá districts, the dialects of Gwáliár, Alwár, Jaipúr, the Marwári dialect, &c. To the Eastern class belong, besides the

typical Ganwárí spoken in the Benáras Division, the Baiswárí dialects of Audh, the Maithilí,* Magadhí, and Bhojpúrí. Hence the first two in the above list form dialects of the Western Hindúí language, and the last five those of Eastern Hindúí.†

These two Hindúí classes form two distinct languages, differing in important respects. In the grammar the most noteworthy distinctions are—(1)—that in the western group the genitive of nouns is liable to inflection for gender, while it is not in the Eastern group ; (2)—in the Western group transitive verbs in the past tense employ the indirect *prayoga*, using the instrumental case instead of the nominative, while in the eastern group the nominative is used in such cases ; and (3)—in the western group the infinitive of the verb ends in *nauṅ*, and the past participle in *á*, while in the eastern group the infinitive ends in *b*, and the participle in *l*.

The various dialects of each group are closely allied to each other, and any person speaking one of them would find little difficulty in making himself understood by a person speaking another of the same group. Thus, a person whose vernacular language is Jaipúrí can without difficulty make himself understood in the Doáb, where the Braj Bháshá is spoken, and an inhabitant of Tirhut, where Maithilí is spoken, would find no difficulty in communicating his ideas to a person of Gayá which is the home of the Magadh dialect.

The case is different between the dialects of different groups. They are much less mutually intelligible,‡ owing to the radical difference of grammatical structure.

Of the five languages forming the Eastern Hindúí language, three only fall within the province of Behár, and therefore concern us ; they are—

(1) Maithilí,
(2) Magh, *or* Magadhí,
and (3) Bhojpúrí.

They are all closely connected, and form practically but one language ; and as they belong to the Eastern group, they differ radically from the book-Hindí, which is founded principally on the western group of dialects.

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* Hoernle's Essay. J. A., S. B., Vol. xli., p. 121.

† Concerning the Baiswárí and Gánwárí I have no practical knowledge, and accept the classification of Mr. Hoernle.

‡ I well remember, when I was in charge of the Supaul subdivision, the terror which the natives, who spoke Maithilí, felt for a Zamíndári Gumáshtá, who came from Jaipúr. They could not understand his *bolí* they said.

These three dialects have their habitat as follows :—Maithilí is the language of all the country of Mithilá, that is, the country bounded on the North by the Himálayas, and on the South by the Ganges, on the West by the Gandak, and on the East by the Kosí. It is therefore the dialect of North Bhágalpúr, North Munger (Monghyr), of Darbhangá, Muzaffarpúr, and of part of Champáran, in British India, and also of that part of the Nepál Tarái bordering on those districts. It is spoken by a population (omitting that of the Nepál Tarái), of about 7½ millions. Magh or Magadhí is the dialect spoken on the south side of the Ganges, in the districts of South Bhágalpúr, South Munger, Gayá, Patná, and the eastern part of Sháhábád. It is thus the spoken language of about 5½ millions of people. To the west of the Maithilí and Magh tracts, stretching from the Himálayas to the Vindhyas, and including part of Champáran, the whole of Sáran, and the greater part of Sháhábád districts is the habitat of the Bhojpúrí. It is thus spoken by about 4 millions of people in the Bihár province. The total number of persons, therefore, speaking the Eastern Hindúí language in Bihár is about 17 millions; truly, a population large enough to have a language of its own.

I now ask that the difficulty be manfully faced once for all, and that the name of Hindí, as the standard language of a number of varied *patois* extending from the Panjáb to Bangál be abandoned for ever as an exploded idea, and that two distinct languages with different names (such as Eastern and Western Hindúí) be admitted to exist in its place. This once admitted, it will be easy for the Bangál Government to select one main dialect of the Eastern Hindúí language as the standard, and to let it be the official language of the courts of Behár, and taught in the schools. It matters little which dialect is chosen; that is a matter of detail, for any of them would be equally understood over the Eastern Hindúí area, and would rapidly be adopted by the educated classes. Get rid of the false impression that it would be as wrong to teach, say, Maithilí in the schools of Bihár as it would be to teach the local *patois* in the schools of Languedoc or Yorkshire. The comparison is not fair, for Maithilí cannot be called a dialect when it has no standard to be referred to, while Provençal and Yorkshire can always be compared with the standard of French or English. First create a standard, be it Maithilí or Gánwárí, Bhojpúrí or Magh, and then by all means call the others dialects; but don't be illogical, and talk of one straight line being parallel.

The only objection that can be made to my proposal is that none of these languages of Bihár has any literature. I might

fairly retort that the Hindí of the books has no literature which has not been made to order, like the Prem Ságar and the more modern class books of the Education Department, and demand that similar books be made to order in a living vernacular, and not in a concocted language; but I need not do this, as, fortunately, one at least of them, Maithilí, has a literature, which, if not extensive, needs only a little fostering care to bring forth plenteous fruit. Nay, more, it has a poet, and a famous one, whose name, although not so well known to Europeans, is as much a household word amongst the inhabitants of Bangál and Bihár as that of Tulsí Dás is amongst those of the Upper Provinces. The graceful lyrics of Bidyápati are on the lips of every educated man in Bihár, and have been adopted into Bangálí, and there found a host of imitators; Bidyápati sung of Krishna and Tulsí Dás of Rám, and it is a common saying in the mouths of the people of Tirhut that (as is also said, by the bye, of Súr Dás and Tulsí) between them they have exhausted all the resources of poetic art.

In conclusion, I need not recapitulate my arguments, for I hope that I have made my meaning sufficiently clear already. What I am driving at is that the people of Bihár should be taught their own language in the schools, and be ready to come to cutcherry without the fear of not being able to understand what is quite as bad as the Norman-French of our old English law-courts. I would willingly have left the task of argument and persuasion to abler hands, but the present time seems to me so fit for representing the matter, that the opportunity is not to be neglected. A great reform, which has been hanging fire for some years, is now really going to be effected in the written character of our courts, and now is the time for Government to go on in the same course, and to reform the language. The thing need not be done in a hurry, but should be begun at once. A committee of experts seated at Patná could do more in a single year than reams of correspondence, and a decade of solitary attempts such as this. Let it be settled thoroughly, and once for all, by competent men, after impartial investigation, what is to be the standard Eastern Hindúí language, and grammars, dictionaries, and text-books will follow as a mattter of course. Then, and not till then, can the other dialects of Bihár be called *patois*, and treated as such. Let us think that the welfare of 17 millions of Bihár alone is at stake, and set to work at once.

I remember a game which I used to play, when I was a child, with my brothers and sisters. We had a secret language,

principally consisting in spelling good, honest English words backwards. It was delightfully mysterious, for no one but ourselves could understand it; and it was very childish. When I grew older, I learned that the same system had been previously adopted, and that our children's play was not original, for it was only an imitation of thieves' Latin. Shall I say that the next time that I saw the game played was on a wider field, and that there was a difference; only one party of those engaged were children,—on the other side were two Indian Governments, and the secret language invented was not understood even by the players.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

ART. VIII.—REVENUE HISTORY OF CHITTAGONG.

Memorandum on the Revenue History of Chittagong. By H. J. S. Cotton, Esq., Collector and Magistrate of Chittagong. (Bengal Secretariat Press. 1880.)

THERE is considerable danger of a man becoming petrified into something like an 'antediluvian boulder' if he pursues researches into antiquity for his own pleasure, and not for their practical value. But the learned lumber that crowds an antiquary's brains, much in the same way as DeQuincey's papers filled his ancient bath, is different from the intelligent acquaintance with the Past which every official worker should possess and act upon. A work of Porson, digging up Greek roots, and a compilation of Collectorate Records, differ immensely in their respective objects.

The use of the word "compilation" is, however, apt to involve a "petitio principii." It is to a certain extent incompatible with originality. We can compile only what already exists, and yet by giving it a novel form, or some distinctively fresh features, it is possible to produce a work raised far above the level of ordinary compendia. The volume before us throws much light on the history of the English occupation of Chittagong from 1760 to 1848; and it brings out many characteristic and humorous facts, hitherto unknown, which illustrate more particularly the first thirty years of this period.

Five years before the grant of the Dewání to the Hon'ble Company, by Najam ud-Daula, the lands of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong had been ceded by Mir Kasim, son-in law of Mir Jafir, as the price of his elevation to the Subahdarí of Bengal by Vansittart. The office records of these three districts, therefore, possess a peculiar interest; and of Chittagong especially it may be said that their perusal is indispensable to a right comprehension of present complexities.

Chittagong is the *Mercia* of Bengal with regard to the Mongolian races dwelling in Arrakan and Burmah. Conquered five or six hundred years ago, by the Mughals, the province was won back by the Raja of Arrakan towards the close of the sixteenth century, and it did not finally pass under the Muhammadan régime until 1666, when the chief town received the name Islámábád. This delay unmistakeably indexes the absence of the Faithful from Chittagong before the reign of the Nawab Sháyistá Khan, nephew to the Empress Nur Jahán. But the Arrakanese rule

affected the province only slightly. There are some Buddhist remains, and a strong infusion of Maghs and Maghi vocables in the Bengali-speaking population. The mixture of Maghi and Arabic, the latter due to the numerous *khondokars* and *maktabs* called into existence by the large proportion (70 p. c.) of Musalmans in the district population, renders the Chittagong Bengali unintelligible to a stranger acquainted only with the dialects of such places as Nadiyá and Dacca. All Maghi incursions have long since ceased; and it is the Bengalis who now make a peaceful raid every year into Arrakan, to reap the crops of their indolent neighbours. The expression "Roshan Giyáchhe" is very common at harvest time; and the husbandmen generally make a good thing out of their expedition.

Tarafs and Táluks.—No records exist on the subject of any revenue assessment anterior to that of the Mughals. Under them all lands were originally *khálsá*, "Statelands." Subsequently, large *jágírs* were granted for the defence of the marches. Mr. Cotton attributes the present minute sub-division of land to the innumerable military sub-grants made to the garrison troops. These assigned lands, being resumed for the benefit of the Exchequer, became distinct and petty *tarafs*, the local name for a permanently-settled estate as contra-distinguished from *taluks*, which are estates settled for terms of years only. It may be added that in a Muhammadan district the Musalman law of fractional distribution amongst heirs would conduce greatly to the breaking up of estates.

Early Difficulties.—Mr. Verelst, the first Collector, or Chief, of Chittagong, had infinite trouble in getting a detailed account of the revenues of the province from his predecessors. He writes: "The villainous intention of those people that had the management of the revenues here before, in endeavouring to secrete from us and make as intricate as possible whatever they could, has delayed it (a report) thus long." The Nawábs had steadily raised rents until the "asal jama" of Muhammad Reza Khan amounted to the sum of Rs. 3,37,761-1-11¾, a large proportion of which never found its way up to Delhi. There were also various cesses and demands, such as sowah, saiar, kasbah, which raised the *hastabud*, actual collections, to Rs. 4,43,918-15-14¼ in 1166 B.S. The expression *nowábád* was even then applied to revenue accruing from newly-cleared lands, but the modern meaning of the term did not originate until many years later. Mr. Verelst's policy directed itself to keeping up the Mughal rates of assessment, except where they happened to be oppressive. He invited the people to come forward and clear jungle lands, allowing them to cultivate without any payment of revenue for the first five years. "Having received

a genteel and satisfactory answer from the Rája of Arrakan," he was active in trying to prevail upon settlers to take up jungle-clearing tenures in the south of the province, where there was a wide strip of dense forest between the cultivated lands of Chittagong and Arrakan. At a later date, Captain Cox, who has left his name in the Cox's Bazár Sub-division, pushed forward this work of clearing jungle and inducing Arrakanese immigrants to take up lands. The Burmese war of 1824 may be indirectly traced to his efforts in this direction.

Measurement of Lands.—The first measurement of lands, always looked back to with great reverence, began in 1764. More than half the *háshilá zamín* (cultivated land) had been given away under charitable *sanads*; and when holders of lákhiráj were required to produce their title-deeds, and prove their rights, many could not, and, as a result, had their lands included in the assessment. The total amount assessed is not known; but it seems to have been an increase on the Mughal assessment. Between 1765 and 1768 the annual collections averaged Rs. 4,66,243. The venality and oppression of the "black collectors" led to their abolition. No supervisors were ever appointed for Chittagong. There was always an English collector from the very first. The Resolution of the Court of Directors in 1772 "to stand forth as dewàn" did not affect this district; but the quinquennial settlement of that year was adopted there as elsewhere.

Quinquennial Settlement.—The total collections in 1771-72 amounted to Rs. 5,27,169, collected partly from the Zamíndárs themselves at the Sudder cutcherry, partly by means of *sezávals* appointed for definite *chaklas*. There were nine chaklas, not including Cox's Bazár sub-division, which was probably covered with forest. The chakladars ultimately became farmers with five-year farms; and under this system the *hastabud* for 1772-73, including the revenue from háts, ghâts, the kapás mahál (now included in the jurisdiction of the Hill Tracts), the tobacco mahál, the pán mahál, and others, amounted to Rs. 4,83,835. A salt agent was appointed for the salt mahál. In 1774 the chakladárs were suddenly abolished, and engagements entered into with leading Zamindars who were not mere speculators.

Annual Settlements.—Towards the close of the quinquennial settlement, one Kissen Dullol was deputed by Warren Hastings to collect accounts and make full enquiries at Chittagong; but his mission produced no tangible results. A new settlement was made in 1777 by the Collector, at lower rates; the total demand being fixed at Rs. 4,58,087-9-2. This arrangement was continued year by year until 1781-82, though the average collections were less than under the quinquennial settlement. Again, in 1781,

the Calcutta Committee of Revenue made a vigorous attempt to raise the jama to about six lákhs, and appointed Khoshal Chund *Wodadar* to make the necessary arrangements. The *Wodadar* in reality superseded the Collector, and a conflict was inevitable. Khoshal Chund did not meet with the success he expected; and, the farming system being abandoned, mufassal settlements were entered into with each Zamíndár under a system of *khas* collections. The jamabandí for 1783 shows a total of Sicca Rs. 5,16,448-15-17-2, a considerable increase.

Permanent Settlement.—Yearly settlements were continued till the decennial settlement of 1790, when a gross rental was fixed, equal to Company's Rs. 4,98,912-15-10. In 1793 this settlement was made permanent. The rates were approximately Rs. 2-2 per acre. It will be understood that the permanent settlement applied to *tarafs* only. After the conclusion of the permanent settlement, the revenue history of Chittagong is almost synonymous with the history of its Noábád Question.

The Noábád Question.—All lands without the limits of *tarafs* and *lákhiráj* estates measured and assessed in 1764 are Noábád (nau-ábád). Noábád land is therefore waste land brought under cultivation after 1764. It has been mentioned that Mr. Verelst issued a proclamation calling on "all and several" to clear such lands, and enjoy exemption from payment of revenue for the first five years. Joynarain Ghosal, nephew to Gokul Chundra Ghosal, the first dewán of the district under Mr. Verelst, claimed that all waste lands in the province had been granted to him by virtue of a certain sanad which was confirmed in 1763 by the Chittagong council, though only in respect of certain lands, cleared by him, and formed into a separate zmíndárí. The validity of the original sanad was impugned. Some Arakanese immigrants declined to pay rent through the Joynagar Zamindar. His title to the waste lands occupied by them was disputed; and the production of the original grant became necessary. But the matter slumbered for some years, and it was not until after the permanent settlement had been concluded that the Joynagar Estate was resumed by orders of Government. The district was divided into

(1) Tarafdárí land, settled in perpetuity.

(2) Lákhiràj land exempt from payment of revenue.

(3) The Joynagar Estate, comprising *all* newly cleared and waste lands, according to the contention of the Ghoshals.

Mr. Cotton points outs that if the forged sanad had been detected, and the Joynagar Estate resumed before the permanent settlement, all Noábád lands would have been sold, settled decennially, and ultimately settled in perpetuity. In such case there would have been no Noábád Question to vex later generations. Unfortunately

Government did *not* resume the Joynagar Estate till 1800. The reasons for the step were the following :—

Firstly.—Mr. Verelst had no power to grant all the waste to Joynarain Ghosal, and the sanad was stamped with his private seal only.

Secondly.—The grant was incompatible with the terms of the proclamation calling on *all* people to take up jungle-clearing tenures.

Thirdly.—On the principle that *expressum facit cessare tacitum*, the confirmatory sanad, which referred to *a part* only of the waste, ignored any former grant of the *entire* waste to Joynarain Ghosal, and was inconsistent with it.

Litigation.—The case brought by the Ghoshals against Government was instituted in the year 1804 in the Zillah Court of Chittagong, removed to the Provincial Court of Dacca, where Sir R. Dick decreed in favour of the plaintiffs, and finally decided on Appeal in 1815 by the Sadar Dewání Adálat who gave the Ghoshals only the lands they were undoubtedly possessed of in 1764. The original sanad was declared to be a forgery. It bore date 13th May 1760, but the province had not been ceded till the following 27th September !

The Chittagong proclamation was dated the 12th May 1761 ; Mr. Cotton thinks the sanad produced before the Sadr Dewání Adálat was not the real sanad, as originally existing. The latter had been inspected by many Collectors in succession, and was probably lost, whether a forgery or not. The Ghoshals replaced it by an undoubtedly forged instrument, stamped only with Mr. Verelst's private seal, which might very likely have passed into the possession of the family. The forgery was a clumsy one ; and the Muhammadan date mistaken by the Hindu forgers.

Execution of the Decree.—To carry out the decree giving the Ghoshals possession of the lands which they were actually entitled to in 1764, it became necessary to re-measure the whole district of Chittagong. Various futile attempts were made. The difficulty of measuring Noábád lands, and, in fact, all lands in Chittagong lay in their extremely minute sub-division and endless dispersion. In 1822 the Ghoshals were re-instated ; but their property was again attached by the Collector in 1832. The fortunes of the family and its representatives remind us of the ups and downs of Gil Blas. As in his case a competence was in the end secured ; but not until all the ill-gotten wealth had been lost. It would be impossible within our present limits to give any detailed account of the settlement proceedings commenced in earnest for the first time by Mr. Hervey, and continued up to completion by Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ricketts. The technical expressions connected with the

work alone fill up a moderate-sized glossary. After thirty-three years of harassing measures and experiments the decree was executed in 1848. The following were the chief features of the undertaking:—

(1). The extent and boundaries of the tarafs were recorded finally.

(2). Valid and invalid *lákiráj* holdings were ascertained; and the latter resumed and assessed at half-rates.

(3). The Joynagar Noábád lands were measured and settled with the representatives of the Ghoshals.

(4). All Noábád lands, other than the Joynagar Estate, were marked off and settled with competent tálúkdárs.

(5). Noábád lands comparatively free from jungle were settled for 50 years, others for 25 years. The average rate per acre was Re. 1-11.

(6). Circle farmers were appointed to collect rents from khas lands and taluks, paying less than Rs. 50 yearly revenue. Other taluks were to pay in direct to the Sadr Treasury. The farming system has now been replaced by a khas tehsil arrangement, and since 1875, the 25 years taluks have undergone the process of re-settlement. This labour will be finished in about a year's time; but the whole question promises to be re-opened in 1899, when all taluks fall in again.

Mr. Cotton does not trace the Noábád question beyond 1848, except to notice some attempts made to disencumber the Revenue Roll of the vast number of petty estates, by allowing the owners to redeem at a certain number of years' purchase. Ridiculously petty estates have been struck off the Towjih roll as not being worth retaining.

Among the numerous appendices relating to a variety of topics, such as the impalement and mutilation of criminals during the latter part of last century, the attempt to grow indigo at Chittagong, and the like, we shall only draw attention to a very characteristic and amusing appendix (U) on the subject of postal arrangements:—

"In 1776 the Hon'ble Company took the extraordinary step of dissociating themselves from the post-office, and leaving the local residents at Chittagong to make the best arrangements for themselves they could. A "Dáwk Committee" was at once established; and its proceedings, recorded under date the 24th July 1776, are of an entertaining character.........A Mr. Goodwin appears to have given them great offence, and their first action is to give notice to Henry Goodwin, Chief of Luckipore, that if he ever opens dáwks addressed to "F. Law" (the Collector), they are unanimously resolved that he shall be prosecuted with

the utmost vigour of the law. It is then resolved that Rs. 20-4 shall be allowed monthly for the repair of the public roads......A tax of annas 8 a wheel throughout the station is imposed......The Committee's final resolutions about excluding Goodwin are communicated to him in a letter signed by Law, and ending "Your insinuations against myself are shocking." To this Goodwin sends a long and eminently peaceful reply ....An internal quarrel then arose. Mr. Bright (the assistant) removed the dáwk-box from Rangmahl, the Chief's house, to his own. A committee, by a majority of one, resolved that this power was usurped, and ordered the box back.........The following resolutions (I quote a few only) were then passed :—

All tattoo horses found on the roads to be shot. Strangers are allowed to subscribe, but to have no voice in the meetings.

Any person receiving a parcel by any other dáwk to be fined Rs. 20.

Then occurs the following remarkable entry :—

"The bearers having assembled at the time of the Board's sitting, and interrupted their proceedings by making a confounded noise in order to obtain an increase of wages of four annas a month, it was resolved that each man laid hold of should receive twelve stripes with a rattan, which was accordingly put in execution, and it was agreed that on every future insurrection of the kind they shall receive the same encouragement." The regulations then continue :—

Mr. Leeke to regulate the price of provisions.

The proprietors and ladies of the settlement dine with Mr. Law on the 1st day of each month. Any member absent from a meeting to be fined at the discretion of those present.

Cotes, Calvert, and Shardon fined Rs. 5 each for late attendance.

Bright, however, refuses to be bound by the resolutions as "unworthy of free men.......These arrangements did not last long." In March 1778 a dáwk was finally established between Chittagong and Dacca, running every two days; and this was succeeded in 1794 by a daily post.

CHARLES P. CASPERSZ.

Art. IX.—"TRAVELS OF A HINDU."

Chapter I.

October 5*th*, 1876.—It is full ten years ago that we parted company with the reader in another place.

The year of our parting was 1866—the scene Delhi. In resuming the thread of our "travel's history," we propose to shift our Pillars of Hercules further west from that city. This time the course of our journey first veers towards the north point of the compass, and then takes a turn westward to storied regions—to lands famed for being the cradle of human civilisation; where first rose philosophy, science, and the arts; where valour has fought some of its greatest battles.

The fashion of travelling *à-la-Mogul*, either "in the magnificent tabernacle of a *Tukhtrama*," or "upon a stupendous Pegu elephant," or in "a covered palankin,"—and proceeding in a slow and solemn march to find hot dishes ready for discussion at the next station, is now among the bygones—"with the years beyond the flood." Men now move very differently, in very different vehicular contrivances, and with very different ideas of the value of time. The road, too, is not the self-same road down which rolled the several tides of invasion from "the populous north," and up which went the Great Mogul Padishahs on their summer excursions to Kashmir.* The route to the Hills now-a-days goes midway through the valley between the Jumna and Ganges, and the time occupied in the journey has been minimised from days and months to hours.

It is said, "the day of *Lalla Rookh's* departure was as splendid as sunshine and pageantry could make it. The bazars and baths were all covered with the richest tapestry; hundreds of gilded barges upon the Jumna floated with their banners shining in the water, while through the streets groups of children went strewing the most delicate flowers around, as in that Persian festival called the Scattering of Roses, till every part of the city was as fragrant as if a caravan of musk from Khoten had passed through it." Not a mouse stirs when a *Musafir* sets out upon his journey. Making up his bag and baggage, and hurrying through his meal—for it is not time or tide only, but also the train that does not wait for any body—he hies off to the station, and, turning his back upon the Imperial city, makes a noiseless exit.

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* Bernier has an interesting account of one of these excursions by Aurungzeb.

Our first scene opens at Ghaziabad, whence the traveller, bound for Simla or Lahore, now has to make his start. The up-mail train set us down here precisely at the time-table hour—6-35 A.M. The crisp morning air, chasing away fog, made us "all right" in a few minutes. But camp-followers do not more hamper the march of an army than do servants, luggage, baggage, and uncertain *et cetera*, the progress of a Railway tourist. Sorely complaining of his having been *black-holed* all night in a compartment crowded with sixteen passengers, our khansamah prayed to know how much of the brief interval between one train-time and another would remain for him to serve himself after having served us. The answer "a pucka half hour," made woe-begone aspect brighten up with a smile. No sooner had he got his leave than he ran off for the tank, and then to the bazar, where he stuffed himself with as much of eatables and drinkables as he thought might enable him to stand the remaining portion of the journey.

Ghaziabad is a common station between two Railway Companies—the one having the southern, and the other the northern set of rooms. Here, the traveller exchanges the East Indian for the Sind-Punjab-and-Delhi line. The platform being cleared of the crowd, we secured our quarters in a room by the side of which a Delhi-wallah kept a neat little shop for the sale of hot coffee and tea. On principle, we were bound to encourage this man—the money paid to all such vendors remains and circulates in the land.

The country around lies open for many miles, the Station forming the central object. Ghaziabad seems to be Heber's Ghaziudeennugger,—"a small, ruinous walled town," falling on his way from Meerut to Delhi. To this day his description holds good. Hardly has the place improved in fifty years from being a collection of poor huts and a few scattered ruins. But it has now the chance of a better future. Forming the meeting-point between two highways, there flows through it a stream of traffic which is sure to leave its mark upon the spot.

The train that was to carry us forward, came in and stood drawn up by the platform. More roomy carriages, with wider seats and better cushions, at once told of the difference in favor of the rolling-stock on the new line. The bath in each carriage was a proof that up here they were better alive to the fact of carrying beings who were heirs to all sorts of wants and necessities. Thrusting in the bag and baggage, we had scarcely seated ourselves, when the train started, and we were off *en route* for the Hills.

In the same carriage with us was a Mahomedan gentleman proceeding from Delhi to Lahore. Intelligent and amiable, he

proved an agreeable companion in a journey the tedium of which tells not a little on one's patience.

The track of our journey is not so new as it seems to be. It may be identified with one of the routes through which there has been intercommunication since far off times. They used almost this very road between ancient Indraprastha and Hastinapura. Krishna and Vyasa often went this way on their errands to the Kaurava Court. Very much this identical road was taken by Kalidas' Cloud Messenger, who, like ourselves, was also bound for the Hills.

Fifty years ago, Bishop Heber, travelling down this road, wrote:—"All the way was scattered with ruins; the groves of fruit-trees were few, small, and neglected; the villages very mean, the people looking half-starved and quite heart-broken, and cultivation of the most sloven kind." Twenty years later, very much the same state of things met the eye of Sleeman, who says:—"The country between Delhi and Meerut is sadly denuded of its groves; not a grove or an avenue is to be seen anywhere, and but few fine solitary trees." Heber's account was given in a year in which there were only "three light showers." Sleeman traced the cause of the desolation to Sikh Chiefs who formerly "used to come and lay waste the country with fire and sword, at every returning harvest." How lovely is the prospect now. The country is a vast sheet of cultivation; and the fields are green with *jowara* and *bajra* in the ear. This is to be placed as much to the account of the plentiful rainfall of this year as to that of the present regime.—Here and there an old ruin still rears its head.

There is little to note as we rush along towards *Begumabad*. Unless it be Bala Bai, who received this, with ninety-four other villages, in assignment for her maintenance, during her father Madhaji Sindia's Premiership of the Mogul Empire, it is not known to what other Begum this place owes its name and origin; —in days gone by, the number of Begums and Bais in the land was legion. Both Heber and Sleeman notice this village, which has a thick group of huts, a bazar, and a serai, features common to all Indian towns. Surrounded by great breadths of cultivation, Begumabad is an agricultural centre, occupied by an agricultural population. No sign of architecture or industry are to be seen. The only arts pursued here are those necessary to getting on in Indian agricultural life. The Mahratta princess dying in 1834, her *jagir* lapsed to the British Government. This earlier waiting-policy was a winning-policy, which markedly contrasts with the later annexation-policy of British rule.

Three miles on from Begumabad is *Meerut*—the first place

of interest on this line. Meerut consists of the old Native city, and the modern British cantonment. Local tradition claims for it the Hindu name of Mairashtra, with an antiquity extending back to the age of the Pandavas. It is said to have been the abode of Maya Danava, in ancient Khandava-prastha, the remains of whose dwelling they pretend to show in a huge mound, the desolate appearance and forgotten history of which favour the circulation of the story.

The first authentic mention of Meerut is dated 1017 A.D., when it is spoken of as falling on Mahmud of Ghuzni's route back from Kanouj. To spare itself from the vengeance of that monarch, the town offered him, with an unqualified submission, a ransom of 250,000 dinars and 30 elephants. In 1327 Meerut was strong enough to hold out against Timurshin Khan, the formidable Mogul invader whom Mohamed Togluk had to buy off by a large sum. But it was not so fortunate during the invasion of the ruthless Timur, whose "troops took it by escalade, sacked it, and demolished the walls. The Guebres were all flayed alive, their women and children were made slaves, the houses burned, the walls razed, and the whole place reduced to dust and ashes." Fallen Meerut is barely noticed by Abul Fazil, as having "a brickfort between two rivers."

Lying encamped near Meerut, "during one of his little kingdom-taking expeditions," the Jât Chief, Suraji Mul, had a dream in which he was visited by a Hindu saint, and urged to dig a tank. This noble work, bearing his name—Suraji Koond, exists to this day to attest his beneficence.

In 1788 Gholam Kadir, hard pressed by the Mahrattas, had thrown himself into the Meerut fort. But so close a cordon was drawn round the place by the enemy, that not a loophole for escape was left. His audacity failing him within the invincible iron circle, the Rohilla Chief offered terms of submission. But the Mahratta leader met his overtures with an assault. Gholam Kadir kept his ground with great obstinacy. But, finding that his men had grown weary and lukewarm in his cause, he stole out of the fort at night, "mounted on a horse, into whose saddle-bags he had stuffed a large amount of the most valuable jewellery from the palace-plunder, which he had ever since retained in his own keeping, in view of an emergency. He rode some twelve miles through the winter night, avoiding the haunts of men, and apparently hoping to cross the Jumna, and find refuge with the Sikhs. At last, in the mists of the dawn, his weary horse, wandering over the fields, fell into a slope used for the descent of the oxen who draw up the bucket from the well, for the purposes of irrigation. The horse rose, and galloped off by the incline made for the

bullocks, but the rider was either stunned or disabled by his bruises, and remained where he fell. As the day dawned, the Brahmin cultivator came to yoke his cattle, and water the wheat; when he found the richly-dressed form of one whom he speedily recognised as having but lately refused him redress, when plundered by the Pathan soldiery. '*Salaam, Nawab Sabib!*' said the man, offering a mock obeisance, with clownish malice, to his late oppressor. The scared and famished caitiff sat up and looked about him. 'Why do you call me Nawab?' he asked. 'I am a poor soldier, wounded, seeking my home. I have lost all I have, but put me in the road to Ghosgarh, and I will reward you hereafter?' Necessarily, the mention of this fort would have put at rest any doubt in the Brahmin's mind; he at once shouted for assistance, and presently carried off his prize to Rana Khan's camp. Hence the prisoner was despatched to Sindia, at Muthra. On his arrival there, Sindia inflicted upon him the punishment of *Tashir*, sending him round the bazar on a jackass, with his face to the tail, and a guard instructed to stop at every considerable shop, and beg a *cowri*, in the name of the Nawab of Bawani. The wretched man becoming abusive under the contemptuous treatment, his tongue was torn out of his mouth. Gradually he was mutilated further; being first blinded, as a retribution for his similar treatment of the Emperor, and subsequently deprived of his nose, ears, hands, and feet, and sent to Delhi. Death came to his relief on the road,—it is believed by his being hanged upon a tree, 3rd March 1789; and the mangled trunk was sent to Delhi, where it was laid before the sightless monarch, the most ghashtly *Nazar* that ever was presented in the *Dewani Khas*."*

The city which brings all this to the mind, has an excellent position, midway between the Ganges on the one hand and the Jumna on the other. Right through the spot passes a small branch of the Kali Nadi, the bridge over which struck Heber as an absurdity. But in the rainy months "it is not a bit longer than it is necessary." Ruinous walls and other *debris* bear testimony to the age of Meerut. But it has not much to show in the way of buildings—the most prominent architecture being a few pagodas and mosques, all of which are out-topped by a church "with a high and handsome spire."

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* Keene's "Fall of the Moghul Empire." Dara's head was once before laid before Aurungzeb in a similar manner. Suraj-ud-Dowla was similarly recognised and betrayed to his enemy. The jewel-laden horse of Gholam Kadir is supposed to have fallen into the hands of M. Lestonneaux, a French officer in Sindia's service, who shortly after left India. The crown jewels of the Great Mogul, left unappropriated by Nadir Shah, are believed to be now in France.

The Cantonment—two miles north of the town—has its own tale to tell. Its advantageous situation "in a wide and dry plain" is at once apparent to the eye. The British frontier, first pushed from the Karmanassa to the Ganges, and next from the Ganges to the Jumna, was watched by removing the advanced post from Anupshahar to Meerut, in 1806. Choice was made of this spot more from sanitary than strategical considerations. The high latitude, the elevation—some 900 feet above the sea, the soil, the climate, all recommended it as a healthy locality in the plains of Hindustan. The weather in the cold months is almost European. Many European vegetables and fruits are reaped here. Though no snow ever falls, thin ice is formed during the wintry nights. The only local disadvantage is the scorching heat under a more vertical sun in the longer days of summer.

The cantonment here is one of those which thickly dot the surface of the Anglo-Indian empire, where he who runs may read that it is a vast camp held and governed by the sword. Meerut possesses importance only as a centre of military force,—not of any intellectual force, or industry, or taste, or magnificence. From an outpost in the beginning, the place, beautifully laid out with bungalows, mess-houses, barracks, sepoy-lines, bazars, hospitals, play-grounds, and theatres, has now grown to be the first, centrical military depôt in Upper Hindustan. The parade-ground is a fine open plain, a mile in width and four miles in length. As the train slowly moved on, a columnar monument with other details met the view.

The history of an Indian cantonment is the history chiefly of field-exercises—of balls, suppers, and gaieties succeeding in a round. The fête which possesses a historical interest was that given in honor of Jacquemont. That French traveller "arrived at Meerut in time to hear of the French Revolution of 1830. All the English officers became suddenly so enthusiastic about the new-born liberty of France, that they insisted upon giving a public dinner to Jacquemont as a representative of French constitutional freedom. His host, a cavalry Colonel, wounded at Waterloo, ended his speech by hugging Jacquemont to his breast and bursting into tears. Every officer in the cantonments was seized with a desire to constantly shake Jacquemont by the hand, which, he declares, was oftener squeezed than that of M. de Lafayette in America. Night after night champagne poured forth in honor of France and Jacquemont. Tri-color flags adorned the mess-rooms, and the English officers to a man wore tri-colored ribands in honor of their guest."*

* *The Englishman*, 28th April, 1879.

Such, for a series of years, were "the short and simple annals" of Meerut, until there happened an event which, baptising the place in blood, made for it an ever memorable history. The reader scarcely needs be told that it was here that first appeared the cloud no bigger than a man's hand, which, finally assuming proportions that overcast the political sky of almost all India, ushered in a storm the fury of which was as appalling as the lesson it taught was grand and impressive. He well recollects how, in 1857, the sepoys, timing their hot business with one of the hottest days of the year—the 10th of May—broke out here in the most undisguised mutiny by striking and smiting down their officers in the midst of their Sunday evening-prayers, and after gutting and sacking the place, went out red-handed, waving the standard of rebellion, and shifted the scene of their drama to the imperial city of Delhi.

One may have an interesting trip from Meerut to ancient *Hastinapura*, which is distant only some twenty miles, in a north-east direction. But not a trace of that famous Aryan city now exists above ground. It has disappeared long, long since—the date being as far back as about the year 1200 B.C. The destruction of Hastinapura is said to have been caused by the irruption of the Ganges, which, in shifting its channel, took a fatal direction through the city, and swept it away in its track—a fate met with by many a city in India. The few vestiges yet surviving, lie imbedded several feet beneath the surface of the country, close by the *Budhi Ganga*, or the old bed of the Ganges. In cutting the Ganges Canal, they came upon a portion of these subterranean remains, in a stratum filled with broken pottery, and heaps of large sized bricks employed in ancient Hindu architecture. The site is well remembered in local tradition—no Hindu can ever forget so memorable a place in Hindu history. Immortalized in the great national epic, Hastinapura defies time, neglect, and the obliteration of all its landmarks, to engulf its memory in oblivion. The city of Hasti, the seat of the Kaurava dynasty, has an undying fame that can only perish with the Sanscrit language and literature. Few spots there are so interesting as where Parikshit celebrated his *Parayana*, and was bitten by the Tacshac; or where Janamejaya listened to the recitation of the Mahabharat, and performed the sacrifice for the destruction of the serpent-race.* But the genuine scenes of those events having disappeared, they are now substituted by *ghats* on the banks of the present Ganges,

* The spot of this sacrifice is said to be the present small town of Ahar, on the right bank of the Ganges, some twenty-one miles to the north-east of Bulandsahar.

which nobody suspects to be "counterfeit presentments." Hastinapura was overwhelmed in the time of Nichakara, the fifth prince from Yudishthira, who removed his capital to Kosambi, on the Jumna, near Allahabad.

The greatness of Hastinapura has been questioned by Mr. Wheeler, in his "Mahabharata." In his opinion, Hastinapura "was an outpost of the Aryan race, with a nondescript population comprising cultivators, herdsman, mechanics, retainers, and petty shop-keepers, who seem to have dwelt in an assemblage of huts, or houses, constructed of mats, bamboos, mud, or bricks, which was dignified by the name of the city. The palace was very likely built after a similar fashion, though on a larger scale, and with some pretensions to strength. Probably it was a rude quadrangular building, having men's apartments on one side, and women's apartments on the other; whilst the third side was devoted to the kitchens and household servants. The fourth side, the most important of all, formed the gateway or Entrance Hall, so common in Hindu palaces; and in this Hall, which was open to all-comers, the Raja sat in Council with his kinsmen and subordinate chieftains, and administered rude patriarchal justice, or discussed affairs of State, such as wars, marriages, alliances, or other business connected with the Raj. In the neighbourhood of the city, lands were probably cleared and cultivated, and herds of cattle pastured; all of which either belonged to the Raja, or to Chieftains subordinate to the Raja."*

This is little short of saying that Hastinapura was a city of the Stone age, with scarcely any better architecture than cairns and cromlechs. The capital of the Lunar Princes must have been judged by the high standard of modern Paris, London, and Calcutta, or such an opinion could not have been risked in the face of much intrinsic evidence to the contrary scattered through the work under comment. The low estimate is a bold assumption, savouring of the prejudice and sophistry of Mill. But Mill erred, because he groped in the dark, for dearth of information. No such excuse can be pleaded in favour of Mr. Wheeler, who has passed several years in India, has visited many of its cities and monuments, and has written by the light which the researches of half a century have shed on the subject. It is unfortunate that he should have adopted conclusions without sufficiently utilizing his opportunities, and thereby disappointed the Indian public by a work which is chiefly a tissue of theories more amusing than they are instructive.

Manu's Code, said to be compiled at least 1,000 to 1,200 years

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* Wheeler's "Mahabharata."

before Christ, abounds with proofs of high civilization in ancient India. Touching the palace of kings, he recommends it to be "in the centre of the fortress"—that it should be "defensible, well-finished, brilliant, and surrounded with water and trees." He speaks also of "gardens, bowers, terraces, cisterns of water, bake-houses, lodgings of harlots, taverns, victualling-shops, squares where four ways meet, large, well-known trees, assemblies, and public spectacles," all which must have entered into the construction of an ancient Hindu city, or they would not have been mentioned in that old Hindu work. The Rig Veda, which gives us glimpses of the earliest life in India, speaks of "fortified cities" dwelt in even by the pre-Aryan Dasyas. The importance of Hastinapura is underrated on the score of cultivated fields in its neighbourhood, and the pasturage of cattle within its walls. Sixty miles in compass, there can be no question about the greatness of ancient Babylon. But crops, watered by the Euphrates running through the middle, were raised within that city when besieged by an enemy.

Delhi, described in its best days by Bernier, was crowded with several thousand wattled huts. It is since sanitation has been better understood that cities have begun to change their aspect. Hastinapura may have been an outpost under its founder Hasti, when its neighbourhood was infested by wild elephants. But with the weight of all evidence in its favor, we cannot accept any other view than that, in the age of Duryodhana and Yudishthira, it was a royal capital, which ranked in greatness and magnificence with its contemporaneous cities of Thebes, Heliopolis, Nineveh, Mycenæ, and Ilium,—a capital described by Ritter as having been "the Babylon of India." From the very extensive area of the waste in which the city lies, one may form at least a conception of its greatness.

The Greek geographers identify Hastinapura with their *Bastinora.* But Hwen Thsang has not a word about it. Abul Fazil merely describes it as "a place of worship on the Ganges."

Both a military and civil station, Meerut has a large European society. Many Sahibs here got up into the train. The aversion to rub knees in the same Railway carriage is mutual between the European and the Native. There has never been, and there is never likely to be any real sympathy between them. There exists merely an exchange of courtesy. The Native advocates of *reunions* think of bridging the gulf between races, when the gulfs between their own castes lie open.

From Meerut, the train passes through a country which spreads a dead level—a "waveless horizon," unbroken by a single irregularity. The featureless region tells by its wearisome uniformity.

But you are well kept in humour by the signs of plenty and profusion held forth by the vast expanse of cultivation.

Fourteen miles from Meerut, in a north-westerly direction, is *Sardhana*—once the capital of the Raj of the Sumroos.

In the game for power played during the anarchy of the last century, the trump-card which generally won was the little band of troops that was officered and organised by Europeans. It won the battle of Plassey, it won the battle of Buxar. Contending parties bade high for the band which turned the scale of victory in their favor. The premium it fetched was full of significance, by which the shrewd Sumroo could not fail to be struck. To give an onward push to his luck which lagged far behind his ambition, he hit upon the plan of setting himself up as "a trading captain" and "an auctioneering general." He raised four battalions, officered by European adventurers then abounding in Upper India, which he proclaimed were to let to the highest bidder. Many were the calls for this fighting material at his disposal. But disposed to befriend no other cause than that of himself, it was Sumroo's patent rule "to enter the field of battle in column at the *safest point;* form line facing the enemy, fire a few rounds in the direction where they stood, without regard to the distance or effect; form square, and *await the course of events.* If victory declared for the enemy, he sold his unbroken force to him to great advantage; if, for his friends, he assisted them in collecting the plunder, and securing all the advantages of the victory."*

The sport of many a tide and ebb of fortune in thus utilising other men's difficulties and making his own opportunities, Sumroo was at last landed upon firm ground—upon three splendid *jagirs.* These he carved out and erected into an independent State—a little Raj for himself, by founding his capital at Sardhana, surrounding it with a mud wall, fortifying it with a citadel, maintaining an army, taking a Mussulmani wife, keeping an additional concubine, and ruling verily like an Eastern potentate. Thus, his "nothing-venture nothing-have" career culminated in his elevation to the rank of an Indian power.

Nevertheless, Sumroo was still dogged by his evil star. The European troops and officers by whom he was surrounded were a set of incorrigible drunkards and debauchees, who knew not to read and write. They often rose in mutiny, and held him in duresse,—and on one occasion "put him astride upon a hot gun without his trowsers," in order to get themselves paid.—Sumroo, like the Nana, was a miscreant on whom the English

* Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections.*

panted to be revenged. But he was too wary to fall into their grip, and gave them the final slip by dying, many years—in 1778—before they had the opportunity of bearding the lion in his own den. Like the *Corsair*, he left his name to other times,

"Linked with one virtue, and a thousand crimes."

The Begum, who chose to have the adjunct of Sumroo to her name, ranks with those female celebrities who, from age to age, adorn the annals of India. Her proper place is with—to quote the names familiar to our generation—the Rani Chunda and the Rani of Jhansi. Two females have made themselves particularly famous in the modern history of Hindustan. Scarcely had the sun of Ahuliya Bai—the stainless and the angelic Ahuliya—set below the horizon, before the lesser light of Begum Sumroo attracted the eyes of men. The history of the Begum reads like a romance—like an Eastern apologue of an Eastern lady, as richly colored as the Tales of Scheherzade. Here is material for a first-class novel by an artist. The heroine is a genuine Lady Macbeth-type heroine—a variety to tempt the skilful author of the *Durgaish Nandini* and *Mrinalini*. Living, the Begum, by her sex, her romantic incidents, her prominent station, her talents, excited an interest which was felt even by Governors-General and Commanders-in-Chief, who gratified their curiosity by honoring her with their visits, and partaking of her hospitality. To us, the woman, who was born and bred a Mahomedan, but turned a Roman Catholic Christian, and kept a Catholic chaplain, and built a Catholic Church; who was at first a nautch-girl, but afterwards the ruler of a principality; who cast in her lot with a foreigner—a soldier of fortune; who was surrounded by adventurers with whom she coquetted, but whom she never trusted; who was half-savage and half-civilized; who, having the power of life and death within her territory, inflicted upon many people the cruel mutilation of their noses and ears—who hoaxed a lover into shooting himself; who rendered important services to her Suzerain, and obtained the title of Ornament of the Sex; who, during the Mahratta wars, gallantly rode into action at the head of her regiments; who gave audience to her native employes behind screens and appeared veiled in darbars, but rode on horse-back or on an elephant in public, and in European society took her place at table, waited on exclusively by her female attendants, who united in herself the most contradictory qualities of weakness and strength—of cruelty and generosity,—to us, such a woman, contemplated beyond the grave, appears more as a figment of imagination than a real character—more fitted to adorn a tale than figure in the page of sober history.

But there is no denying the great powers of mind of the Begum. No European who came across her but bore testimony to her being a remarkable woman. Lord William Bentinck, on the eve of his quitting India, addressed her a letter expressing his esteem for her character, and complimenting her on her kind-heartedness and benevolence.

On one solitary occasion did the Begum allow her frailty to get the better of her prudence—she was yet of an age when a woman still feels "the tumult of blood in her veins"—and cherished a passion for one of her officers, a gallant young Frenchman of the name of Le Vaisseau. Reluctant to lower herself in public esteem and compromise her position as Sumroo's heiress and jeopardise her large possessions by an open acceptance of this man for her lord, but unable at the same time to subdue her inclination and conceal her partiality for him, she took a middle course. This was to privately marry Le Vaisseau in the presence of two witnesses, and keep it a dead secret from the outside world. But man proposes, and God disposes. Before long, the turbulent spirits surrounding her got scent of the matter. Things growing unpleasant for her, the Begum proposed to retire with Le Vaisseau to Chandernagore. In the dead of night she set out in a palky,—Le Vaisseau escorting her on horseback, and urging on the bearers with armed pistols in his hand—they having previously made the mutual agreement of two romantic lovers between them that neither of them should survive the death of the other. Missing the fugitives, the rebellious troops gave them the chase. By putting whip and spur to his horse, Le Vaisseau could have galloped away, and lived to make love another day. But with the chivalrous notions of Europe in his head, he disdained to desert his Dulcinea in her hour of need. "They had got three miles on the road to Meerut, when the soldiers came up close behind them. The female attendants of the Begum began to scream, and looking into the litter, Le Vaisseau saw the white cloth that covered the Begum's breast stained with blood. She had stabbed herself, but the dagger had struck against one of the bones of her chest, and she had not courage to repeat the blow. Her husband put the pistol to his temple, and fired. The ball passed through his head, and he fell dead to the ground."* True to his vow, Le Vaisseau fulfilled his part of the compact to the letter. But it is a question whether, outwitted by a "cute" lady of the East, he was not a victim of Quixotism—and it is a suspicion whether the Begum, trained in the traditions of her country, did not once more practice the deceit which was played by Asof Jah against Saadat Khan on

* Sleeman.

their being taunted by Nadir Shah for their cold-heartedness to the cause of their sovereign. Poor Le Vaisseau's body was left to the vultures and jackals. The Begum was carried a prisoner to Sardhana, where she was kept tied under a gun for seven days without any food or drink, and would have died of starvation in that situation, had not a faithful *ayah* supplied her wants by stealth. Being once more re-seated upon her musnud, "the astute woman never again allowed the weakness of her sex to imperil her sovereignty." The crisis sobered her for all future time. It taught her wisdom, firmness, and self-control—was the great turning-point of her political career.

On her death, the territories her claims to which had met with recognition were absorbed into the British possessions. She lies buried under a picturesque tomb at Sardhana—and her palace, convent, school, and cathedral, attest to this day the balance of good over the evil which were strangely intermixed in her character.

It is now many years back—either in 1837 or 1838, that we remember seeing the heir of the Sumroo family—Mr. Dyce Sombre. Tall and well built, of a complexion deeper than the true Eurasian, with eyes large and full, his image yet vividly stands before our vision. He had called at our College to bid adieu to a friend—an ex-Captain of the British army, who had become our tutor—on his way to England, in search of a wife, with a purse of 60 lakhs of rupees—the savings of his step-great-grandmother. What befel him there, it suits and boots us to say no more than that it is a mystery of the deepest dye.

The train held on its course due northwards. The day was fine: the air light and balmy. On either side of the road, the valley was all corn and foliage. The earth wore "a gay green coat," and smiled with a genial aspect.

There was the reality of the present before the bodily eye. But it was a spectacle not so widely different from any that India could show in times long gone by. "The number of kinds of grain and other productions are proofs of a highly cultivated country, and the Code in general presents the picture of a peaceful and flourishing community."*

As we advanced, recollections crowding into the mind softly led us back, and landed us in the distant past. Revived and colored by imagination, the scenes of ancient life asserted their claim to consideration. The vast rich plain, which now bears the name of Upper Doab, and exhibits everywhere clustering villages and towns in the midst of endless cornfields, constituted

* Elphistone's India.

part of the country which was anciently renowned as the *Brahmarishidesha*—Manu's "civilized world." Well has that world been imagined to bear "the shape of a comet, with the eye in the north-west of India, and a broad tail spreading south-east to the Bay of Bengal."* Travelling up from the farthest tail-end, we are nearing every moment the eye of that comet. The Brahmarishidesha Proper was the tract which commenced immediately after, and adjoined, the *Devanirmittam Brahmaverttam.* It was the land into which the Aryans made their second stride. In far off times, the adventurers who first pushed their conquests eastward camped here, like advanced picquets thrown off from the centre of their settlement—the focus of their race, on the banks of the Sarasvati. Posted in the fore-front, they were fighters who held the aboriginal Dasyas at arm's length, and kept their ground. This was many ages before Manu's Institutes were compiled, before Panini was born—while the ethnic integrity of the Aryans was still intact, their speech pure, and their faith simple; while they were half-soldiers and half-shepherds and agriculturists, knowing no better political cohesion than to live in scattered congeries and confederacies; while they still chanted the hymns of the Yayur and Atharvan Vedas.

Unlike the Caggar and Chandawar of the Mahomedans, the Plassey and Buxar of the English, the names of the first Aryan victories have not come down to us. The advance into the Brahmarishidesha marked a new epoch in Indo-Aryan history. The adventurous body of colonists who issued forth from the Sarasvati in quest of new abodes on the Jumna and Ganges, brought with them the first rude forecast of the polity laid down by Manu. But in the regions watered by these rivers, they lived amidst new surroundings. New local exigencies led to new persuits, and new experiencies were encountered. Unable to resist the potency of the natural effects of settling in new countries, they acquired new habits, and fell into new ways of thinking. There now arose among the Aryans those "men of light and leading," who in every age and country give body to, and shape the destiny of, a people. In the Brahmarishidesha properly commenced the history of the Hindu nation. It was here that the frame-work of Hindu society was first fashioned. This—the slow work of ages—did not take place till the close of the Vedic period, which was succeeded by the Brahmanic period. The first was the age of exertion. The second was the age of leisure. Men of valor had done their work of subjugation. Men of reflection next sat down to complete the work

* Hunter's "Annals of Rural Bengal."

of consolidation. They organised extensive political combinations, and founded mighty states. They established the famous Solar and Lunar dynasties. They built the cities of Hastinapura, Panchala, Varanavata* Indraprastha, Virata, Kosambi, and Kasi. The native Aryan speech was now fixed and fettered by grammatical rules to preserve it inviolate from the aboriginal jargon. To preserve inviolate their conqueror's aristocratic caste, the Aryan statesmen condemned the Gandharva-marriage, or the warrior's union with his prize-woman, justified in an age of war. They now devised the politico-economic institution otherwise called the caste-system. Under that system, the Brahmin, or the man of knowledge, took the first rank in society—became its "guide and philosopher." Next in importance for State purposes, the warrior held the second rank. Then came the men of enterprise and wealth-makers, who form the back-bone of a nation. To the Sudras, or the subject-race, was assigned the lowest rank, in which, hedged in by disabilities, their lot was fixed to be an

"Unrespited, unpitied, unreprieved"

servitude to the dominant race for "ages of hopeless end." Exigencies that necessitated political and social innovations, necessitated also religious innovations. No more were Indra and Agni, Vayu and Varuna, simply worshipped and prayed to for protection and a prolific harvest. In the Brahmarishidesha arose "a new dynasty of deities." Public temples now first raised their heads under the Indian sky. The *Veda Sangitas* were collected for a basis. But upon that basis the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* built an elaborate system of rites and sacrifices for invocation. A grave synod compiled the "Institutes," laid down from age to age, for an infallible guide of the national life. The laws of purification therein enjoined are the earliest sanitary regulations under record. In fact, the Aryans in the Brahmarishidesha underwent that radical change which first gave them the Hindu stamp, and imprinted upon them the characteristics of the Hindu nation—a change which perpetuated the separation of the Vedic branch from the Avestic branch, and made the descendants from one common stock two different and distinct peoples. So enduring has been the effect of that change, that, during four thousand years, no outside foreign influences have succeeded in producing an impression altering the peculiar institutions under which the Hindus assumed the coherence, permanence, and status of a nation, and by which they stand broadly distinguished to this day from all other peoples of the earth.

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* Identified by Mr. Growse with Bulandshahar. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLVIII., Part I., No. IV., 1879.

The fatherland of its origin, power, civilization, and greatness is always endeared to a nation. The Brahmarishidesha being such a parent-state to the Hindus, it has always stood high in their regard, and filled their minds with overflowing sentiment. In the Vedic ages, the Aryans looked back with fondness to their primitive home in Central Asia. Since the Brahmanic period, the Hindus have looked back with that fondness first upon the Brahmaverttam—the earliest cradle and nursery of their race and religion; and next upon the Brahmarishidesha—the area of the development of that race and religion. The compilers of the national code devoutly style the one "the Abode of the Gods," and the other the *Puniyabhumi*, or the Land of Righteousness. More and more remote as the Hindu spread his dominion, did he cast more and more wistful looks behind—till, in furthest Bengal, he pined as a home-sick exile in Botany Bay, and "the happy seat" of his forefathers stood alone in his recollection like Adam's fall. "It is impossible not to respect this sentiment, which belongs to the higher and purer part of human nature, and which adds not a little to the strength of states. A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors, will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants."

Yes, the "remote descendants"—the Doabi Hindus of the present day, yet keep up such a pride—the pride of the nobility towards the commonalty, the pride of a Johnson towards a Gael —of a cockney towards a bumpkin. He has lost all, but not the sense of his social supremacy. In all times have the dwellers in the watershed of the Jumna and Ganges been distinguished by all that is most intelligent, most manly, most high-spirited among the Hindus. There have always lived the aristocracy of the Hindu nation—the head of the Hindu society. Indeed, soil and climate, the pride of birth, the prejudice against infusion of new blood, subjection, have all worked together to undo the energy of body and mind so conspicuous in the ancient Aryan. But still the traveller experiences a quickly striking difference between the Hindus of the Doab and the Hindus of the Delta. In the whirligig of time, the Bengali has turned up to be a rival "how noble in reason, how infinite in faculty." But "in form and moving, how express and admirable" is the Doabi. The inhabitant of a harder clime and soil, the Doabi has a hardier frame in which may still be discerned the traces of the noble Aryan type. In spite of all his fallings-off, he is a model of vigor to the slight, supple, and subtle-witted Bengali. Trained to arms and knightly deeds, the Doabi upholds the military reputation of the valorous Aryan race. The Bengali is three parts mind, and

one part muscle. No circumstance makes him more pitied than that the keener is his sense of self-respect, the less able he is to take care of that self-respect. It is an interesting question to discuss—that of superiority between the Bengali, or the man of greater moral stamina, and the Doabi, or the man of greater physical stamina.

The Bengali has not a whit improved his position in fifty years by his moral regeneration. In half that time would the Doabi assert his rights, if he were as much enlightened. Many generations must pass, and many heroic exploits must be achieved, before the effeminate Bengali can take equal rank with the foremost of all Indians, and the flower of the Hindu nation.

The very women call for justice to their superiority. Waiting at the Ghaziabad station, there came in, and took up their quarters in the same room with us, a travelling party of two women and three children, under the escort of a well-clad, and, to all appearance, a well-to-do Hindu gentleman. They were bound for their home at Mozufarnagar. The ladies fully came under the category of "tender and delicate women whose veils have never been lifted before the public gaze, and who have come forth from the inner chambers in which eastern jealousy keeps watch over their beauty." There remaining yet a full hour for the train, the party spread their quilts on the ground, and prepared to sit down to a slight morning repast. The women had to uncover their faces, for the process of eating could not be carried on with the veil over them. This gave us an exceptional opportunity for observation. The elder lady looked about thirty—the younger some eight or ten years less. They were remarkable for their elegant stature, their shapely bodies. The greater weight of their muscles and bones was decidedly proved by the firm tread with which they walked into the room. Possessing every feminine grace and delicacy, they had none of the fragility of a languid Bengali woman. The lustre of vigorous blood was on their cheeks. In their eyes was the brilliancy of inborn spirit. The elder lady was the mother of the three children. But she looked as fresh and healthful as if she had not been a mother yet. The younger lady was between bud and bloom. She united to all a woman's beauty, a mingled force and tenderness, energy and softness.

The sixty miles of ground from Ghaziabad to Khuttowli was one uninterrupted series of rich flats, and noble woods, and clumps of mango trees, behind which peeped the knots of village mud cabins. To one weary of the alternate green and glare, there was an ineffable charm in the silver glint of the Kali Nadi, flowing a tranquil stream. Pushing through so beautiful a valley, and gazing on an endless succession of fields, orchards, and villages, the

native traveller certainly finds himself in one of the most highly favored parts of his highly favored country. But behind the peaceful and cheerful prospect before the fleshly eye, lies a dark retrospect dwelt upon by the mental eye. Few regions in India have suffered from the tyranny of man like the Doab. Marked by anarchy for its own, its state in all times has been a state of chronic turbulence and disorder, and the people there have been "born in bitterness and nurtured in convulsion." The history of the Doab is mostly the history of districts wasted, towns and villages burnt to the ground, the population either massacred, dispersed, or carried into slavery, and the wealth looted and scattered. Geographically situated so as to be easy of access, and holding out the prospect of a rich prey, the tract has tempted cattle-lifters, marauders, and invaders, times without number, from time out of mind. During the last thousand years, the Ghaznivide, the Ghorian, the Mogul, the Persian, the Afghan, the Rohilla, the Jât, the Mahratta, the Sikh, and, last of all, the Sepoy, have by turns swept over the land, leaving their desolating traces deeply imprinted upon it for many years to come. Seldom has it known a respite of peace and prosperity: until there came in a nation, who by their strong arm have held off the stream of depredators, and imposed their yoke upon all the tribes.

(*To be continued.*)

BHOLANAUTH CHUNDER.

THE QUARTER.

THE period that has elapsed since our last retrospect has been marked by a succession of events of more than ordinary importance. At home, the return of an overwhelming Liberal majority at the general election has been followed by a change of Ministry which, in all probability, is pregnant with momentous consequences, not only to England and her dependencies, but to the entire civilised world, and in India by the resignation of Lord Lytton and the appointment of the Marquis of Ripon to the Viceroyalty. In Kabul an interval of comparative quiet has been succeeded by a renewal of hostilities on a scale of increased magnitude, resulting in a series of signal victories for the British arms; Kandahar has been formally erected into an independent State, under British protection, and a Native Governor installed, who bids fair to rule with prudence and vigour, while from Kabul negotiations have been opened with Abdul Rahman Khan which, there is some reason to hope, may end in a satisfactory arrangement for the future administration of Northern and Eastern Afghanistan. In foreign Burmah an insurrection which, in the disorganised state of that country, threatened at one time to assume formidable dimensions has been suppressed by the troops of the blood-thirsty Theebaw.

When discussing the outlook at Kabul at the close of March last, we remarked that the immediate result of Mr. Griffin's proclamation to the Chiefs regarding the British policy might not improbably be a combined movement of the entire country against us under the leadership of Abdul Rahman. It was well known that most of the Chiefs who attended the Durbar were extremely dissatisfied with what they had heard there, and unmistakeable signs of restlessness were visible on all sides. One part of this prediction was fulfilled even sooner than we had expected. Early in the month of April, after long delays, the mission of the Mustafi Habibulla, referred to in our last retrospect, resulted in the assemblage of a considerable gathering of minor chieftains, including Muhammed Tahir Khan, Muhammad Sarwar Khan and Muhammad Alam Khan, at Maidan. Assurances of safe conduct and liberty of departure at pleasure having been conveyed to them, the Chiefs were induced to repair to Cabul, where a darbar was held on the 14th of the same month at which Mr. Lepel Griffin, in a very outspoken and dignified speech, announced as

much as it was considered politic to disclose of the views of the Government. He said :—

SIRDARS, KHANS AND MALIKS OF CABUL.

It has been my wish for some time past to meet you all in Darbar, and explain to you, collectively and publicly, as I have already done privately, the intentions of the British Government with regard to the settlement of Afghanistan. This is a favourable opportunity when replies have to be given to the requests of certain Chiefs and Maliks of the neighbourhood of Ghazni, who have been long hostile, but who have at last listened to the advice of Mustaufi Habibulla, whom General Sir F. Roberts had sent to reassure them, and have deputed many of their number to place their requests respectfully before the Government. It is to be regretted that the more important of the Chiefs have not come in person. When the Government promised a safe conduct there was no reason for even those who had been most opposed to it to fear for their lives and liberty. The British Government bears no ill will to those who have fought fairly against it, and the representatives who have come to Cabul are free to leave it when they wish, and during their stay will be treated as friends and guests. But those Chiefs who have remained behind at Maidan must not think that their signatures on the paper of requests will be considered as equivalent to their presence, the more so as we know the reason that some of them have not come, is that they have secretly abandoned the cause they profess to support, and have made promises to others. *When you return to Maidan ask General Gholam Haidar and Muhammad Jan when they are going to desert you?*

Maliks of Ghazni, Maidan, and Logar, and Chiefs of the Ghilzai, Wardak, and other tribes in their neighbourhood, I have met you more than once in private interviews, and have discussed with you in a friendly way your requests, and I now only wish to state publicly, and for the information of the Sirdars and people of the city and neighbourhood of Cabul, whom it concerns as closely as it does you, what I have already said to you. You have first asked that the former friendship between the Government of the Queen Empress of Hindustan and your country should be restored, and that Amir Yakub Khan should be released and reinstated, and that the British armies should retire from Afghanistan. In reply, I would first remind you that the breach in mutual friendship was made by Amir Shere Ali Khan. The British Government not only always desired, and still desires, friendship with Afghanistan, but will not appoint any one as Amir who does not profess friendship, nor will allow him to continue Amir, unless he plainly shows himself the friend of the friends of the British Government and the enemy of its enemies. For this reason the Viceroy has decided that Muhammad Yakub Khan shall not return to Afghanistan. You know whether he observed the promises that he made to the British Government. You know that he rewarded those who had opposed us in the first campaign, while those who had assisted us he turned out of their lands and appointments. You have told me privately, that, if Yakub Khan be not allowed to return, you are willing to accept as Amir any one whom the Government may choose to select. This expression of the wish of the large number of respectable Maliks will be, at the proper time, laid before His Excellency the Viceroy, together with that of others who may wish to support the candidature of Sirdar Walli Muhammad Khan, Sirdar Musa Khan, Sirdar Ayub Khan, or any other member of the ruling family, who may be approved by a large number of the people.

The Government has no intention of annexing Afganistan, and will occupy no more of it than may be necessary for the safety of its own frontier. But the province of Kandahar will not remain united with Cabul, but will be placed under the independent rule of a Barakzai Prince.

For the administration of those provinces that remain attached to Cabul, the Government is anxious to appoint an Amir who shall be strong to govern his people, and steadfast in his friendship to the British. And, if only these qualifications be secured, the Government is willing and anxious to recognise the wish of the Afghan people and tribal Chiefs, and to nominate the Amir of their choice. But no decision can be given at present. You, who have assembled here, represent but a small part of the people, and it is necessary to ascertain the views and wishes of many others, Chiefs and Sirdars, who are absent from Cabul. But your votes in favour of Sirdar Muhammad Yakub Khan's immediate family will be remembered and considered, if, until the decision of the Government be given, you absolutely abstain from all hostile action; otherwise you must not expect that the Government will consider him likely to be a friendly Amir whose friends are its persistent enemies. The armies of the Queen Empress will withdraw from Afghanistan when the Government considers that the proper time has come. As they did not enter Afghanistan with your permission, so they will not withdraw at your request. When the country is again peaceful, and when a friendly Amir has been selected, the Government has no wish to remain in Afghanistan. The army came to Cabul to inflict punishment for the murder of its envoy in time of peace, which some of you have called a "regrettable accident," but which the British Government considers an atrocious crime; and it will remain until some satisfactory settlement can be made. You have been told that an army from Kandahar is now marching on Ghazni, while another from Bombay has taken its place at Kandahar. A third army is in Kuram, a fourth at Cabul, and a fifth at Jellalabad, the Khaibar and Peshawar. The General has ordered a strong force to march from Cabul in three days towards Maidan to co-operate with the army from Kandahar. If you are wise you will do everything to assist this force, which is not sent against you, nor will it molest you, if only the conduct of the people is friendly. If, on the contrary, you listen to leaders who only deceive you for their own advantage, and commit and excite hostility against the Government, your punishment will quickly and certainly follow. The Khugiani tribe, three weeks ago, attacked a British force near Gandamak at night. They have since had to pay a fine of Rs 10,000, and five of their towers have been blown up. The Hissarak people have been committing outrages on the road, and carrying off men and cattle. A large force has been sent by the General into Hissarak, and a fine of Rs. 15,000 has been imposed. The Government is willing to be friends with you, and to treat you as friends, but it is also resolved to be obeyed so long as its armies are in the country, and to punish severely any in opposition.

You have a proverb that force and money are the only powers in Afghanistan. It is for you to choose which you wish. The Government intend to keep the sword for its enemies, and the money for its friends. Those people deceive you who preach *jehad*, and say that the English are enemies of Islam. In India, 50 millions of Muhammadans enjoy, under the Government of the Queen, greater liberty, happiness, and security than in any country in the world, and it is the British Government which many times has by great expenditure of men and treasure, guarded and preserved the Empire of the Sultan of Turkey against his enemies. The Government is the friend and protector of Islam, not its destroyer. As to your other

requests, for the appointment of a Muhammadan agent at Kabul, and the grant of assistance in money and material to the new Amir, I can only say that these requests have been made by you in ignorance, for they are matters which will be decided by the Government of India with the Chief whom they agree to appoint as Amir. It is not fitting for small persons to discuss them. Of this only be assured, that he whom the Viceroy of India may select, will be supported by the Government in every possible way, so long as he shows friendly intentions towards it.

The Chiefs left Cabul immediately after the darbar with outward expressions of satisfaction on their lips, and it was officially represented that the darbar had had a soothing effect. The testimony of unbiassed witnesses, however, left little room to doubt that its result was merely to confirm them in their hostility to the British. Subsequent events, indeed, more than justify the suspicion that, while ostensibly negotiating in the interests of a settlement, the Mustafi had really done his best to encourage the Chiefs to persist in their opposition, and that their attendance at the darbar was merely a ruse to save his reputation. Neither Mahammad Jan, nor Hassan Khan, nor indeed, any of the more influential sardars put in an appearance; and there was never for a moment any relaxation in the preparations of the enemy.

The darbar was immediately followed by formidable gatherings in the Logar Valley and to the West of Ghazni, the object of the latter being evidently to oppose the march of General Stewart's Division upon that place, and that of the former to prevent a junction between it and a force from Cabul. It is remarkable, however, that nothing seems to have been known to either General Roberts, or General Stewart, of the assemblage of a hostile army near Ghazni, until the latter actually came in contact with it near Mushki about a day's march to the West of that place, on the 19th April, when the severest battle ever fought between an Afghan and a British army resulted in a complete victory for our arms.

The following account of the action is given by the special correpondent of the *Englishman* with general Stewart's force :—

"The Division left its encamping ground at Mushaki at daybreak on the morning of the 19th instant, the Cavalry Brigade under General Palliser and Divisional Head-Quarters leading, followed by the 2nd Infantry Brigade under General Hughes, the 1st Infantry Brigade under General Barter bringing up the rear, the baggage being between the two Brigades. For some days past a considerable body of the enemy, (under Sher Jan, brother to Sahib Jan, who was killed in the fight at Shabjui) had been observed skulking along in a parallel direction with our right flank, just keeping us in view and skirting the foot of the hills, evidently proceeding to join their strength with that of a force believed to be concentrating in the direction of Ghazni, with the intention of disputing our advance on that fortress.

The morning broke rather cloudy and threatened rain, and there was a damp cold feeling about the air, which, however, did not prevent a good deal of brisk speculation as to whether the Fates would be propitious and the 2nd Brigade the first to engage the enemy. A camp "shave" had been somewhat extensively circulated that the enemy would perhaps try conclusions with us at a spot some three to four miles from camp, as a large body of them had been reconnoitred the previous day by our scouts from the 1st Brigade; indeed, a slight exchange of shots had occurred between some of our advanced videttes and the enemy's pickets so, as we stole away from camp, a vague feeling of a possible encounter was uppermost in our minds, which tended to make the fire-eating portion of our little army exceeding rampant. Still, as we trudged along, no signs of the enemy were seen, and, as the time wore on, even the most sanguine of us were becoming sceptical, and almost mournful, as the prospects of a "blank day" dawned on us and the "arriére pensée" that favoured 1st Brigade might, after all, come in for the fighting and be the first to engage the enemy. the clouds had by this time drifted away, and our old friend Sol shone out with his usual wonted vigour, a bright, hot, sunny, dusty morning, such as we have seen many of since we started on the war path. About 8 A.M., and at something like six miles from camp, our advance cavalry suddenly sighted the enemy in our immediate front; the intelligence was at once sent back to the advancing force and the news flashed like wild fire that the gentle Afghan "was actually in position and barring the road to our further advance."

Binoculars were quickly brought into play, and a few minutes sufficed to convince us that there they were, sure enough, stretching along the ridge of hills in clusters like ants in thick dense masses, horsemen and footmen with flags flying, and waving their tulwars in open defiance of us and ours. Every here and there the white banners, floating high above the heads of the crowd, indicated the presence of the Ghazis, who, invoking a blessing from the Mullahs, had sworn to die in our midst, and who, rallying round their standards, shouted in derision at us, calling on Allah to defend their cause against the infidel invader. On our side, orders were being given "to prepare for action," General Hughes being directed to hold his Brigade in readiness to advance on the position. A.-B. Royal Horse Artillery and G-4 under Majors Warter and Sir John Campbell galloped to the front and opened a most effective fire on the enemy at from 1500 to 1200 yards. Throughout the day the artillery practice was splendid and elicited the admiration of us all, the gunners working with as much precision and steadiness as they would have done on an ordinary "day's outing" in the Long Valley, shot after shot pitching into the very thick of the enemy and causing the hapless wretches to break and disperse in every direction. In the meanwhile the cavalry were advancing under General Palliser, and the infantry, consisting of the 59th Foot under Colonel Lacy, the 3rd Gurkhas under Colonel Lyster, V.C., and the 2nd Sikhs under Colonel Boswell, with Colonel Copland and the 19th P. N. I., in support, advanced in line of quarter columns towards the position, the order of attack being as follows:—the 59th Foot on the right, the Sikhs in the centre, and the 3rd Gurkhas on the left. As we continued our advance silently, yet surely, the enemy, principally the horsemen, began moving gradually towards their right, seeking at first the shelter of the line of hills which trended towards our left flank, large numbers of them still continuing to hold the peaks and ridges to our front and right front. The Infantry were ordered to "form for attack" as per regulation, a formation, if I may be permitted to say so, quite unadapted to the requirements of Afghan warfare. "Marksmen

to the front" and "line down" quickly followed, and there lay our little handful of men, waiting with bated breath the onslaught of the enemy, whose cavalry, now beginning to show up on the hills above, were threatening the thin line of skirmishers below. Two guns of G-4 opened on them, which had the effect of making them clear off to our left. Behind them again were considerable numbers of footmen headed by Ghazis who evidently meant mischief later on. As the enemy's horse defiled away to our left, a few shots were opened by our skirmishers at from six to seven hundred yards on the enemy, who were now leisurely descending the slopes of the hills and coming in steadily towards us. A few minutes it seemed, as we lay there and watched them, when with a yell as if Pandemonium were let loose, to which our men responded, they were on us swarming at every point like bees round a hive. In the front ranks were the Ghazis unmindful of the hail of bullets with which they were met. Singlehanded, some armed with Afghan rifles, shield and tulwar, on they come, with all the ferocity and stubbornness of fanatics, fearlessly up to the deadly rifles that mowed them down so mercilessly. The scene of carnage that ensued I will not attempt to describe. The infantry, reserving their fire, did the most awful execution amongst the enemy, who, nothing daunted, literally courted death at our hands. So close, at one time did they press, that the guns were loaded with reversed shrapnel, all the case shot having been expended. The enemy now threatened us on our left, and General Hughes, at once taking in the new danger that confronted us, swung back the Gurkhas and the left of the Sikhs to meet the outflanking movement of the enemy. Baffled, yet far from beaten, the enemy redoubled their efforts on the left to close with us, but the Gurkhas were one too many for them, and, with a coolness and steadiness deserving of all praise, the little fellows quietly met them with a fusillade which was carried on by the 2nd Sikhs, 59th Foot and 19th P. N. I. This told terribly on the advancing line. Fast and thick they fell, until there was a visible wavering in the seething mass which surged and swayed to and fro in our front. Shaken, broken, they hesitated, and then shrunk back, leaving the ground strewn with their dead and dying, with here and there a standard lying, round which the bodies lay in heaps, marking the spot where they had rallied round the emblem of their faith.

General Sir Donald Stewart with his staff occupied during the earlier part of the action a position on a knoll between the fighting line and General Barter's Brigade, who were some two miles to the rear. Our force actually engaged with the enemy may be roughly estimated at about 1,800 men, while the enemy are believed to have numbered 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, though, of this number, probably only a third, if as many, were really actively opposed to us. The remainder considering, I fancy, that prudence constitutes the better part of valour, discreetly figured in the back ground, though, had we met with a reverse, which at one moment of the day appeared imminent, they would, doubtless have come down on us and joined in a general extermination of the detested Kafir. A reverse would have been all the more disastrous as General Barter's Brigade was too far from us to rally upon, and, moreover, was burdened with the charge of reserve ordnance and baggage. As it was 6-11, Major Tillard's Battery of 40 pounders, got up a fight on their own account and fired a few reminders into a body of the enemy who had outflanked us and were meditating an attack on the long line of baggage and followers. General Hughes, still anxious for the left of our position, the enemy having again assumed the offensive, despatched an orderly officer to the Lieutenant-General for permission to make the necessary disposition to meet the approaching danger.

Ere the answer came, General Hughes was obliged to act. The 2nd Punjab Cavalry and 19th Bengal Lancers, under Colonels Kennedy and Yorke, repeatedly charged the enemy who still, however, kept at closer quarters than was desirable. In another part of the field the Ghazis were almost up to the two guns A.-B., and their escort from the 2nd Punjab Cavalry under Captain J. R. Campbell, was on the point of charging to protect the guns, when a farewell round from the battery broke the headlong rush of the enemy and checked the ardour of their advance. A few, however, actually got in among the guns, but were cut down and shot by the gunners. Nor were the rest of the artillery faring any better. General Stewart, seeing their danger, sent forward his escort, a company of the Rifles and a company of the 25th P. N. I. to strengthen the fighting line, but outnumbered, and before an overwhelming mass of the enemy, they were compelled to retire. At the same time a portion of the enemy actually penetrated nearly as far as the ground occupied by the Lieutenant-General and his staff, whose position, for a few moments, was hardly an enviable one. On the right of our Infantry Brigade, the enemy were pressing so heavily, indeed, so determinedly and resolutely did they come on and with such odds in their favour, that a retirement had commenced. General Hughes, appreciating the state of affairs and seeing how fatal any falling back must prove, called on the men to stand and hold their ground; no second call was needed, and the onward rush of the enemy, who were on the heels of our men, was stemmed. On our left 2 squadrons of cavalry, outnumbered by the Ghazi horsemen, came back helter skelter on to the Gurkhas, friend and foe scarcely distinguishable in the thick clouds of dust. Instantly, Colonel Lyster gave the order:—"Form rallying squares," and, almost quicker than the order was given, was it carried out, and the dust cleared away to show the gleaming squares of bristling bayonets, solid and firm as rocks, as the retreating cavalry, hotly pursued, dashed between and disappeared in one confused throng of horse and rider. It was a ticklish moment, for, had the Gurkhas fired (as they well might have), friends as well as foes would have fallen. The cavalry past, line was quickly re-formed, and a smart fire kept up on the Ghazis, who seemed to be making a final effort to storm our position, though it soon became apparent that the action was virtually over, as large bodies of the enemy began drifting away to the left, while those immediately in our front fell back and retired behind the hills. Shortly afterwards the "cease fire" sounded, and we lay down awaiting further orders. The loss owned to by the enemy is 2,000 killed and wounded, which is probably under the mark; our casualties are not heavy, the 19th Bengal Lancers being the greatest sufferers. The 1st Punjab Cavalry under Colonel Maclean came in for the pursuit of some of the retreating enemy, and succeeding in cutting up some of them. The Division, after the fighting, continued its march to Nani, a distance in all of perhaps seventeen miles, not, on the whole, a bad day's work.

On the 21st the force occupied Ghazni, which was found deserted and in a ruinous condition, without further opposition. So far, however, from being entirely disheartened by their defeat on the 19th, a large body of the enemy had established themselves on the 22nd in a strong position near Ghazni, and a brigade of infantry, with horse artillery and cavalry, under General Palliser, having been sent out to dislodge them, a sharp action ensued, resulting in the dispersion of the enemy, after eight hours' fighting, with a loss of four hundred killed and wounded.

On the 26th the Division left Ghazni for the Logar Valley, where they have since been located. On the 16th April, a brigade, consisting of nearly three thousand infantry, with cavalry and four guns, under General Ross, was dispatched from Kabul to Shekhabad, to meet the Kandahar Division, and reached Saidabad, without encountering any serious opposition, on the 23rd. On the 25th, however, a body of the enemy, consisting of twelve or fifteen hundred men, having occupied a strong position in the hills near their camp, a small force under Colonel Rowcroft, supported by three companies of infantry and a troop of cavalry under Major Combe, was sent to dislodge them, which object they carried out in most gallant style, driving the enemy from ridge to ridge, and finally dispersing them, with a loss of some two hundred killed and wounded. On the 28th the brigade marched to Shekhabad, where it was joined by General Stewart's heavy battery, one brigade of the Kandahar Division being then in their immediate neighbourhood, and the other two brigades having reached Saidabad the previous day. From this place a column was despatched into the Logar Valley to destroy a new fort, built by Gaffur Khan, and on the 2nd May the entire force returned to Kabul, accompanied by General Stewart, who on that date took over the chief command from General Roberts.

On the same day on which Colonel Rowcroft was engaged near Saidabad, a column under Colonel Jenkins, which had been despatched from Kabul to Charasia, was attacked by Muhammad Hassan Khan, Padshah Khan and other chiefs, with about four thousand men. Colonel Jenkins' force held its own gallantly, in the face of greatly superior numbers then reinforced by General Macpherson from Kabul, when the enemy were attacked and completely defeated, with the loss of many standards and upwards of a hundred killed. The loss on our side in both these engagements was insignificant.

Early in May a force of about 4,000 men under the immediate command of General Baker, with General Roberts and the Divisional Staff, proceeded from Kabul into the Logar Valley. Marching *viâ* Charasiah and Zahidabad to Deh-i-Nao, the troops halted at the latter place within twelve miles of General Hughes' Brigade, and detached a body of troops to destroy Padshah Khan's fort, which was found deserted, and was blown up. Thence the force proceeded *viâ* Zargun Shahr to Patkhao, in the neighbourhood of Ghazni, a portion returning to Kabul with General Roberts on the 29th May, and the remainder, under General Baker, on the 8th instant. No opposition was encountered throughout the march.

Towards the close of the first week of May, a general conference of the Ghilzai Chiefs took place at Tezin, for the purpose of discussing their future relations towards the British. It is said

that the majority were in favour of peace, but were overruled by Asmat Ullah Khan, and after some days the meeting broke up, probably without arriving at any definite decision. Subsequently, however, some of the principal Chiefs appear to have agreed to protect the road passing through their territories, and Padshah Khan is said to be ready to come in and make an unconditional submission.

On the whole, there is some reason for thinking that the military events of the latter end of April have had a decided effect in cooling the ardour of most of the malcontent Chiefs, while the dispatch of a mission to Abdul Rahman Khan with what is understood to be a conditional offer of the Amirate, has, in the case of all but the Sher Ali Khan party, exercised a still more favourable influence. With the exception of this section of the Douranis, there seems to be a disposition on all sides to await the result of the negotiations thus opened, while in Kohistan, where the country is distinctly in favour of the late exile, there has been a complete subsidence of all excitement.

The mission to Abdul Rahman, consisting of Ressaldar Wazirzadah Afzul Khan, 11th B.C., Sirdar Ibrahim Khan, of the Peshawar Police, and Sirdar Sher Muhammad Khan, started for Turkistan on the 5th May, and reached the camp of Abdul Rahman in safety. Nothing has yet transpired regarding the nature of the reply brought back to Kabul by Sirdar Ibrahim Khan, and the inference generally drawn from this silence is that it is either unfavourable or indecisive. It is questioned in some quarters, and not, we think, without reason, whether Abdul Rahman Khan would be likely to exchange his present strong and independent position for that of Amir, under conditions which would be so damaging to his popularity as those we seek to impose on him, and which, in any case, must bring him face to face with serious complications. In Turkistan he is without a formidable rival, and unfettered by embarrassing relations. At Cabul he would have a powerful coalition to contend against, and would be practically a feudatory of the British Government.

The mission is understood to have been courteously received, but was kept in a state of honorable captivity.

On the 11th May, Sirdar Sher Ali Khan, who has rendered such good service as Governor of Kandahar since our occupation of that place, was formally installed as Wali of the newly-created State, in the presence of Generals Primrose and Brook and a large gathering of the Chiefs of the neighbourhood. In presenting him with the Viceroy's letter, conferring on him the sovereignty, Colonel St. John, the Political Officer, informed him that he would have the right of having the Khutbeh read and money coined in his own name. In honour of the occasion the Wali, after a speech in

which he expressed his gratitude to the British Government, announced the abolition of the poll-tax and the seignorage periodically levied on copper coin.

Whether owing to the withdrawal of the Bengal Brigade, or to some cause yet unexplained, the month of April was marked by an interruption of the quiet which had previously prevailed in the country between Quetta and Kandahar. On the 17th an attack was made by Arghestan Duranis on the post of Dubrai, twenty-eight miles beyond Chaman, commanded by Major Wandby, with a small body of Bombay troops and local police, in which Major Wandby and most of those with him were killed. Three of the perpetrators of the attack have been since captured, through the efforts of Sirdar Sher Ali Khan, and executed, and the country has lately again worn a more settled aspect.

We remarked above that the despatch of the mission to Abdul Rahman Khan had had a soothing effect on the temper of the country, except in the case of the partisans of the late Amir Sher Ali's family, to whom it has given fresh cause for discontent. The Mustaufi Habibulla, who is a prominent member of this party, appears to have been led by it to embark in certain intrigues the exact nature of which has not transpired, but which were considered by the British authorities at Kabul sufficiently serious to justify his arrest and deportation to this country. He left Kabul under guard on the 20th May, and has been sent to Marri, where he will be kept a State prisoner.

Throughout the quarter there has been more or less excitement along the Khaibar route, resulting in frequent collisions between our troops and the enemy, some of them of sufficient importance to be dignified with the title of battles. On the 14th April a body of troops under General Arbuthnot, returning from a reconnaissance in the neighbourhood of Hissarak, were closely followed by the enemy, who kept up a constant fire, killing Lieutenant Palmer of the Commissariat, and wounding Captains Hamilton, R.A., and Nugent, of the 51st, and two men. Early in May a large body of Lughmans boldly raided the Jellalabad cantonments, and carried off a large number of cattle that had been kept, insufficiently guarded, in an exposed position and on the instant the same cantonment was again attacked by Utkheyls.

On the 19th May a gathering of hostile Safis, some 2,000 strong, were attacked on the plains near Besud by a force under General Doran, and dispersed with a loss of fifty killed; and on the following day a detachment of General Bright's troops moved out from Peshbolak, and engaged a body of Khugianis and Shinwaris, reported to be 4,000 in number, and occupying a strong position at Maizena, the result being that the enemy were dislodged and dispersed, after an obstinate fight, in which they lost

upwards of a hundred killed, our loss being two men killed and two officers and three men wounded.

At Herat the feud between the local and the Kabuli troops still continues; the country is in a state of anarchy, and Ayub Khan's authority is nominal.

The declarations of the Liberal leaders before the general election produced a widespread impression that the return of the party to office would be followed by the immediate withdrawal of the British forces from Afghanistan; and certain orders which were issued at Kabul about the time of the change of Ministry, and which seemed to foreshadow the abandonment of that place, holped to confirm the impression. With the responsibilities of office, however, Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have accepted the obligation of accommodating sentiment in some degree to circumstances, and assurances have been given that the occupation will be prolonged at least till the homeward march of the troops can be prosecuted without serious danger to their health, and the Government can either fulfil, or honourably acquit itself of, the engagements it has entered into with the chiefs of the country. As regards the ultimate policy of the new Government, all that is positively known is that, come what may, they have no intention of prolonging the occupation of Northern Afghanistan beyond October, when they hope to leave behind at least "the prospect"—whatever that may mean—of a settled government; that they have resolved to adhere to the decision of their predecessors regarding the separation of Kandahar from the jurisdiction of Kabul and its erection into an independent State, though they will enter into no arrangement that would necessitate its permanent occupation by a British garrison, and, for the rest, that they hold that the treaty of Gandamak has ceased to exist, and they are, *ipso facto*, free to re-consider the policy that dictated its provisions. With a view of facilitating an amicable understanding with the future ruler of Kabul, they will probably abandon the attempt to impose a British resident upon him, and they have already announced their determination to refer the question of the retention of the new frontier to Military experts, on whose decision Lord Ripon is authorised to act. The political objection to retreating in Asia from positions once deliberately and definitively occupied, is thus ignored, and, should the decision of the military authorities be unfavourable to the strategical superiority of the scientific frontier, it seems probable that the only tangible result of the war will have been the dismemberment of Afghanistan.

On the 28th April Sir James Fergusson, the newly-appointed Governor, arrived in Bombay, and assumed charge of his office.

The new Viceroy landed at the same place on the 31st ultimo,

and was installed at Simla on the 8th instant. At Bombay he received a congratulatory address from the Municipal corporation, to which, as reported in a telegram to the *Englishman*, he replied as follows:—

"Gentlemen, for myself, I can assure you I am deeply sensible of the great responsibility that lies upon me in respect to the great office which Her Majesty has been pleased to entrust me. We are told it does not become him who putteth on armour to boast himself like the man that takes it off, therefore I am not at all inclined on this occasion to give to you, and through you the community of India, any large promises, or lay before you any extensive programme. I should prefer that judgment should be pronounced, as I am sure it will be, intelligently and fairly on my conduct, when you have been able to judge me by my acts. I will only say this; it will be my constant endeavour to devote earnestly and assiduously any powers I may possess faithfully to discharge my duty to my Sovereign and the people of India." Referring to the late famine his lordship expressed a hope that the bitter lessons of the past would not be lost on the Government of India, and that the experience gained would be profitable both in preparing measures calculated to guard against a recurrence of the evil, and also to meet in the most effectual manner such great misfortunes should they occur. He hoped it would please God in His Providence to grant a cycle of more prosporous years. Referring to the war his lordship said,—"Gentlemen, you have spoken also of the war which has been in progress almost without intermission for the last two years on the North-West frontier. No one can think of that contest without feeling his heart beat quicker with honorable and just pride at the recollection of the gallant deeds which, as on so many previous occasions, have been performed for the Queen-Empress and the country by Her Majesty's troops, European and Native alike. And we are proud to recollect that in this later time both those services have shown themselves able to maintain the great and glorious reputation which the soldiers of England have won for her in every quarter of the globe. But it will be my most earnest endeavour to bring the war, so far as lies in my province, to an early and honorable conclusion, in the hope that, with returning peace, the Government of India may again be able to devote its attention to those works of internal improvement to which you so wisely alluded. I can assure you that if it should be my lot during my tenure of office to contribute in any degree to the devolpment of the resources of this great country, agricultural or industrial, and promote to any extent the happiness and welfare of the people of India, of all races, creeds, and classes,

especially the prosperity of the masses of the people, I shall esteem it the highest honor to my political life." His lordship concluded by saying that the kindness of the welcome would be a strong encouragement to him in the great work entrusted to him, and it would be his earnest endeavour with God's help to deserve it.

His Excellency also gave the following written reply to the address :—

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I thank you sincerely for your address. It is very gratifying to receive assurances of your loyalty and devotion to the Queen-Empress of India, although no such assurances are needed to convince me of your attachment to our Gracious Sovereign, who, you well know, feels the deepest interest in the welfare of her Indian subjects. I trust it may please God to grant India respite from those grievous famines of the late years which she has suffered from so heavily, and that the recent experiences, however bitter, may be fruitful in valuable lessons for the future. It is my earnest hope that the war on the North-West Frontier may be brought to an early and honorable conclusion, and that the return of peace may enable the Government of India to devote itself to those measures of internal development to which I should esteem it to be the greatest honor of my life to be in some degree enabled to contribute. I heartily thank you for giving me this opportunity of meeting the representatives of this great and progressive community of Bombay, and trust every prosperity may attend you all."

Lord Lytton remains for the present at Simla, and, it is understood, leaves for England on the 29th instant.

The last days of his administration have been darkened by the discovery of a blunder in the military estimates of such magnitude as to convert the supposed surplus of last year into the startling deficit of three millions. The cost of the Afghan War was, it appears, under-estimated in the Budget statement to the extent of between three and four millions, the Military Department having, regardless of the vast difference in the conditions of the two periods, taken the expenditure during the earlier months of the past, as their basis of calculation for that of the corresponding period of the present year, and Sir John Strachey having, in spite of excessive outgoings from the treasuries on this account, accepted their figures without enquiry. Assuming the error to have been committed in good faith, it argues a degree of negligence and incompetence in both departments, that is simply astounding. As a consequence of this discovery, Government has invited tenders for a loan of three crores and thirteen lakhs of rupees for public works purposes, at 4½ per cent.; but it seems very doubtful whether this will fully satisfy the requirements of the year.

The rebellion in Burmah to which we referred in our opening paragraph, owing to an utter lack of the weapons of war on the part of the rebels, has proved an ignominious failure. The standard of revolt was raised by a man, said to be the Nyoung Oke Prince, lately, with his brother, a fugitive in Calcutta, who had crossed the frontier into foreign Burmah near Menhla with a small following. At first the rebels appear to have made some little progress, and to have received some slight accession to their ranks from the population of the neighbourhood. In one or two unimportant skirmishes they are reported to have repulsed small bodies of the king's troops who attacked them. Their triumph, however, was of short duration. On the 2nd instant they were surprised in their camp at Menhla by some two hundred of Theebau's men, and dispersed. Nyoung Oke himself disappeared in the confusion, and has not since been heard of, but is believed to be still in foreign Burmah.

June 12, 1880.

POSTSCRIPT.

SUCH change as has taken place in the position in Afghanistan since the date of the above retrospect seems to be for the better. About the middle of the current month large assemblies of armed men were said to have collected in the Logar Valley and in Kohistan, but they have either dispersed or dwindled into insignificance. This result is reported to be due to letters from Abdul Rahman to the chiefs, counselling them to abstain for the present from active operations. That such letters have been received, is an established fact, and they have probably not been without a tranquillising effect, but the pre-occupation of the country people with the harvest has had, perhaps, quite as much to do with their pacific attitude. There are indications, too, that the inhabitants of the districts around Kabul are becoming daily more alive to the pecuniary advantages of the British occupation, and it is quite conceivable that they are beginning to doubt whether it might not be worthwhile to tolerate its continuance for the sake of the profitable market created by it.

From Abdul Rahman himself no further communication is known to have reached the British authorities at Kabul; and, though it was at one time reported, with much circumstantiality, that he was on his way southwards with two thousand troops of all arms, the latest trustworthy information is that, though he had sent a small advance guard towards Kohistan, he himself would not leave Kunduz till the 24th instant.

In the meantime, it is believed, an ultimatum has been despatched to him from Kabul, under instructions from the Government of India, requiring him at once to declare his intentions under penalty of a final settlement being made without reference to his claims.

Owing ostensibly to the scarcity of supplies at Kabul, but really, no doubt, to the large hostile gatherings that were reported to be taking place in the neighbourhood, a strong brigade under General C. Gough was despatched on the 14th to Pughman, and on the 24th moved into the Koh Daman; while on the 26th instant a portion of the Ghazni force under General Hills was sent into the Logar Valley. Neither of these forces has met with any resistance. A brigade has also been told off at Kabul to proceed into Kohistan under General Macpherson at a moment's notice, the object of the movement being probably to anticipate a hostile advance on the part of Abdul Rahman, or at all events to meet him half way with an imposing display of British power. Letters received from Abdul Rahman by his friends are said to state that he does not intend at present to come any further south than Kohistan.

On the 23rd instant Nyoung Oke appears to have left his concealment, and, having again crossed the Burmese frontier with a small following and twenty-five muskets, commenced hostilities by burning the village of Tagounmoh.

The rebels were attacked by a small party of the King's troops whom they defeated, capturing ten muskets; but news has since been received of the complete collapse of this second attempt to upset the authority of King Theebau. The King's forces surrounded Nyoung Oke's camp, and the Prince and his followers, after firing a few ineffectual shots, beat a precipitate retreat into British territory. Nyoung Oke himself was arrested by the Police, and is now on his way, as a prisoner, to Rangoon.

There are rumours that war has broken out between China and Russia on the Kuldja question, and that the Chinese have invaded Russian territory in two directions, from Kashgar and Kuldja, and captured Fort Narayn. A subsequent telegram from St. Petersburgh states that they have advanced to Gulsha in Kokand.

Lord and Lady Lytton left Simla for Bombay on the 28th instant, and, as at present arranged, leave Bombay in H. M. S. *Himalaya*, on the 3rd July.

The tenders for the new 4½ per cent. loan, referred to above, were opened on the 14th instant, when it was announced that the entire sum, with the exception of Rs. 500, had been taken up

by two banks, acting on behalf of a body of French capitalists, at the extraordinarily high rate of Rs. 103-3 as., and the paper stood last night at Rs. 104.

Beyond the fact that the Afghan war is costing at present half a million a month, no fresh light has been thrown on the financial position; but it seems probable that further assistance, to the extent of at least two millions, will be needed by the Government.

At the last moment we learn from a telegram published by the *Englishman* that Abdul Rahman has issued a circular to the Chiefs and people of Afghanistan, announcing that the British Government has offered him the Amirate of the entire country as it existed under Dost Muhammad, and that he has accepted the offer, and is about to start for Purwan in Kohistan. At the same time he is stated to have sent a friendly reply to the ultimatum, in which, however, he affects a similar belief as to the nature of the British offer.

As that offer stated distinctly that Kandahar and the Kuram Valley were excluded, and that no discussion regarding them was possible, there are strong grounds for concluding that this misundertaking on the part of the Sardar, is wilful.

Certain Hajis who have arrived at Kabul from Turkestan give further details of the Chinese successes in Kokhand, where, besides capturing Fort Narayn, in the north, they are said to have driven the Russians back upon Osh, between that place and the capital of the Khanate.

The initiative in these hostilities appears to have been taken by the Russians, who, when they first came into collision with the Chinese, were endeavouring to enter Kashgar by the Terek Pass.

June 30, 1880.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

General Literature.

Oriental Religions and their Relation to Universal Religion. By Samuel Johnson. *India. In two Volumes.* London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1879.

THAT the religious sentiment in all its great historic forms is identical; that there is no such thing as a revealed religion in distinction from natural religion; that there is a natural process of evolution of the religious sentiment at work tending towards unification, such are the propositions which the writer of these volumes attempts to enforce and illustrate by an examination of the two great Indian religions, Brahmanism and Buddhism.

"It is time the older religions were studied in the light of their own intrinsic values. They are at once spontaneities of the desire and faith, and elements in an indivisible unity of growth, which includes at each stage natural guarantees of all that has since been or shall yet be attained. We should go back to them now, in the maturity of science, with something of the tenderness we feel for our own earliest intuitions and emotions; with a reverent use, too, of those faculties of imagination and contemplation which are our real way of access to essential relations and eternal truths. For the race as for the individual,—

The independent validity.

"The child's the father of the man;
And we could wish our days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety."

The first universal principle of religion is that all great beliefs have their ideal elements; just as in the natural world the bud is not a bud merely, but the guarantee of a flower. And it is these with which we are mainly concerned, as pointing to fulfilments beyond themselves, in a future that will not be mortgaged to any names, nor to any claims. They are that promise in the first belief, which the last cannot fulfil alone; the dream which only their mutual recognition can interpret. And it becomes us to find in our own experience the secret which explains how they have met the problems of ages and answered the prayers of generations.

Ideal elements.

Illustrations of these ideal elements, high-water marks of ancient faith, readily suggest themselves.

The religious toleration prevailing in China from very early times is not fairly estimated when it is shown to have lacked that deep moral earnestness and spiritual dignity which distinguish the highest forms of modern

religious liberty in Europe or America. The question for our religious philosophy is, whether it is not of essentially the same nature; a germ out of which that highest freedom might come by pure force of the familiar laws of social and scientific growth, by the intercourse of races and the intimacies of diverse beliefs; whether it has not, even on its own ground, reached a point of development, in certain instances or certain respects, which makes these our greater outward opportunities look less than we thought them; and whether it may not hold elements of moral value whereof our culture needs the infusion. Similarly with the self-abnegation of the Buddhist. It is not that perfect devotion of the human powers to social good which would involve the best culture and the largest practical efficiency. Neither is this, we may add, the quality and extent of the same virtue, even as illustrated and taught in the Christian records. But to suppose that there would be need either of miraculous re-inforcement or essential change, to unfold Buddhistic self-denial into the best morality and piety known to our time, would be to ignore the fact that it has shown itself fully equal to these in the *spirit* of practical benevolence, and in ardent zeal for an ideal standard of purity and truth. In the same way, an implicit germ of Monotheism, even in the "element-worship" of the early Aryans, fully guarantees progress into the pure and definite Theism of the best Indo-European minds; and shows the assumption of a divine deposit of this central truth with the Semitic Hebrews alone, for distribution to the rest of mankind, to be entirely groundless and gratuitous. Thus the cardinal virtues and beliefs belong not to one religion but to all religions; and the diversities of form into which each of these ideals is broken by differences of race and culture do not affect its essential identity in them all. We everywhere find ourselves at home in the world's great faiths, through their common appeal to what is nearest and most familiar to us in solving the great central facts and relations with which the soul is for ever called to deal. Everywhere we greet essential meanings of the unity of God with man, of fate and freedom, of sacrifice, inspiration, progress, immortality, practical duties and humanities, just as we everywhere find the mysteries of birth and death, the bliss of loving and sharing, the self-respect of moral loyalty, the stress of ideal desire.

Our own advantage over older civilisations consists, the writer considers, "not, as is generally imagined, in some new force, infused miraculously, or otherwise, by the Christian religion; but in something of a quite different nature. It is found, in fact, in the immense special development of the understanding: of the faculties of observation and the forces of analysis; in the advancement of science, and the fusion and friction of races; and, finally, in the wealth of practical material opened to all."

Apparently abrupt transitions in religious history he attributes to the operation of *Spiritual Reaction.*

It is mainly from habitual disregard of this familiar law in its broader aspects that such transitions have been referred to special divine interference with the natural processes of history.

It is commonly supposed that *natural* growth in things moral and spiritual can proceed only in a direct line. When a divine life appears in a degenerating age, this theory requires the inference that, natural human forces having become effete and exhausted, a miraculous interference, like the "creation of new species" in the old theory of biology, had become necessary. What

else should stop the downward tendency of "unaided nature?" Such is the usual method of accounting for Jesus of Nazareth and His religion; such the principle of historical construction which is assumed throughout the growth of Christian dogma:—the Christ and His gospel were a new spiritual species. So far as Jesus is concerned, this theory in fact rests on a very superficial survey of the condition of mankind at His birth; since His ethical and spiritual faith had their tap-roots within His native soil, and followed a line of strong democratic and spiritual tendencies in that age. Yet it is also true both of the Roman Empire as a whole, and of the old faiths that were perishing in its bosom, that social and religious life had, on the whole, become fearfully degenerate. Grant this to the fullest extent possible, yet "miraculous interference" need not be assumed in explanation of the revival.

For there is a law of self-recovery by reaction, in mind as well as in matter; different, indeed, from that, as developing not an equivalent, but a new and greater force. It has been described as "forbidding that vicious ideas or institutions shall go so far as their principle logically demands."* It strikes back individuals and nations from degeneracy. It restrains excess in the passions with timely warnings. And it shows us each historic period hastening to an extreme in some special direction, only that the next may be forced into doing justice to a different and balancing class of energies, and so in good time all faculty be liberated into free play. This natural law of reaction is quite as essential and constant as the law of steady linear growth; though, perhaps, when clearly apprehended, it will be found to be but a more interior and less obvious form thereof. It is not only essential to the explanation of primitive Christianity in its relation to the degeneracies of the epoch, but thoroughly competent to that end. It is adequate to prove the phenomenon a sign not that the spiritual forces of human nature had become exhausted, but that they were exhaustless, since even suppression only nerved them to unprecedented vigor.

The value of Mr. Johnson's work—which is very great—consists perhaps less in the support it lends to the philosophical view of religious history imperfectly set forth above, than in the exhaustive analysis of the Indo-Aryan religions and their allied philosophic systems with which it presents the English reader, in an attractive style and in language as free as possible from repulsive technicalities. Treating religion, not as an isolated growth, but as a vital process inseparably co-ordinated with the rest of man's mental development, he is under the necessity of tracing the entire social life of the Indo-Aryans through its successive phases, as well as of examining the records of their religious tenets and practice. The work, in fact, is neither more nor less than a compendium of the more important side of Indian history, as interpreted by its author on the basis of the widest possible comparison of extant materials. The chapters on "the Primitive Aryas," "the Hindu Mind," "Woman" and "Social forms and Forces" are, indeed, among the most interesting in the book, and contain more information on the subjects discussed than is to be found

* Guizot, *History of Civilization*.

in any other single Eng'ish work. It is essential to the author's plan that he should deal chiefly with certain conclusions and their bearing on the thesis in hand, rather than with the evidence on which these conclusions are based; and it is not to be expected that the critical student will in every case endorse his views. Still, on the whole, Mr. Johnson's picture of Indo-Aryan life and doctiine is drawn on lines sanctioned by sound scholarship, and painted in colours which a cultured and healthy imagination will approve. The worst fault in the work is, perhaps, an occasional rank exuberance of words of ill-defined signification. On the other hand, it abounds in passages of surpassing eloquence. As an example of the latter, we may quote Mr. Johnson's account of the nature of the testimony on which we depend for our knowledge of primitive Aryan life:—

he Witness.

It is in a spot so rich in spiritual suggestion that we are to seek our earliest data for the Natural History of Religion. What were the resources of human nature at that remote epoch when the ancestors of the principal modern races dwelt on these highlands of Central Asia? It is only of the Indo-European family—comprising the historical Hindus, the Persians, and the various races of Europe, excepting Jews, Turks, Basques, Finns, and Magyars—that we can render a positive answer. And even of this pre-eminent family of nations we cannot speak from data afforded by the ordinary forms of testimony. For we have here to do with a period far antecedent, not only to the oldest Bibles of mankind, but even to the very notion of such a thing as the transmission of knowledge. But in these pre-historic deeps, where even the half-blind guides of mythology and tradition fail, we greet a fresh source of scientific certainty. It seems as if the infancy of man became but a starless night, in respect of all those dubious guides by whose aid we penetrate the past, in order that the pure testimony of language, alone illuminating it, might make his divine origin unmistakable. For language is, as the oldest faith and the latest science unite to declare it, an inspiration. It is no arbitrary invention, like the steam engine or the cotton gin; no mere imitation of natural sounds; but the natural result of a perfect correspondence between the outward organ and the inward processes, which must have material expression. Its testimony proceeds from no interested witnesses, from no treacherous prejudices, from no play of imagination; but from the certainties of organic law. Men do not invent names for things of which they have no idea. A people put its character and its history into its language, without hypocrisy and without reserve. It is a spontaneous creation. The "Word" has always been recognized as the fittest symbol of truth, as the purest manifestation of deity.

This unimpeachable witness it is, that testifies of man in an antiquity where no other is possible. And the most primitive fact we know of his nature is thus a certain unconscious *honesty*, that discloses his inner life without disguise.

It is by the testimony of Language that the nations called Aryan or, more properly, Indo-European, are brought into a single class and referred to a common origin.* And the next step has been, to recover out of the mass of words or roots, common to the languages of these nations as much

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* *See* especially the researches of Burnouf and Bopp.

as possible of the primitive language spoken by the parent race in its prehistoric antiquity previous to dispersion into many branches.* The best philological scholarship of the age has been employed upon this reconstruction. It may fairly be said that we are able already to look directly in upon the character and condition of these hitherto unknown ancestors of the Hindu and the Persian, of the Greek and the Roman, the Celt and the Teuton. No achievement of modern science is more brilliant or more marvellous. It is the result of a comparative Philology as subtile as the calculations of Astronomy. It has evoked from human data hitherto unintelligible the substance of a lost language and a forgotten race, as astronomers have applied the strange perturbations of the solar system to effect the discovery of hidden planets. It is not over-confident to claim positive certainty for the general result here stated. Enough is already achieved in this field to justify its most skilful explorers in claiming for it the name of Linguistic Palæontology.†

In the hymns of the Rig Veda, Mr. Johnson finds the germ of all religions—"the consciousness of deity." Underlying that worship of the forces of Nature in which it found modes of expression appropriate to each occasion of life, he sees a profound sense of the oneness of force, "the intuition of a divine and living whole." At the same time he discovers in the hymns no proof of that "antecedent Monotheism," that "remembrance of one God breaking through the mists of idolatrous phraseology," referred to by Max Müller.

The chapter on Social Forms and Forces, especially that part of it which deals with the origin of caste, is excellent.

In primitive Aryan times, he points out, we have the seer, reverenced of the people for his superior wisdom, and honoured of the King,—hymnist, teacher, counsellor, but not priest. "By and by the seers become an organization. These hereditary disciplines draw them into closer combination for such purposes as grow naturally out of their public functions; and we have Levites, Magi, Brahmans. The Hindu purohitas, thus transformed, are bound into *charanas* and *parishads*, schools and associations for definite objects, such as the guardianship of formulas and rites, or the study of Vedic hymns. They are divided into forty-nine *gotras*, or families, who trace their descent from the 'seven holy rishis,' and the mythical or other saints who figure in their traditions; and these gotras are governed by strict

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* We do not mean that Pictet, Eichhoff, Schleicher, Kuhn, Fick, and other scholars have succeeded in reconstructing the language actually spoken by the original Indo-Europeans, out of the radicals afforded by this comparison of tongues. But their researches, though of very unequal value, have resulted in bringing into view a large number of the ideas and objects which that language was used to designate.

† Pictet, *Origines Indo-Européenes*, or *Les Aryas Primitifs*. *See* also Spiegel's *Avesta*, II., *Einleit.* CXI.-CXV.; A. Kuhn in Weber's *Indische Studien*, I. 321-363; Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I. 527; Müller, *Science of Languages*, 234-236; Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, III. 9; Schoebel, *Récherches sur la Religion Prem. de la Race Indo-Europ.* (Paris, 1868); Whitney, *Study of Language* (Lect. V.); Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, II.; Fick, *Wörterbuch d. Indog. Sprache*.

religious and social regulations. Gradually the text becomes more precious than the soul which created it; and at last its guardian is holier even than itself. The freedom and ardor of the Veda hymn are supplanted by formulas of doctrine, the oracles of Nature by ritual law. A corporate authority grows up, by force of intellectual supremacy, and in the name of religion, which favorable circumstances develop into the Brahman caste."

Similarly, the other two superior castes take their origin in spontaneous choice, fulfilling social needs, and ultimately tending to become hereditary through veneration for parental discipline and example, and the necessity for an exact transmission of methods. The Sudras, however, Mr. Johnson believes to have been aboriginal tribes, who owed their caste degradation to conquest by the Aryans.

A large portion of the second volume is devoted to Buddhism, which is regarded as a democratic protest against Brahman exclusiveness in its social, and as a revolt against the idolatry of tradition, texts and ritual in its spiritual aspect. Its germs Mr. Johnson finds in the Vedanta and Sankhya philosophies, to which he considers it vain to attempt to assign a date, and which he regards as the expression of an abiding element in the Aryan character, rather than a special movement.

"The Vedanta, as well as the Sänkhya, shows germs of Buddhism. They appear in its devotion to abstract speculation, and in its recognition that the soul needed the Vedas but for a time, and could be satisfied only by a life in the eternal, where all distinctions of rank and caste would of course be lost for ever. And, more than this, the Buddhists are even charged by the Brahmans with plagiarizing the idea of universal brotherhood from their sacred books, and then turning it against them.*

The protest against ecclesiastical authority, as embodied in the priesthood, re-appears at every stage of Hindu history. The Vedic legend of Visvamitra, or *the people's friend*, and his contest with Vasishtha, or *the best*, a superlative which means orthodox sainthood, has a development co-extensive in time with the national religious literature. Many other vestiges point to a struggle of some kind in early times between the sacerdotal and secular classes. This schism, of which some account has already been given, was probably a continuous one, commencing as soon as the two classes became distinctly organized for political and religious ends; and of this the warfare waged by Buddhism against the whole caste system, in the interest of the humblest classes as well as of woman, was but the extension."

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* Müller, *Sanks. Lit.*, p. 85.

For the author's view of the speculative principles and the ethics of Buddhism, we must refer the reader to the book itself. He is inclined to acquit it of absolute atheism, and, as regards Nirvana, he appeals to the Dhammapada to show that, "far from meaning annihilation in an absolute sense, it was positive exaltation and blessedness, expected to follow upon deliverance from special forms and embodiments, through detachment from the *khandas*, or elements of individuality, regarded as grounds of successive births (*sansâra*), from grief, impurity, disease, selfishness, passion, sin; in other words, a reality, which nothing in all this fateful sequence of transmigrative existence could express; an open door of freedom and release, in to unknown and unimagined good; if a dream, certainly *not* a dream of death, but of escape from death."

The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese. With Annotations. The Ways to Neibban, and Notice on the Phongyies, or Burmese Monks. By the Right Reverend P. Bigandet, Bishop of Ramatha, Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu. In two Volumes. Third Edition, London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

THIS is the third edition of Bishop Bigandet's work on Buddhism in Burmah, the first two editions of which were published in Rangoon. Though originally written nearly thirty years ago, its contents are new to the great majority of European scholars, and, though we cannot admit the claim put forward in the preface on behalf of the Burmese texts and practice, that they are the sole repositories of true Buddhism, they undoubtedly possess a special value of no mean order. Of the Buddhistic legends and the particular form of Buddhism found in Burmah they give an exhaustive and highly interesting account. But for this very reason they are not to be accepted as containing a satisfactory account of the faith supposed to have been promulgated by Sakyamuni.

"Buddhism as it is found in Burmah," says the writer of the preface, "has a particular claim to the attention of a diligent and attentive observer. We there have that religious creed or system as pure from adulteration as it can be after a lapse of so many centuries. Philosophy never flourished in Burmah, and, therefore, never modified the religious systems of the country. Hinduism never exercised any influence on the banks of the Irrawaddy. Chinese and Burmese have often met on battlefields, but the influence of the Middle Kingdom has never established itself in Burmah. In other words, Chinese

Buddhism has never been able to penetrate into the customs and manners of the people, and has not attempted to communicate its own religion to its southern neighbours. It would seem that the true form of Buddhism is to be found in Burmah, and that a knowledge of that system can only be arrived at by the study of the religious books of Burmah, and by attentively observing the religious practices and ceremonies of the people. This is what Bishop Bigandet has endeavoured to do throughout his work."

The fact, however, is that the peculiar character of the Burmese mind necessitated a corresponding modification of Buddhism ; and that, though, in one sense, the form of the system with which we are here presented has been handed down free from foreign adulteration, it is in itself a corrupt form. It is only by an eclectic process that the essential elements of Buddhism can be disentangled from its various local developments. A great deal has been done by modern scholars towards such a synthesis, but, as may we gathered from what is stated above regarding Bishop Bigandet's plan, nothing of the sort is attempted in the work before us. So far as this can be considered a defect, it is one that is inherent in the scope of the work. It is rather as a contribution to Buddhistic literature, however, than as a study of Buddhism as a whole, that the work must be judged. Viewed in this light, its importance is sufficient to place students of the subject under a deep obligation to its author. Yet viewed in this light, it is not free from serious defects. One of these defects is the absence of any attempt at a critical estimate of authorities and even of such references as might enable the reader to identify the statements of the text with the authorities on which they are based. We have found it generally impossible to distinguish between what should be assigned to Bishop Bigandet himself, and what to the authors of the texts used by him. Another defect is the author's omission to furnish the reader with the means of identifying the uncouth Burmese forms of the proper names with their more familiar Indian equivalents.

The greater part of the work is occupied with the legend of the Burmese Buddha. To this are added a dissertation on the Seven Ways to Neibban, or Nirvana and an interesting account of the Phongyies, or Buddhist Monks of Burmah.

The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter. By J. Estlin Carpenter, M. A. London. Macmillan & Co. 1879.

A FAITHFUL biography of one who, among practical philanthropists, is entitled to rank with Howard and Wilberforce, possesses a universal interest. Such a biography is the work

before us. Though Mary Carpenter was not an originator of any new scheme for the alleviation of human suffering, much of the progress that has been made in England in that direction during the present century is traceable to her exertions. Ragged schools existed before that in Lewin's Mead, and the subject of Reformatory Schools had been agitated before it engaged her attention, but it was mainly her persevering endeavours that secured for the former that Government recognition and aid which placed them on a firm footing, while the establishment of the latter was largely due to her enthusiastic advocacy. Miss Carpenter's personal work among the poor was attended by an amount of success which has probably never been surpassed, and which was due to a rare combination of dauntless zeal and courage with loving toleration and inexhaustible patience. Vice was to her, what disease is to the beneficent physician, an evil to be battled with, and cured, if possible, rather than a terror to be shrunk from!

The story of her work is admirably told in the volume before us. Of her private life most readers would have welcomed a fuller account.

For natives of India the biography possesses a special interest; for, though it must be generally felt that Miss Carpenter's Indian missions were beyond the sphere specially marked out for her, and that the work which she set herself to accomplish here so far transcended her opportunities that her labour was doomed to be in a great measure wasted, the intensity of her interest in the people of the country and the beneficence of her intentions are beyond question.

A considerable portion of Mr. Carpenter's book consists of letters written by, or to, Miss Carpenter, some on the subject of her work, some on more general topics. Many of these letters are of great interest. In them the writer appears as a woman of keen æsthetic sensibilities, wide culture and a graphic style. Those from India are somewhat disappointing owing to the almost entire absence from them of all attempt at description of the impression produced on her by scenes which must have been at once so strange and so suggestive.

Furlough Reminiscences. A Pot-pourri of Reflections, Observations and Incidents, compiled from the Diary of a Happy Holiday in England, by Wyvern. Madras: Higginbotham and Co. 1880.

TO many of our readers WYVERN'S "Furlough Reminiscences" will be familiar, as having appeared in the form of letters in the *Madras Mail*. Those who have not read them, and who are prepared to pay a trifle for a few hours' hearty amusement, cannot do better than procure them at once. They are

full of entertaining anecdotes and humorous reflections, written in a light and elegant style, and they also contain a fund of experience which Anglo-Indians about to revisit their native shores will do well to lay to heart, thereby, perhaps, saving themselves much inconvenience and disappointment. Like most persons who return to England after a sojourn of any length in the freer social atmosphere of this country, Wyvern was at first constantly taken aback by the insular narrowness and selfishness he encountered on soil where an affectionate memory had led him to expect all that was congenial. This narrowness and selfishness supplies him with many a ludicrous incident, of which he takes the fullest advantage. To some extent the lines of the picture are those are of caricature, but, if a little exaggerated, they are not distorted.

Instructions for Testing Telegraph Lines and the Technical Arrangements of Offices. Originally written on behalf of the Government of India under the Orders of the Director-General of Telegraphs in India. By Louis Schwendler. Vol. II. Second Edition. Authorised by H. M. Secretary of State for India in Council, London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1880.

THE object of the second volume of Mr. Schwendler's admirable work is to furnish officers in charge of Telegraph Stations with instructions for testing by means of the Tangent Galvanometer. It comprises a detailed description of the construction and theory of the Tangent Galvanometer, and the methods of testing and using it; of batteries, especially those formed with the Minotto element, and their appurtenances, and the different instruments in use and their connexions. Various cognate matters of importance are dealt with in a series of appendices.

Mr. Schwendler's book is by far the most practical work of its kind that has been printed; indeed, we may say more justly that it is unique. With its aid, no one who possesses the necessary elementary knowledge, combined with ordinary experience in the department, need be at a loss regarding even the minutest detail of the processes described in it. Though expressly a work on testing, it goes so thoroughly into all matters related to the subject, as to become in effect a sufficient guide to almost the entire art of practical telegraphy.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Lyttoniana. Vol. I. By Adharlal Sen, B.A. Calcutta. J. N. Vidyaratna, 38, Shampooker Street. 1879.

THE rapidly progressive improvement which vernacular typography is making is one of the healthful signs of the

times. Do any of our readers remember having ever seen H. P. Forster's "Vocabulary of English and Bungalee," dedicated to Thomas Graham, Esq., "Chourungee, December 15th, 1799?' That was, it would seem, one of the earliest attempts to cast Bengalee types, and, as was to be expected, nothing could be more execrable, though the printing of the English words in the Dictionary in question was not much better. The *Sumachar Durpun* (Mr. Marshman's), the pamphlets written by Ram Mohun Roy, and other publications of the times, which, reckoning from the data of Mr. Forster's Vocabulary, may be looked upon as a sort of mediæval period of printing in Bengal, showed decided improvement in this direction. It would be invidious to compare the respective merits of the presses now existing in town and in the suburbs ; but we may confidently observe that the books many of them turn out are a marked success, and bid fair, in time, to compete, for excellence, with the outcome of the English press. The volume before us is an example. The general get-up is superior to anything we remember having seen in this line, and reflects the highest credit on the judgment of the printer, and the taste of the publisher. If found on the drawing-room table, it is likely to be mistaken for an English book, perhaps some tiny contribution to the literature of the past season.

There is, however, one peculiarity in connexion with the printting of the book which the author would have done well to have said something about by way of explanation. It is a Bengalee book, intended, one would think, principally if not exclusively, for the Bengalee reader ; yet the title on the back, and at the top of every page, is in English characters. The numbers at the head of every stanza are Roman Numerals, and the title-page, the dedication, and the references at bottom are all in English. Our author must surely know that not one in ten thousand of his readers, even in Calcutta, will understand what *Lyttoniana* means, or what the references are all about.

Lyttoniana is a collection of a few of Lord Lytton's short poems, translated into Bengalee. The following lines, as specimens of the author's powers of versifying, are beautiful, indeed. They fall melodiously on the ear, which is, or should at least be, one of the objects of the poet.

শুনিনু একদা আমি নিশীথে গভির
অপ্সরা গাইছে গান বাঁশরীর তানে ;
আকাশ, নক্ষত্র, গ্রহ, মলয় সমীর,
শুনে সে মধুর গীতি উল্লসিত প্রানে ।

These poems, as we have read above, profess to be translations. Translations, however, are edged tools that cut either way, the body, or the soul. If literal, the very words the author uses are expected to be rendered into equivalents, capable of conveying the exact ideas which the words in the original imply, by no means an easy task, especially when the genius of the two languages differs, as is the case with the English and the Bengalee, so very widely; and, it may be observed, *en passant*, that, in such literal translations, the spirit of the author, in the long run, is necessarily lost. If free, the object aimed at is the transference, through foreign vocables, of the mere "narrative material," as Lord Lytton calls it, and necessarily with a much larger infusion of the spirit than the stereotyped rules of literal translation can possibly permit. Baboo Adhar Lall's translations, strictly speaking, belong neither to the one class nor to the other. We take at random one of the short poems from his book, and place the first two stanzas before our readers, along with the original :—

POSSESSION.

A poet loved a Star,
And to it whisper'd nightly,
"Being so fair, why art thou, love, so far?
Or, why so coldly shine, who shinest so brightly?
O Beauty, woo'd and unpossest,
O might I to this beating breast
But clasp thee once, and then die, blest,"
That star, her poet's love,
So wildly warm, made human.
And, leaving for his sake her heaven above,
His star stoop'd earthward, and became a woman.
"Thou who hast woo'd and hast possest,
My lover, answer, what was best,
The star's beam, or the woman's breast?"

I.

কোন কবি তারারে বাসিত ভাল।
প্রতিনিশি কহিত তাহারে,
"কেন দূরে থাক, গগনেরি আলো,
দেখা দাও আসি,
আকাশ রূপসি,
হৃদয়-মাঝারে,
আমার প্রেয়সি,
কেন দূরে থাক, অয়ি গগনের আলো?"

II.

গগনের তারা মজি কবির প্রণয়ে,
নীল নভ পরিহরি,
রমনীর রূপ ধরি,
উদিল ভূতল মাঝে সমুজ্জ্বল হয়ে।
ধীরে ধীরে ধীরে
নারী জিজ্ঞাসে কবিরে,—
"তুমি ত দেখেছ, সখে, নারীরে, তারারে,
বল দেখি এবে, নাথ, ভাল বাস কারে,
মধুর নারীরে কিম্বা উজল তারারে?"

If the reader expects fidelity in translations, and no doubt he does, he will find himself, after comparing the above, bitterly disappointed. The author's translations, judging by the rendering of the piece before us, look like paraphrases, and we accept them, and recommend them to the public only as such.

Banalatá. Published by Jogesh Chundra Bundopadhya, Canning Library. 249, Bowbazar, Stanhope Press. 1287 Shál.

THE *Banalatá* is from the pen of a Hindu (Brahmin) lady who dedicates the work to her father. It consists of several short poems on a variety of subjects, which bear the impress of a mind emancipated from the thraldom of *Janti, Junti,—Malliká, Málati,* of bygone ages, and awakening to an appreciative perception of the beautiful, the grand and the sublime, not simply in terrestrial objects, but, likewise in the phenomenal aspects of Nature, in all her immensity. The following lines will partially illustrate our views, if they will not also remind the reader of Ianthe in the Magic Car of Shelley:

রবি-শশী-তারা—কল্পনা-নয়ন,
শারদ-কৌমুদি—কল্পনা-বরণ,
কল্পনার কণ্ঠ বীণার নিক্কণ,
কল্পনার খেলা সুখের স্বপন।

In respect of purity of thought, and chasteness of diction, these poems are a decided improvement upon the school of Bharat Chundra, though for melodious flow and smoothness they compare unfavourably with the works of that much maligned, yet much loved, bard.

We have time only to add that three of these poems are *translations* from the works of Wordsworth, Byron, and Cowper,

which fact imposes upon us the duty, and a pleasing duty too, of congratulating our authoress upon her thorough acquaintance with English poets, along with the mastery she has achieved over the language in which she writes. She must have possessed extraordinarily favorable opportunities, such as seldom fall to the lot of Hindoo ladies, "cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd" within the walls of the Zenanah. We hope, however, she will pardon us for exercising the privilege of a critic, and telling her, in the most friendly spirit, and without meaning, in the least, to detract from the general merit of her poems, that the lines which we subjoin, though excellent in themselves, are not fair *translations.* They are from the "cuckoo" of Wordsworth.

1. "It seems to fill the whole air's space,
   At once far off and near."

   গিরি হ'তে গিরি-শৃঙ্গে সে স্বর ভাসিয়া
   একদা সুদূরে, কাছে, যায় রে ধ্বনিয়া।

2. "But unto me thou bring'st a tale
   Of visionary hours."

   বিগত জীবন হৃদে উঠে রে জাগিয়া,
   শৈশব সুখের স্মৃতি উঠে উথলিয়া!

3. "—but an invisible thing,
   A voice, a mystery."

   কিন্তু রে অদৃশ্যকণ্ঠ, ভাবিরে তোমায়,
   বোধের অতীত তুমি স্বর মধুময়।

Sherferáz Khan Patan, or the Fall of Sherferáz Khan,—A historical Play. Published by Jogendra Chandra Bundopadhay. Albert Press. 1286.

THE author of this play withholds his name from his readers, neither, it would seem, from a superabundance of modesty, nor, perhaps, from a fear of adverse criticism, for he challenges a critical examination, and declines to accept even a favourable opinion, if, his name being known, it were to be interpreted as an act of personal kindness. He adopts in his works:—

যত্নে কৃতে যদি ন সিদ্ধতি, কোত্র দোষঃ?

We say, none whatever.

The play is founded upon the following historical, or *quasi*-historical facts.

Sherferáz Khan, the unworthy son of Suja-Uddin, Nawab of Bengal, had for some time harboured thoughts of supplanting his father, whom, as if to advance his views, death soon removed from his way. As soon, however, as he was seated on the

Viceregal throne, he not only gathered round him his own creatures—who had formerly encouraged him in the indulgence of his evil propensities, and pandered to his profligacy and debauchery, and who were now willing instruments in his hands for forwarding his schemes of pleasure—but also consulted and humbled, before the whole court, the late Nawab's old, able, and loyal Ministers (Haji Muhammad, in particular) whom he had given his dying father the most solemn pledges always to respect, and never to disregard his advice.

One of these subservient tools of the young Nawab was Rahim Khan. An orphan, and a pauper, he had been all but picked up from the streets by Domraon Khan, who, evidently forgetting what Shaikh Sádi says, had warmed and nursed the young viper in the bosom of his family, and, as might have been expected, was, in time, bitten in the most vital part. His only daughter, Doolefanessa (a very paragon of beauty) was insidiously taught to believe that, at her age, any intermeddling, on the part of parents, with questions of marriage, was simple impertinence, and then solicited, in the most loving terms, to accept his hand. True, his proposal was most indignantly rejected, but he never swerved from his vow of undying revenge.

About this time two weddings were to have been celebrated with great *eclât* in Moorshedabad. The marriage of Juggut Sett's son passed oft without creating, at the time, anything like an embroilment; not so the nuptials of Doolefanessa with the son of Haji Ahmed. Just at the nick of time, when the guests had all assembled, and the Qazi, with hurried steps, was approaching the house, Rahim made his appearance at the head of a body of troops, interdicted the marriage in the name of the Nawab, dispersed the guests, and compelled Omar Khan to remove his daughter to the palace. That this great indignity unexpected and uncalled-for sank deep into the heart of the father, may be easily imagined, and he naturally informed his brother, the ruler of Behar, of the gross insult that had been offered to the family. This was virtually the death-knell of Surferáz Khan, and of his Nawabship. Not content, however, with estranging the feelings of his co-religionists, he insisted upon seeing the newly married wife of Juggat Sett's son.

Ali Verdy Khan and his army advanced to conquer Bengal. Rahim played a double game—and the Nawab and the prince were both killed. Seeing the turn affairs had taken, and remembering no doubt that the vow had been but partially fulfilled, Rahim went straight to the palace—talked to Doolefanessa (who had, since the embroglio at Haji Ahmad's, been married to the Nawabs'

son) of love, of marriage, and, in case of recalcitration, of main force, and, in his attempt to embrace her, was stabbed with a dagger, and, in his turn, plunged his sword into her bosom.

We have stated the above facts in a plain, narrative, prosaic style, for—"'tis our vocation;" but we had expected that one who has assumed the *rôle* of a poet, would have given us something better than the mere bones, dry as dust, and inartistically put together. With some knowledge of human nature,—with some skill in arranging his facts dramatically—and, we may add, with some little critical acumen for perceiving the fitness of the words used, he might have succeeded in laying before his readers, at least, a readable play. The one before us is without anything in the shape of a well-digested plot, and contains none of the by-plots, surprises, and revelations which form the stock-in-trade of the play-wright. The *dramatis personæ* are huddled together; there has been no attempt at individualization; and yet we are to accept it as a tragedy.

Rahim possesses not one of the attributes which belong to the tragedy-hero. A grasping selfishness, associated with a low, cunning and meanness, sum up his character. Of strong passions, he had none. He could sincerely love no one, for his heart was made of flint. One would think that a figure, so conspicuous during the fall of a dynasty, must have possessed, in no small measure, the tact and skill of the diplomatist. Such, however, was not the case. He certainly felt, as hundreds of others did, the pulse of the times; but he wanted the faculty, even if his position had given him the opportunity, of combining the jarring elements that disturbed the then political horizon into one combined effort towards the realization of an objective ideal. What he did he did almost at the impulse of the moment,—what followed was an eventuality unexpected on his part, rather than the result of a plan, contrived by him, and carried by him, or through his agency, through all the stages of its evolution, towards the final *denouement*.

As regards Doolefanessa, we have not the slightest hesitation in endorsing all that the author says of her, which all, however, amounts to a mere tribute to her personal charms, and of which charms, by the way, he does not tell us wherein they consisted. Of the mind, which, as in the hero, so in the heroine, might be supposed to be of some little consequence, he says absolutely nothing.

THE

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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NO. CXLII.

ART. I.—THE UNITY OF THE HINDU RACE.

BY THE REV. M. A. SHERRING, LL.B.

IN discussing the conditions of Hindu society it is not sufficient to take note merely of caste distinctions and divisions, which are well nigh innumerable. An analysis of races is incomplete without a corresponding synthesis. We need not only to become acquainted with the dissimilarities in the composition of the multitudinous tribes and castes spread over India, but also with the nature of the agreement subsisting between them. It is much more difficult to illustrate and prove the latter than the former.

The fact of the segregation of Hindus into hundreds and thousands of classes, all, for the most part, mutually exclusive, is patent to everybody. But to what extent they are bound together, and in what respects they may be said to be related, and to constitute a homogeneous community, is by no means so apparent. In the observations I shall venture to make on this subject my remarks must be regarded rather as tentative than argumentative, as representing a search after knowledge in this occult matter than as knowledge actually obtained.

The question to be considered is simply this,—what resemblances are there among Hindus, or what is the amount of unity existing between them? To imagine, for an instant, that they really consist of innumerable races, corresponding to the minute sub-divisions into which they have separated, is preposterous.

Notwithstanding the eager desire now cherished by all the varied castes of India to be severed from one another, yet we know, from the testimony of Manu, and other ancient authorities, that, in the period of Manu himself, when caste rules were very

intricate and cumbrous, and when the people generally felt their pressure to be a grievous burden, there was, under certain restrictions, almost free intercourse between the castes, and not only so, but also between the castes and the unclean classes of the outer pale. Intermarriages between Brahmans, Rajpoots, Vaisyas, and Sudras, were, in those early times, not merely permitted by the laws, but were every day occurring. The offspring of such cross marriages did not remain in the castes of their fathers, but formed separate castes, and set up as distinct tribes on their own account. They were, however, not merely countenanced by the law in so doing, but were protected likewise; and their condition became, in the new sphere they occupied, one of honour and comparative respectability. In this way, castes rapidly multiplied, and would have continued to increase indefinitely, had not a stop been eventually put to these intermarriages; though when they actually ceased, is uncertain.

By referring to the statements in Manu's Code it is abundantly manifest that the blood of the Hindus was in those early times greatly intermingled. If the detailed accounts given by Manu be correct, we gather facts of immense importance to our subject; and the answer to the question, whether the low castes were always disconnected from the high, is ready at hand. Brahmans, Kshatriyas, many Sudras, and many more outcasts, are allied by the closest ties of consanguinity. Carpenters, fishermen, merchants, leather-sellers, hunters, jailers, executioners, burners of dead bodies, and other persons, now reckoned among the vilest and most degraded outcasts, have Brahman blood flowing in their veins, and their ancestors were united to Brahman parents by lawful marriage. These observations will sound startling to those who are unacquainted with the accounts given by Manu on this topic, which are so elaborate and minute, and withal are so matter of fact, and have so strong an appearance of truthfulness about them, that it is utterly impossible to doubt that they are a faithful representation of the picture of Hindu society in that distant epoch.

The testimony of this ancient work is irrefragable on the very extensive intercommunion between Hindu tribes of all ranks, and also between Hindus and non-Hindus. The example of Brahmans freely marrying women of lower castes, was evidently readily followed by the castes immediately below them. Kshatriyas availed themselves of the privilege of multiplying their wives. Vaisyas also allied themselves with inferior castes. The inferior castes likewise intermarried. And thus the blood of the castes and of the non-castes became considerably interfused.

The Brahmans have ever been over much given to add to the number of their wives. In those early ages they were notorious

as a wife-seeking people; and they can hardly be said to have improved in modern times. I may remark in passing, that from the custom which the Brahmans of the period of Manu adopted, of taking their subordinate wives, one after another, from women of lower castes, it is very clear that their own proper caste was numerically too small to supply them with what they wanted. After a time, though when is unknown, Brahmanical women had sufficiently increased to supply the Brahmanical demand, and then marriages with other women were once for all forbidden. These observations are also applicable to both the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes, which, from their comparative weakness, sought alliances with Sudras and outcasts. Demonstrably, therefore, the upper castes, especially the Brahmans, and next to them, the Kshatriyas, were at first, and for many years, much fewer in numbers than the Sudras and outcasts combined. That the higher castes would never have degraded themselves by such connexions, legally made, had they not been under the necessity of doing so from the paucity of their own women, and that they would have much preferred to select wives from their own sacred order, is a position as historically and also morally certain, as any that can be maintained respecting events of two thousand years ago and upwards, which are not susceptible of positive proof.

Although there can be little or no doubt, therefore, that there has been thus an extensive intermingling of classes in India, whereby most of them have lost much of their individuality, yet we must not rush to the conclusion that Hindus have become confusedly mixed together, and that all traces of their original distinctiveness have been lost. This would be a blunder as great as the opposite one, of regarding every caste as representing a separate race. In Indian social history the astuteness of the Brahman is an important factor, and must never be for an instant lost sight of. He has been far too clever to allow himself to be tainted, or his sacred blood poisoned, by contact with the inferior Hindus. The marriages of his ancestors with lower caste men and women left the Brahmans unpolluted, inasmuch as the offspring of such unions never took rank in the Brahmanical order, but were kept at a distance from it, more or less great. Such was evidently the case, too, with the Kshatriyas, and most probably, likewise, with the Vaisyas, though not to the same extent. The consequence was, that new castes were constantly being formed; but the old castes, especially the Brahmanical, remained scarcely touched by the process, which was filling the country with mongrel tribes destined to play, each one for itself, an important part in the future annals of India.

We may thus account for the comparative numerical smallness

of the Brahmanical, Kshatriya, and even Vaisya tribes in the present day, and the immensely greater number of Sudra and outcast tribes. The original numerical superiority of the latter would not have been sufficient, without this additional reason, to account for the enormous excess of the lower castes of India over the higher, which we now see. It was only the progeny of Brahman parents of pure blood on both sides, which contributed to the increase of the Brahmanical fraternity, while the children of a Brahman's other wives, second, third, fourth, or more, as the case might be, and also of a Kshatriya's, and probably of a Vaisya's secondary wives, ranked among the lower castes; and by intermarriages with them rapidly swelled their numbers, already fast multiplying by natural increase among themselves.

It is plain, moreover, that the lower the descent in the social scale, the more numerous were the intermarriages,—owing to the fact that the obstacles to them became less and less,—and the greater was the increase in the population. Where the blending of castes was most complete, there clearly their growth was the largest. Again, where a caste limited itself in any way, either in its occupation, manner of life, or place of abode, a restriction was thereby put on the measure of its development. Brahmans and Kshatriyas not only strove to keep their tribes free from the introduction of base elements, but also placed themselves under various limitations of this nature. They were not alike, however, in the methods they adopted, and consequently their internal growth has been different. The Kshatriyas have lived on the whole under more rigid restrictions than the Brahmans, with what result, their condition numerically, as compared with that of the Brahmans, fully shows. The Brahmans have endeavoured to found colonies of their order all over India, and have undoubtedly been the most successful of all Hindu tribes in spreading themselves throughout the country. There is scarcely a district in the land, however small, which has not at the least a few Brahmans. Every town and large village has some representatives. Even remote corners, barren wastes, inaccessible hills, crags, ravines, jungles infested by wild animals, the abode of wild aborigines, resound with the shrill notes of the sacred shell blown by the Brahman ascetic, who has chosen these regions for his habitation. With a clear and over-mastering conviction of the importance and need of his services as a religious teacher and guide, the Brahman has gone forth to the spiritual conquest of the multitudinous tribes of India, speaking many languages, and exhibiting divers habits, and has triumphed everywhere. They have been spell-bound by his sublime presence and oracular utterances.

The irresistible power and authority of the Brahman are acknowledged among the snows of the Himalayas, on the burning plains below, in the fastnesses and distant regions of Central India, on the banks of the Ganges, Nerbuddha, Godavery, Krishna, and other rivers, among the Dravidian races of the South, along the picturesque ghauts, and throughout the changing scenes and diversified tribes beyond, as far as Cape Comorin. Hence the Brahmans, in spite of their exclusiveness, stimulated by their spirit of enterprise and research, have wonderfully prospered as a people. It should be added, that, while they have as a class professed to abstain from agriculture and other secular pursuits, they have, nevertheless, in some places, devoted themselves in considerable numbers to such modes of obtaining a livelihood, and have thereby not merely increased their wealth and comfort, but also their own population.

On the other hand, the Kshatriyas, who in primitive times were probably more numerous than the Brahmans, pursuing quite a different course, have come to be numerically far behind them. Professedly, like the Brahmans, eschewing manual labour together with the cultivation of the soil, they for ages rigidly followed the profession of arms and government, and settled down in certain localities, with which they remained content, until conquest or defeat led them either to enlarge their borders, or to quit them for other regions, where they established themselves on precisely the same principles as had previously regulated their lives. They have thus taken three thousand years and upwards to extend their tribes over Upper and Central India, beyond which they are little known, and their influence is little felt. In Bengal proper and the countries of the Dekhan they have almost no authority, and are altogether insignificant. The consequence of the policy the Kshatriyas have adopted, in conjunction with their strong adherence to caste rules, though with less strictness than the Brahmans, is that their augmentation comes far behind that of some other great Hindu classes.

The higher castes, though possessing many favouring circumstances denied to the lower, have been nevertheless enormously outstripped by them in the numerical increase which they have severally made. There are some of the inferior tribes which individually outnumber the whole of the Brahmanical tribes, or the whole of the Kshatriya tribes. Take for example, among the Sudras, the Kunbi, or agricultural caste, which, under various designations, is scattered over the greater part of India. Copying the migratory principle of the Brahmans, the Kunbis have gone on planting their villages, until the country, especially those regions which they have cultivated, is full of them. And

yet this is only one out of an almost countless number of Sudra castes.

The marriage customs of the Sudras, and of the castes below them, are much less stringent than those of the higher castes. Many permit the re-marriage of widows. Some of them, like the Ahirs and the Nuniyas, compel a man to marry the widow of his deceased brother. Perhaps the most prolific cause of fruitfulness among these castes, which is seen in some more than in others, lies in the diversity of their occupations. If a tribe, as for instance, the Rajpoots, is restricted in its pursuits, so that many of its members are unable to obtain a livelihood for themselves, but lead an indolent life as dependents on their wealthier brethren, its increase is thereby seriously affected. But this is not the case with the castes in question. They have been free to choose various employments, which their families have followed from generation to generation with such regularity and strictness that many castes are known by their occupations. Thus they have apportioned out among themselves nearly all the modes of gaining a livelihood in which men, whether in civilized or uncivilized countries, are usually engaged, leaving only a very small number to the castes superior to them. From this division of labour, which doubtless has its serious drawbacks as practised in India, arising from the circumstance that a trade or profession, when once taken up by a Hindu family, is too rigidly followed from father to son, leaving at last little scope for enterprise and the exercise of the inventive faculty, the great internal prosperity and extraordinary numerical increase of the Sudras and castes below them, have nevertheless chiefly resulted.

Some minor castes are especially worthy of notice for their vigorous vitality, and for their consequent growth beyond that of other castes. The Chamârs afford an excellent specimen of a caste of this character. The hereditary occupation of these people is the manipulation of leather, as dealers in hides, tanners, shoemakers, harness-makers, and the like. Their caste has seven divisions, each of which undertakes a separate branch of the general trade, while, in order to give full scope to each, so that one may not intrude on the province of another, they maintain no mutual intercourse in the smallest degree, and permit no intermarriages, or any social or festive union. But the caste has been much too wise to restrict its labours merely to the pursuits of its ancestors. Many Chamârs have become servants, grooms, day-labourers, and coolies; and a very large number have taken to agriculture. In the Upper Provinces, and throughout a large portion of Northern India, extensive tracts are entirely cultivated by this caste. As cultivators, they are laborious, persevering,

and fairly intelligent. Thousands of villages are in their hands, in most of which they are only tenants; yet in not a few they are in the position of landholders. While an ignorant, depised, outcast race, they bear a good character for industry, and for a readiness to turn their hands to any calling by which they may obtain a livelihood. And what is the general result of this praiseworthy conduct? They have not improved their social position, for that was absolutely impossible under a pernicious and tyrannical caste system, nor have they as a class much risen in wealth; but they have increased numerically in a wonderful manner, and now form a community of several millions of persons. As they are all self-reliant and industrious people, though comparatively poor, they are healthy and contented, multiply rapidly, and are conspicuous for their large families.

Having seen by what means castes in earlier times were multiplied, and that, although they were destined individually to acquire a separate vitality and independence, yet that by far the larger portion of them were originally related to one another, it is necessary to inquire to what extent this relationship still exists. Blended together by intermarriages, it was natural that they should for a time retain some of their primitive characteristics, both physically and mentally, and that likewise they should, in a measure, and some tribes more than others, continue to exhibit them throughout their long history. It is impossible to look at some specimens of both sexes among several of the lower castes, without being struck with their likeness to Brahmans and Rajpoots. Take, for example, the Chamâr castes, to which reference has just been made. I have seen many members of this caste with very handsome features, equal to those of Brahmans, with thin lips, a well turned chin, expressive eyes, an elegant mouth, a head compressed and symmetrical in all its parts. This physical confôrmation is especialiy visible in Chamâr children, who occasionally vie in beauty with lovely English children whom one sometimes meets. Generally, however, these charming features are worn down and indurated by severe toil and spare living, long before middle age is attained. Yet even to old age many Chamârs retain their delicacy of form and make, which are distinctly traceable, like lines of beauty in a faded flower, in spite of the rough usage they have experienced. The question forces itself upon us, whence have the Chamârs acquired these physical graces? Certainly, not from the aboriginal tribes, from which probably they are partly descended. Judging from the purest of these tribes of the present day, which, so far as is known, have kept themselves quite free from contamination with Hindus and other races, as, for instance, the Gonds and Khonds, the Kols, and the Santals,

and which are, almost without an exception, intensely ugly, the Chamârs, on their aboriginal side, were no more good looking than these semi-barbarous people. We are driven to the conclusion, therefore, that the Chamârs have inherited these graces from their other ancestors, the Brahmans, and also other Hindu tribes of the better castes. The Chamârs are manifestly a mixed race. Some are tall, and not unlike Rajpoots, others are fair; but the great mass of the caste consists of persons rather short in stature, of slim make, and although not unfrequently, as already stated, of well cut and handsome form, yet for the most part very brown or dark in colour. But this duskiness of skin may easily be accounted for, and arises doubtless from the constant exposure of their half-naked bodies to the sun's rays, whereas Brahmans, living an easy, luxurious life, avoid the intense influence of the direct ray. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that the Chamârs, like nearly all low caste Hindus, are very dull of intellect, and even when taught to read and write develop with exceeding slowness; so that after years of painful application they seem utterly unable to acquire more than the mere rudiments of knowledge. Yet their luckless condition in this respect may be sufficiently explained. For many long ages they have been a downtrodden and oppressed race, have been treated by the higher castes almost as savages, have been purposely kept ignorant and debased, have been compelled to labour very hard for the scantiest fare, and have been led to regard themselves in the same light in which they were regarded by other castes, namely, as an unclean, vile, ungodly, and contemptible race, not worthy to enter a temple or to come near a Brahman, or to perform any religious duty except vicariously through the priests, or to receive the smallest amount of useful knowledge, or to hold any position except that of serfs and clods of the ground. What wonder, then, that they should have degenerated to their present miserable condition! Education, however, is beginning to tell even on this mentally abject race; and they are slowly, though perceptibly, gaining intelligence. As they are most industrious and persevering in whatever they undertake, the prospect before them is hopeful.

Let us direct our attention to quite a different class of natives, in order to see among them, though in a very different manner, proofs of their high origin and relationship. These are the Kayasths, or the Writer caste. Respecting the origin of this caste, there have always been great disputes among Hindus. They claim to be descended from Brahmans, on the father's side; in which claim they are supported by Manu, who says that they are the offspring of a Brahman father and Sudra mother. The Brahmans

themselves refuse to recognize the Kayasths as in any way connected with them. The Padam Purâna affirms that they sprang from Brahmâ, while the Jâtimâla states that their first parents were both Sudras. Wilson, in his Glossary, gives it as his opinion, though without authority, that they are descended from a Kshatriya father and Vaisya mother. Thus, it is manifest, the whole subject is involved in doubt and uncertainty. While destitute of satisfactory historical evidence as to the true position among the castes which the Kayasths have a right to occupy—for no one, whether Hindu or non-Hindu, is able to say who and what they are—we have evidence at hand, derived from other sources, of a powerful and indisputable character.

The Kayasth has not the striking appearance of the Brahman. His features are intelligent; in some cases, exceedingly so. But he has none of the majesty of the Brahman, none of that mixture of unconscious pride, superiority, and greatness, which so wonderfully characterises many of his class; yet he exhibits a family likeness, nevertheless. You may not know where to place him, or how to designate him; but, on looking at him, and conversing with him, you feel quite sure that you are in the presence of a Hindu of no mean order of intellect. He has not the keenness and shrewdness of the Brahman, but his understanding is as well balanced, and perhaps a little safer to follow. You find him in the Courts of Law in various capacities, some of great responsibility; and you especially admire his gifts as an advocate, in which position he proves himself to be quite equal to the Brahman in argumentative power, and in all the qualities which, in their just combination, constitute the successful pleader. In Northern India the Kayasth has become the greatest competitor of the Brahman for important posts demanding considerable natural acuteness and mental training, whether connected with the government of the country, or with trade, which were formerly considered to be the exclusive right and heritage of the Brahman, and for which he alone was specially fitted. And in regard to the future there is every probability that the Kayasth during the next fifty years will be a much more prominent figure, and a much more useful and efficient personage, in promoting the welfare and progress of his country, than the Brahman. Moreover, he displays an ability as a ruler, when called upon to exercise such functions, which shows him to be to the manner born. Under the kings of Oudh numerous Kayasths occupied posts of high trust, and among the principal Rajahs who rose to distinction, as many as fifteen were of this caste. Thus, on the one side they are linked with the Brahmans, and on the other with the Rajpoots. And, in the opinion of the author, it is unquestionable that the Kayasths, who are

naturally looked upon with extreme jealousy by the upper castes, have some of the best blood of India coursing through their veins.

The numerous tribes composing the great Vaisya caste, to which most of the merchants, bankers, and traders belong, may be classed together, as they have many features and peculiarities in common. It is difficult to affirm with any degree of precision how far this class represents in the present day the class designated by the same name in ancient times. Its numerous branches now strive to maintain vigorous adherence to caste rules, so as to preserve undefiled whatever degree of caste purity they have inherited from the past; but this affords no criterion of the changes they may have undergone a long time ago. From the statements of Manu, it is abundantly clear that Vaisyas formed alliances with Brahmans and Kshatriyas above them, and with Sudras and other castes below them. Coming thus midway between the castes, and having apparently no strong will of their own, the Vaisyas were exposed to powerfully destructive influences. It is questionable, therefore, whether they have been fortunate enough to retain any of their original characteristics, especially when it is remembered what their primitive condition was. According to the statements of early Hindu writings, the Vaisyas, on our first acquaintance with them, were, for the most part, an agricultural people, but were also, to some extent, engaged in trade; their chief occupation, however, was the cultivation of the soil. At that time they were the third and last great division of the Hindus, the Sudra caste having not as yet been constituted. Looking at the principal Banya or Vaisya castes, as we now find them, it requires a strong imagination to believe that they were ever employed in practical agriculture. Fair in complexion, with rather delicate features, and a certain refinement depicted on their countenances, sharp of eye, intelligent of face, and polite of bearing, even to excess, the upper classes of Vaisyas, it is quite certain, must have radically changed since the days that their forefathers delved, and sowed, and reaped. The lower division of the Vaisyas, on the other hand, are much more fitting representatives of their assumed progenitors, as they exhibit in their persons signs of toil and hardship, which are altogether wanting in their wealthier and better educated neighbours. But they may be, and doubtless are, on this very account, in a more direct line of succession from the original Vaisyas than their more fortunate brethren. Yet, however this may be, these latter have higher Hindu relationsnips than the former. Their better blood and more exalted birth are revealed in their physiognomy, deportment, and manner of

life. They exhibit a strong Hindu type, but a type of a superior kind; and thus testify to a fact, which cannot possibly be doubted by any one acquainted with ethnological laws, that they are of one and the same race with Brahmans, Rajpoots, and Kayasths. Moreover, I would not have it to be supposed, from these observations, that the inferior order of Vaisyas are a distinct people from the upper. A little study of both will soon show a close union between them, the difference evidently being that the one class came originally more in contact with the higher castes, while the other class came more in contact with the lower castes. Yet both are emphatically Hindus, and differ no more from each other than do agricultural labourers in England from the trading classes in towns and cities.

Descending to a lower grade in the social scale we come to the Sudras, a very mixed class, numbering at least a third of the entire population of the country. Judging from the first notices of Hindu castes in the earliest Sanskrit writings referring to the subject, only the three castes of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas were originally established. A period of comparatively short duration, yet how short is not precisely known, sufficed for the formation of the Sudra caste, which naturally assumed the fourth place in rank, and soon occupied a position consisting partly of that formerly filled by the Vaisyas, and partly new altogether. Gradually the Vaisyas retired from agricultural duties, which were taken up chiefly by the Sudras, who were likewise herdsmen, shepherds, breeders of camels, and who took charge of all handicraft occupations, were servants to the upper castes, in numerous capacities, and became a necessary class of producers of raw material to the general community. Indeed, in all probability, it was the manifest usefulness of this class in the early ages of Hinduism which soon led the Brahmans to perceive the mistake they had committed in not having given them at the outset the status of a distinct caste, and to remedy it without much delay by bringing them within the sacred pale of Hindu castes as a separate order of the fourth degree. Yet who, and what they originally were, and what is the nature of the relationship subsisting between them and the more favoured castes in modern times, are questions hardly open to dispute. Entering the country as slaves or menial servants to the chief men of the Aryan tribes, they associated, on the one hand, with the families of their masters, with which they made numerous marriage alliances, and, on the other, with the aboriginal races, with which also they intermarried, their numbers rapidly swelling, especially as the children of the upper castes other than their own, generally settled down as Sudras. What wonder, therefore, that the Sudra castes soon present-

ed a very motley character, and that in such condition they have come down to us. There are consequently very marked distinctions among these castes, such as are not found in the three great castes above them. These latter, although exhibiting certain important differences, nevertheless preserve a strong family likeness and unity, so that it is impossible to doubt the sameness of their origin. But it is far otherwise with the Sudras.

Three broadly marked characteristics, at the least, distinguish the Sudra castes from one another. First, there are Sudras who exhibit unmistakeably the true Hindu type. Secondly, there are those who display just as distinctly an aboriginal type. And thirdly, there are others whose countenance, contour of head, and general figure, are a blending of these two extremes, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, slightly preponderating. Many other intermediate types often present themselves, but these are the chief distinctions, under which all Sudras may be classified in a general manner. The Sudras which come under the first heading are manifestly much more intimately connected by descent and by their personal qualities with higher caste Hindus than the lower grade of Vaisyas, just described. Similarly, the second class show that they are mainly descended from aboriginal races; while the third class doubtless are the fruit of numerous intermarriages betweeen Hindus and other races, causing great confusion in the original types on either side, so as in their mutual blending to obliterate, for the most part, their separate distinctive attributes.

As representatives of the first division of the Sudras here referred to, I would single out two classes, one living in towns, the other in the open country. These are the Sonârs, or caste of goldsmiths, jewellers, and silver-smiths, and the Agricultural castes. The two greatly differ in numbers, the latter being fifty times more extensive than the former; but they will nevertheless be fair examples for our purpose. Moreover, it should be borne in mind, that while a few castes are very large, there are many which are comparatively small, and it is important that all, of whatever extent, should be brought within the scope of the argument.

The Sonârs, like the Kayasths, lay claim to high birth. This, however, is a weakness common to many castes. But it is oftenly not a mere weakness. The castes which indulge in it have derived their convietions from traditions which have been received from the remote past, handed down from generation to generation, and although not susceptible of proof, lay firm hold on the imagination and belief of all concerned. The Sonârs of the city of Benares profess to derive their origin from the Kshatriyas. On the other hand, the Sonârs among the Maharattas regard themselves as partly of

Brahmanical origin, and apply the designation to one another of Upa-Brahmanas, or minor Brahmans. Whatever may be their origin, their occupation shows them to be of Sudra rank, in which, however, they must be allowed to stand high. The reasons for this supposition are two-fold, first their own tradition, sustained and sanctioned by other castes, and, secondly, their physiognomy and general physical appearance. Many Sonârs have all the politeness and gentility of Vaisyas, whom they resemble in fairness of skin and delicacy of countenance. In short, although having peculiarities of their own, they have the thin lip, the intellectual forehead, the sparkling eye, the handsome figures, and the complete style, of thorough-bred Hindus, and are without doubt as much Hindus as Brahmans themselves.

The Agricultural castes, spread over a large part of India, differ in outward signs very greatly from Sonârs. But we must remember at the outset the difference between the two in occupation and place of residence. The agriculturist spends his time chiefly in the open fields, exposed in the summer to scorching heat, and in the rains to drenching storms; besides which, while a few of their number in most districts are landholders, and live more luxuriously than the rest, yet the masses are employed in the hard and toilsome duties of cultivating the soil. The Sonârs, on the contrary, need never expose themselves to the rigours of the weather, and are usually able to acquire a comfortable livelihood without severe labour. The latter, therefore, would be in a far better position to retain the sharp outlines of their original Hindu type than the former. The primitive form of the Hindu countenance and other physical conditions are consequently not so easily discerned in them by a cursory observer as in the other class. Such an observer, too, will be very apt to draw a wrong conclusion from their mental characteristics, especially as they are, in many respects, so unlike those which he can so readily trace in the keen-witted Sonâr.

The Kumbhi, or Kurmi caste, as it is variously styled, is in point of numbers the principal branch of the cultivating castes, and, as every body acquainted with the subject knows, is a very fair representative of all such castes. The Kurmi has a strong, bony hand, natural to a man of his employment. His complexion is of a deep mahogany colour, never black, nor approaching to it. He is sometimes, and in Upper India frequently, tall and powerful, is manly, outspoken, and independent in manner, and is altogether free from the cringing obsequiousness so peculiar to many of the self-contemning outcasts below the Sudras. As a drawback to this, he is rather dull of intellect, which is no matter of surprise, considering the nature of his duties, which

in every country exercise a deadening influence on the understanding. These castes exhibit various qualities, not seen in lower castes, and forming striking characteristics of the higher. They are free from the servility and sense of fear, amounting frequently to terror, which are so distressingly visible among the outcast races in their intercourse with the superior castes. But the genuine Kurmi never descends to this, but, on the contrary, manifests the intrepidity and calmness of the Rajpoots, whom in his general spirit he much resembles. He has no cunning, no quickness of perception, no versatility, and is consequently very unlike the Brahman. The Rajpoot is his pattern; and if he were placed in better circumstances, there is little doubt that he would become very like his model. Again, his physique is that of the Rajpoot, and not at all that of the outcast tribes. It is true, he is not so fair, nor so handsome as the Rajpoot; nevertheless, he is of the same figure and cast of countenance. He has the endurance, composure, and, above all, the self-respect, which are some of the prominent and distinguishing attributes of a true Hindu. He may be poor, as he often is, but you never find him sacrificing his dignity to his lot, or exhibiting an abject, miserable demeanour. His social position is comparatively higher than that of the agricultural labourers in England, and consequently he commands greater respect from others; but his respect is due very much to his excellent bearing, which is free from the Brahman's vanity, and the Rajpoot's pride.

The next two classes must be looked at together, inasmuch as both may be found in different clans or branches of the same caste. How frequently are you suddenly astonished, in mixing freely with the great Sudra family of Hindus, with the dark skin, thickish lips, and heavy caste of countenance, united with a lowering and wily expression, of some of the persons you meet with belonging to one of the Sudra castes, and regarded by Hindus as undeniably of their number. The Kahârs, or palankeen bearers, have this peculiarity. While all of them seem to be of a dubious type, some much more so than others, and a few approaching the type which the Kurmi presents; some, on the other hand, are so dark, indeed, almost black, and manifest such a decided negro expression of lip and cheek, that we should be inclined to believe they were Africans, were we not assured that they belonged to the Kahâr caste, which occupies a position of no mean respectability among the Sudras. These observations are also, to some extent, applicable to the artizan castes, such as, carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and the like. Many members of these castes are in appearance like the better class Kahârs, though few are broad and stalwart, like some of

the Kurmis. Yet there are many likewise, stupid and gloomy, and of a physique resembling that of the outcast. Respecting these castes, which are very numerous, and contain a large population, I would remark, that, on the one hand, they are clearly allied to genuine Hindus of the superior castes, and, on the other, are as manifestly connected with the aboriginal races. They display a great intermingling and confusion of races. Every caste exhibits this confusion ; some of its clans or branches, rather than its individual members, evincing strong Hindu characteristics, and others, just as striking opposite qualities. They offer a living and practical testimony to the fact, that in former times the upper and lower classes of native society—by which I mean the Hindu and non-Hindu population of India—formed alliances with one another on a prodigious scale, and that the offspring of these alliances were in many instances, gathered together into separate castes, and denominated Sudras. I say, in many instances, but certainly not in all, for some, like the Chamârs, who had much more of high caste blood in them than many Sudras, were thrust down to a position far below the Sudras, professedly because they touched skins and worked in leather, though more probably, because, as Manu shows, they were partly descended from a Brahmini, or female Brahman, whose union with a husband of a caste below Brahmanical, was regarded with abomination by the twice-born, and was invariably punished with social ostracism.

Not only is there a great diversity in the physiognomy of the lower grade of Sudras, but also in their intellectual gifts. Some are of quick perception, imaginative, and light-hearted, while others are sluggish and morose, susceptible of malice and fierce anger, relentless, and intensely ignorant. Why these latter should be included among the Sudras at all, is by no means clear. In estimating roughly the proportion which Sudras of an aboriginal type bear to those of a Hindu type, the great majority, perhaps two-thirds of the whole, are, in my judgment, in the latter category, and one-third in the former. If this estimate be correct, it proves that an immense number of the Sudras chiefly belong to the great Aryan family, though not in an equal degree. And even of the remainder, who have strong leanings to the aboriginal races, not all have this in the same measure ; while doubtless most of them, notwithstanding their degenerate appearance, originally received some slight infusion of high caste blood, so as to warrant their being placed in the Sudra ranks.

Many of these Sudra castes retain traditions of their descent from Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas ; and some of their separate clans or sub-castes stil bear the designation of those

branches of the higher castes, from which they profess to have sprung. It will be interesting to furnish a few examples :—

The traditions of the Bhâts, or native bards, are three-fold ; first, that their common ancestors were a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya mother; secondly, that they were a Kshatriya father and a Brahman widow; thirdly, that they were a Brahman father and a Sudra mother.

Among the Kokâs, Barhai, or carpenter caste, are two clans called severally, Bahman, Barhai, and Ojha Gaur, both which terms connect them with the Brahmans, while a third clan is styled Janeodhâri, or 'wearers of the sacred cord,' a habit of all the members of the clan, by reason of which they regard themselves as much superior to the rest of the caste, and thus preserve the outward sign of the better social state their progenitors enjoyed.

The Kumhâr or potter caste has a branch with the lofty title of Chauhânia Misr, the former appellation being derived from the Chauhân Rajpoots, the latter from the Misr Brahmans, and in all likelihood the two-fold title shows faithfully the origin of the clan.

Several of the Agricultural castes have Rajpoot names attached to some of their branches, thus corroborating in a measure the supposition already made, that these castes bear considerable resemblance to the Rajpoots, and were partly derived from them. For example, the Koeris have a Kachhwâha clan, and so have the Kâchhis, the Kachhwâhas being a well-known powerful Rajpoot tribe. The Mâlis have a Baghel clan, the Baghel being a strong tribe of Rajpoots in the Rewah territory.

The Phâtak, a clan of herdsmen, claim to be descended from a Sisodiya Rajah of Chittore, and the daughter of Digpâl, Rajah of Mahaban, an Ahir, to whom he was married. An account of this Rajah and of his marriage, is given by Mr. F. S. Growse, in a memorandum inserted in the Report of the Census of the North-Western Provinces for 1865. The Ahars, a tribe probably connected with the Ahirs, and engaged in the same occupation, have no less than two branches with Rajpoot titles, namely, Bhatti and Nagâwat.

The Nuniya or Luniya caste, formerly engaged, as the name implies, in the manufacture of salt, has two important clans,—one the Bach Gotra Chauhân, who wear the sacred cord, and believe themselves to be the descendants of Chauhân Rajpoots, whose ancestor was Bach or more properly Vatsa, the other the Bhuinhar, who are apparently connected with the Brahmanical tribe of this name.

These instances, in some of the principal and best known Sudra

castes, are sufficient to illustrate the carefulness with which they have preserved the memory of alliances formed with the superior castes in former times.

We will now make a further descent in the social scale, and investigate the relations of those numerous tribes which are generally regarded as outcasts, that is, as quite distinct from the four great Hindu castes of Brahmans, Rajpoots, Vaisyas, and Sudras, and yet are more or less intermingled with them, performing various duties, and engaged in many kinds of occupations, all, in public estimation, of a degrading character, and only to be entered upon by a debased and unclean people. I am not now referring to the pure aborigines, who in the main keep themselves aloof from Hindus and their dependents, and who must be separately considered; but to that multitudinous class, of great diversity of colour, habit, intelligence, and demeanour, which fills up the lowest stratum of society in the towns and villages of India. Many of these low castes are regarded as too impure to live in the immediate presence of the four Hindu castes, and are compelled to live a short distance outside a village, or in entirely separate hamlets. They are scowled upon by the Brahman, spoken roughly to by the Rajpoot, kept at a respectful distance by the sleek well-to-do Vaisya, and heartily despised by the Sudra of all grades.

This repugnance to the outcasts is hereditary. Its origin, from the lapse of time, is forgotten; yet it is not difficult to account for. In endeavouring to understand and account for it, we must compare the feelings of Hindus in relation to the pure aboriginal tribes, like the Gonds, Kols, Santals, and others, whose constant effort for many ages has been to hold no intercourse whatever with Hindus, but to keep rigidly apart from them, with their feelings in relation to those miserable outcast tribes which are located in their immediate neighbourhood, and minister in many ways to their necessities. The independent tribes are treated by Hindus with some amount of honour and deference. Indeed, they would resent any other kind of overt treatment, for they have their own chiefs, and their own system of Government, which is largely of a patriarchal character. Hindus may, as they do, cherish an antipathy to them, from a sense of their own superiority as a civilized and intelligent people; but this is quite a different sentiment from that of abhorrence and detestation.

Yet this is precisely the sentiment not merely felt in their hearts by Hindus towards the low castes beneath them, but also that which they delight to exhibit in their intercourse with them. They foster this spirit of intense repugnance; they impart it to their children; they hand it down from one generation to another;

they display it perpetually in their dealings with this unfortunate race, whom they vilify by the use of every epithet of abuse which can possibly pourtray the loathing and disgust with which their minds are filled. Why is this? What is the sufficient reason to account for this extraordinary mental phenomenon? How is it that no amount of patient, faithful, and ill-rewarded service performed by a member of these despised tribes, can soften the heart of the Brahman or Rajpoot, and lead him to think and act differently?

The outcast tribes were originally constituted by the offspring of alliances formed between the higher and the lower Hindu castes, and between pure Hindus and the aboriginal tribes, in a manner such as to arouse the strong reprobation of Hindus. Marriages of a certain kind only caused the degradation of children proceeding from them to the condition of Sudras, and perhaps even not lower than Vaisyas; and there does not seem to have been any absolute social dishonour springing out of such unions. But other marriages—for marriages they were, and not concubinages—in which a Sudra husband was joined to a Brahmani or Rajpootani wife, or, worse still, a Dasya man, that is, a man of one of the primitive tribes, was united to such a wife, involved the extreme penalty of complete excommunication from Hindu society, the children born being regarded as the uncleanest of mortals. Such and similar marriage contracts, in days when, as is very plain from the records of Manu, great laxity existed among the earlier Aryan tribes in their intercourse with one another, and also in the intercourse of Hindus with the indigenous races, were evidently very numerous, and new inferior castes were rapidly formed.

It is indisputable that the same spirit of pride, self-esteem, and exclusiveness, which in the beginning led the Brahman to separate himself from all other Aryans, and to establish the system of castes, whereby he might be the better able to carry out his ideas, also induced him to hold in extreme abhorrence all social connexions which tended to degrade and corrupt his own order. In his violent, not to say absurd, efforts to maintain the purity of the Brahmanical priesthood, the strongest feelings of enmity and opposition were awakened in his breast against all those persons who, if admitted into his hallowed circle, would, by the untoward accident of their birth, completely defeat and overthrow all his projects, and cause his caste to be regarded as no better than any other. He, therefore, from the first, sternly set his face against every alliance of this nature, spurned the children of such unions, and, by degrading them to the lowest social position that the most stringent regulations which even his brain in its most active and

fiery mood could invent, effectually shut out all hope, as he imagined, of their ever ascending to the highest. And this unnatural animosity, which in his case in primitive times had reasons, however inhuman and cruel, for its existence, the early Brahmans transmitted to their successors, who, in total ignorance of the reasons, and led at last to believe that these tribes were in reality what they were described to be, namely, inherently vile, filthy, and scandalous, and were, and had always been, separated from them by the most impassable barriers, spared no pains to communicate to their posterity this monstrous and fatal judgment, which has come down to the present age, to the perpetual and absolute ruin of the tribes concerned.

Moreover, to add to the iniquity of the proceeding, these wretched and abhorred castes, treated from generation to generation with the utmost ignominy, soon began to despise themselves, and to believe they were as black as they were painted. 'Give a dog a bad name, and hang him,' is an adage never more justly applied than to this unfortunate class, who are not merely exposed to the petty persecutions of all around them, but also to incredible coarseness and harshness in their treatment of one another; so that it sometimes seems that it would have been better had they never existed. It should be remembered, morever, that some individuals of these tribes are as fair and much more handsome than many Brahmans, exhibiting in their countenances proofs irresistibly strong of their original connexion with the highest castes; and yet these castes, disavowing the relationship, and intent only on their own exalted position, eye them with scorn, speak of them as worms crawling on the earth, apply to them the most opprobrious epithets, and account the air they breathe poisoned, and the street of mud huts in which they live, unfit to be trodden by their sacred feet.

Were there not some instinctive consciousness in the higher castes of a remote ancestral blood-relationship subsisting between them and the outcast tribes, it would be impossible to account for the intense loathing of the former in sight of the latter. A difference of race, supposing it existed, or of occupation, or of social position, or of civilization, would necessarily cause considerable difference of feeling, but of another type. It would not convey with it a sense of intolerable repulsiveness and disgust. The transmission of this gross moral sentiment from father to son, through a course of time extending over thousands of years, in regard to a numerous body of their fellow-creatures, who surrounded them on every side, and contributed in many ways to their comfort and security, is in itself a most suspicious circumstance, which cannot be explained by the mere supposition of

a compulsory distinction between conquerors and conquered races, or of the social contrast subsisting between the habits and occupations of these two opposite classes of the national community. For any one who has never resided in India, and who has had consequently no practical experience of the extreme violence of the feelings of abhorrence and contempt cherished by Brahmans, Rajpoots, and other Hindus, towards the outcasts,—who of course are never spoken of as Hindus at all, but have various disparaging appellations applied to them as terms of reproach, by which they are known,—to attempt to understand the relative social condition of Indian tribes and castes, is for him to endeavour to comprehend that which is altogether beyond his penetration. There are no parallels for him to judge by in the social status of the various classes and ranks of England and elsewhere. He may sometimes meet with class bitterness and even rancour in other countries, but that is not the feeling which separates high castes from low castes in India. The feeling of intense abomination and contempt, amounting to utter loathing, with which the latter are regarded by the former, is a feeling, one is proud to say, which could not find an entrance into a high-minded country like England, where men, with all their differences, are equal, and as a rule pay respect and honour to one another.

However detested the inferior tribes may be, it is nevertheless beyond the power of their calumniators to obliterate the marks which nature has stamped on many of their forms. These marks are missing ethnological links, uniting the extremes of native society. In some cases, the features of the low castes are of a very decisive character. For example, wherever you meet with thin lips, a well developed and expressive nose, a symmetrical forehead, a fair countenance, a well knit body, as in some of the Chamârs and many other outcast tribes, there you may be quite sure of the nature of their origin. They are indisputably of high caste descent. But we must be careful lest we fall into a mistake, for in the very same tribes, and even in the same clans, and perhaps in the same families, you will also meet with a development of an opposite character, thickish lips, dark skin, approaching to black, a dull eye, high cheek bones, broad face, and gloominess or heaviness of expression. This proves just as strongly that the blood has been greatly mixed. Whole tribes, however, will show a preponderance of the one set of qualities, and again whole tribes, of the other set, with here and there strange and contradictory varieties, carrying conviction to the mind, if such were needed, of the intermingling of blood in them all. The greater development,

and on the largest scale, of the one kind of qualities, or of the other, affords, in my judgment, as convincing a proof as it is possible to obtain, apart from actual historical testimony, of the origin in the main of the one class, or of the other. Some of these outcast tribes will thus be shown to have had an origin chiefly of a high caste character; while others will appear to have been derived, for the most part, from low tribes; and others still will be non-descripts, partaking of the attributes of Hindus and non-Hindus in a very puzzling manner. The Doms, Pâsees, and other castes in Northern-India of their standing, burners of the dead, eaters of carrion and vermin, rearers of pigs, executioners,—sinister, ugly, dark, heavy-browed, downcast, and gloomy,—have confessedly scarcely a line or trace of noble breed in them. These are the lowest in rank, but above them somewhat, yet far below those of the first rank, is a heterogeneous, mongrel class, with no distinctive peculiarities, individuals of the same tribe being occasionally very different from one another.

This attempt, however, to range the lowest or outcast tribes under three general divisions, must not be too closely insisted on or criticised, for it is purely imaginary, and has no foundation in fact. The truth is, between Hindu tribes proper and the lowest section of the outcasts, there is room for a great diversity of type, and this great diversity actually exists. Yet while even the very lowest of the despised tribes exhibit some traces of resemblance to genuine Hindus, though in some cases they are doubtless exceedingly faint, and can only be recognized by an eye accustomed to the detection of differences in the human form, it is very remarkable that some of these inferior tribes should be much more like Hindus of the best type, than many castes, especially among the Sudras, acknowledged to be within the charmed circle of Hinduism, and universally regarded as true Hindus. I reiterate therefore the statement, already more than once made, that, in spite of Brahmanical pique and prejudice and pride, in spite of sentiments amounting almost to malice cherished by the upper class, sentiments which, whatever their origin, do them immense dishonour, in spite of the scorn, contempt, detestation, and absolute abhorrence in which they are held, such inferior tribes have a better right to be called Hindus than many which are so called; that they show marks and signs of purer Hindu blood than some tribes about whose Hindu purity no question is ever asked; and that if all the Hindu and non-Hindu tribes, of every grade, freed from caste symbols, sacred threads, and every decoration, ornament, and peculiarity, could be passed before a committee of Brahman experts, to be scrutinized, and an opinion to be formed of them entirely from observation, some of these

abject tribes would be assigned a high rank, while some of the Sudra tribes would undoubtedly be relegated among the outcasts.

There remains a large class of tribes of which we have as yet taken no notice. These are the numerous tribes in all parts of the country, but in some provinces more than in others, which have striven for ages to keep themselves separate from the Hindu race, and from all other races that at various periods have entered India. In ancient times they held possession of India, but were gradually driven from the plains into the hilly regions, forests, fastnesses, and inaccessible tracts, which they made their homes, and in which, at the present day, they are mostly found. Of less skill and tact, and of far lower civilization, even the best of them, than their conquerors, it is evident that, finding they were no match for the Aryan invaders, they retired before them, and sought out other lands where they might dwell securely. They were not a timid people, and doubtless strove to defend themselves and their property wherever practicable; but, at the same time, the great mass of them yielded to the invader, and were driven before him. Nevertheless, the early annals of Hinduism show that collisions between Hindus and the aborigines were for a long time of perpetual occurrence, the issue of every struggle being the steady advance of the one, and the steady retreat of the other.

There is one circumstance connected with the primitive races of India, of much importance in the investigation before us, namely, that while the main body of the tribes kept together and fled from the invaders, many persons attached themselves to them, ministering to their wants, and acting the part of menial servants. Notwithstanding the pride displayed by the Hindus which has always been characteristic of their treatment of subordinate tribes, the members of those tribes who were separated from their own people soon became necessary to the Hindus, who in the course of time formed alliances with them, while they on their part lost or abandoned their federal condition, and, severing themselves from their own tribes, left them altogether, and finally, in the progress of ages, forgot their original relationships. Meanwhile, the Hindus drew closer to the aboriginal separatists, and intermarried with them. From the fruit of these intermarriages the present outcast tribes were partly formed, though, as already described, they were partly formed likewise from the offspring of marriages between the Hindu castes themselves, some of the most degraded of the outcast tribes having been thus instituted. But these outcast tribes, whether originated in the one way, or in the other, were not elevated above the separating line, and allowed to rank among Hindu castes. The rule was not without a few exceptions, however, and even occasionally Brahmanical

tribes have been added to from the lower castes; but the occurrence has been rare.

The aboriginal tribes of India which have kept themselves apart from Hindus, are numerous, and some of them are populous. They are generally ranged under two classes, namely, those that originally entered India from the north, and north-east, by the way of Thibet, and are described as exhibiting characteristics of the Chinese race, and those that came through the passes of the Himalayas to the north-west, and are generally regarded as of Aryan origin. This two-fold division leaves out of sight many small tribes confessedly of very remote antiquity, which have little or nothing in common with either the one set or the other. Undoubtedly, not a few great tribes of Central India, and of other parts, are of a strongly Mongolian type, to which belongs the family of the Gonds and Khonds, people with round heads, 'distended nostrils, wide mouth, thickish lip, straight black hair, and scanty beard and moustache.' The other series is of a very different cast, and is unquestionably another race. One entire collection of tribes of this series bears the name of Kolarian, for the reason, that the great Kol tribe, and others intimately related to it, are its principal members. These Aryan tribes were originally of the same family as the Hindus, but entered India before them in separate independent batches. The Sontals are also of this race, and probably arrived in India about the same time as the Kols. There is ground for supposing that the Khairwars of Singrowlee, and of Sirgujah to the south, are in reality a branch of the Kols. Further west and south-west we find the Gujars, Jâts, and Bheels, all more or less claiming to be somewhat connected with the Rajpoots. In many places, the two former are reckoned as Rajpoots without dispute, but not everywhere; and as to the Bheels, while in some districts they claim to be degenerate Rajpoots, in others, they appear to be only aboriginal tribes, almost as wild now as they ever were. All these three races, which have played such an important part in the history of India in former times, may be classed among aboriginal tribes, in the same sense that Kols and Gonds are. And yet they are properly foreigners, as these too are, and in the distant past immigrated from the west and north of the Hindu Kush into Aryavastu, or ancient India.

Yet what is to be said of some of the strange tribes of Southern India? Take the Todas, for example. Of a noble appearance, well-proportioned, powerful, with aquiline nose, with a somewhat receding forehead, speaking in a voice, described by a keen observer of them, as 'strikingly grand,' of copper-coloured complexions, their women being fairer than the men, and often tall

and handsome, who are these lords of creation? Whence have come these magnificent people? Unlike Aryan and Thibetan, with a fine and remarkable physique, in what category are we to put them? Their language, says Bishop Caldwell, is Dravidian. Taken in connexion with their antiquated customs and ceremonies, and with the fact that there are some important resemblances between them and the builders of the cairns which are found on the hills they inhabit, we cannot hesitate to regard the Todas as some of the very oldest inhabitants of India.

But the Todas are not the only primitive tribe scattered about the Neilgherry hills. The Kota, Burgher or Badaga, and Irula tribes, differing from one another, and also from the Todas, are likewise found there. Each has its own traditions, and all were formerly not in the same positions which they now occupy. Moreover, the three former are confessedly not of such remote antiquity as the latter. And yet all were in India prior to the Hindu immigration. About this, I apprehend there can be no controversy.

Some of the aboriginal tribes are still in the lowest stage of degradation, and live like savages. The Koragars of Canara are a tribe of this nature. In manners, customs, dress, and dialect, they are separated from the rest of mankind. The men are scantily clothed, and the women are not clothed at all, with the exception of a bunch of leafy twigs. Strange to say, with all their ignorance, lying, stealing, and adultery are crimes unknown to them, and no Koragar has ever been known as a criminal in a court of law.

The Vaidan and Naiadi tribes of Travancore are among the most debased specimens of humanity. The former are a dark and timid people, wearing shells round their necks, and leaves round their loins, and avoiding human society; the latter are as degraded, and perhaps more wretched, for they are carefully shunned by everybody of every class of natives, as the most unclean and abominable of mortals.

Colonel Dalton, in his valuable and interesting work on the Ethnology of Bengal, has given more or less detailed accounts of numerous tribes on the northern and north-eastern frontier of India, among the Rajmahal hills, in the province of Chota Nagpore, and in other tracts, and has furnished illustrations of the tribes he has described. It is very manifest from his statements, as well as from the illustrations, that none of these tribes have any relationship with the Hindu race. Physically, intellectually, socially, they differ from Hindus in a very striking manner. Not only so, but they never care to consort with them, and have for ages kept themselves to themselves.

Thus there are many distinct and separate tribes outside the Hindu circle, scattered about India, from the Himalayas, in the north, to the Cape of Comorin, and from the Brahmaputra, on the east, to the Indus and beyond, on the west. Some of them are without doubt related to the outcast tribes which have allied themselves to the Hindus, and perform numerous menial services in their behalf; but they have been so long dissevered from their primitive clans, that all traces of their original connexion with them are altogether lost, and the fact of the connexion itself is partly derived from tradition, but chiefly from conjecture and probability. These independent tribes maintain a separate entity, and hold no intercourse either with Hindus proper or with the outcast races. Indeed, one important feature in their existing distinction from the latter is, that while these, namely, the outcast races, are spoken of, like Hindus proper, as divided into castes, and are designated as castes, and not as tribes, the independent tribes are never spoken of as castes, but always as tribes. In their case, the word caste would be a misnomer, and without meaning; and yet it is full of meaning, and felt to be the correct term as applied to the low outcast races, waiting on the Hindus.

It is one of the great and distinguishing peculiarities in regard to native races in India that, notwithstanding the immense population of Hindus and outcasts, and their vast preponderance over the numerous indigenous and aboriginal tribes, yet so many of these tribes should have for so long a period been singularly successful in preserving their isolation and distinctive autonomy. At times encroachments have been made upon them by both Hindus and Mahomedans; nevertheless, the fact is patent and indisputable, that they have been every bit as tenacious of their own national or tribal life as the Hindus of theirs. Indeed, it is easy to show that they have been more so, for although Hindus of all the castes have occasionally robbed them of some of their families, and have gradually attached to themselves a numerous people, so that the descendants of aborigines now in connexion with Hindus are ten times in excess of those who have remained loyal to their original tribes, yet the effect thus produced on the Hindus themselves has been of a very levelling character, and, as nearly all the castes have to some extent allied themselves with renegade aborigines, they have to that extent lost their Hindu purity and genuineness; their blood has been diluted, and, although they may possibly object to the statement, they and such aborigines have in reality become one people.

The Hindus have thus, after all, and notwithstanding the exclusiveness and strictness of caste prejudices, shown much less care in the preservation of their own proper organic and national life than the aboriginal tribes which they have driven before them

into inaccessible regions of the country. These tribes have never been corrupted internally, have never lost their autonomy. This cannot be affirmed of most Hindu castes, for, while they have retained their autonomy in all its potency, they have been internally corrupted to a very great degree. We have never heard of Hindus becoming Gonds, or Kols, or Todas; but we know well enough that many Gonds and Kols, and other aborigines, have left their tribes, and have gone over to the Hindus, chiefly to swell the ranks of the despised outcasts. And so it has come to pass that the aboriginal tribes which have kept themselves at the greatest distance from Hindus, and have had least intercourse with them, are among the purest races in India. Extremes often meet. Here, in this country, we are presented with a singular instance of the truth of the statement. Among the Hindus the only caste which can possibly lay claim to caste purity is that of the Brahmans. And even they, though they have on the whole kept themselves remarkably free from contamination with other races, have not been completely successful. Still, after making all possible abatements, they must fairly be pronounced to be one of the purest and least corrupted races on the face of the earth. Many of the aboriginal tribes of India, however, while differing in almost all the characteristics which separate a civilized and highly intelligent people from uneducated, degraded, and besotted tribes, may, so far as I am able to perceive, lay claim to an equal amount of blood purity with the leading tribes of Brahmanical caste. They have had no motives for internal changes and developments, and for making external alliances, such as the Brahmans, especially in their earlier days, have had; and have been perfectly satisfied with remaining from age to age in the same condition. But the Brahmans were in a very different position. Moved by ambition, pride, self-consciousness and desire of greatness and glory, it might have been *à priori* imagined that, to gain their ends, they would have been ready to sacrifice some of their principles. Herein the Brahmans have shone with conspicuous and unapproachable lustre. They have exercised amazing self-restraint, have imposed severe strictures on themselves, have promptly excommunicated all offending members, and have erected formidable barriers against other castes and tribes, which I cannot say have never been crossed, but which have ever been guarded with unflagging attention and extraordinary skill.

Next to the Brahmans in purity of blood, but at a great distance removed, come the Rajpoots. These have intermingled not a little with other castes, as well as with the lower tribes. Nevertheless, they retain a considerable amount of purity, though, it must be confessed, even in modern times, under the stress of female infanticide, they have largely replenished their clans from

beautiful girls kidnapped or purchased from the Bhars and other inferior or outcast tribe. We would compare with the Rajpoots, at the one extremity of native society, the lowest and most degraded castes, at the other. By these latter I refer to the lowest stratum of castes, consisting chiefly of aborigines who have formed marriage connexions only slightly with Hindus, and yet are their servants, and live outside their villages and towns, being held in contempt and abhorrence by Hindus properly so called. Now these low and miserable people, by the very fact of their degradation and exclusion from Hindu society, have been able to retain, in a large measure, the purity, such as it is, of their race; and certainly may claim to be as genuine representatives of primitive tribes as existing Rajpoots are of primitive Rajpoot castes.

After the Brahmans and Rajpoots is the large mixed class of Vaisyas and Sudras, possessing more or less low caste blood, with whom we must compare the large mixed class of low outcast tribes, excluding the very lowest. These two classes, although of very different social status and rank, are in reality much alike, with Hindu characteristics preponderating, exhibiting here and there signs of aboriginal alliances, especially in certain castes, or clans, or families, and yet manifesting Hindu traits in the main. These united form the great mass of Hindu society, and are the chief source of its prosperity, and of the prosperity of the country at large. Though this enormous class, constituting five-sixths of the native population, is divided into innumerable castes and sub-castes, yet ethnologically it is one race, just as much so as the Anglo-Saxons are now one race, and also the French and the Italians.

The conclusion at which we have thus gradually arrived is, that in spite of the extraordinary division of the people of India into multitudinous tribes and castes, which, whatever may have been their condition in primitive ages, are, in these latter days, for the most part, socially separated from one another by the most stringent rules that human ingenuity could devise, the Hindu race nevertheless consists of one great family. It has its varieties, and provincial differences, undoubtedly; it exhibits more high caste blood in some directions than in others; it shows itself to have been, under certain conditions and circumstances, more strongly affected by intercourse with aboriginal races than under other conditions and circumstances; it has plainly experienced more interfusing of tribal relations in its earlier history than in its later; and it displays marked distinctions in its numerous branches, so that every clan or caste is stamped with its own special characteristics. Yet all this diversity is perfectly consistent with inherent unity. Because an inhabitant of Suffolk has a peculiar twang in his speech, and a peculiar expression of countenance, and because a Yorkshireman differs from him in

both, and because, moreover, the denizens of nearly every county in England have, in a similar manner, their idiosyncracies and significant marks, are they then not the same people? Must we on these grounds separate them from one another and regard them as so many distinct nationalities and races? Obviously not. And so, in respect of the vast Hindu family, from the highest Brahman to the lowest outcast divided and sub-divided into hundreds of castes, cherishing mutual animosity and dislike, yet each contributing in his own sphere to the welfare of the other, and being necessary in some degree to his happiness, are we warranted in making invidious distinctions in speaking of the race as a whole? If Hindu blood, more or less, runs through them all, are we to draw a hard and fast line anywhere, and to say, these are Hindus, the rest are not? Because in some parts of England there is more of Danish blood, or more of Saxon blood, or more of Norman blood, or more of Celtic blood, and consequently because in reality there is less Anglo-Saxon blood in certain districts than in others, should we be right in affirming that therefore all are not Englishmen, and some must be denied that honourable appellation? Would not the slightest doubt cast on the right of any one of these classes to the title of an Englishman, be scouted as preposterous and absurd? Similarly, the term Hindu is rightly applied to, and may be justly claimed by, every member of the Hindu family. Of whatever nature its component parts may originally have been, the family is now one. However much the family may be split up into innumerable branches through the pride, folly, and inhumanity, of its recognized heads, it is nevertheless one in spite of them. They cannot destroy family relationship, although, like proud and cruel parents, they may refuse to acknowledge their poor relations, who have gone astray and disgraced themselves, and may for the maintenance of their own honour prefer to treat them with derision and contempt.

In making these observations, I of course exclude from their scope all the aboriginal tribes which have kept themselves apart from Hindus. These are numerous, and have as distinct and special customs and rules of their own as the Hindu castes. It is not about them I am writing, but about the household of the Hindus, who, although at strife with one another—a family strife which to their shame has lasted for several thousand years—and indulging in the most disgusting terms of reproach in their mutual intercourse, are one community, with, for the most part, the same general habits and customs, the same social characteristics, the same sympathies, the same national hopes and aspirations, the same religion, and the same blood.

M. A. SHERRING.

Art II.—ISLAM IN INDIA.

THERE are many who look upon Mohammad and the system originated by him with feelings of unmixed hostility, considering Islam simply as a conquering and brutalising force, a mere abomination of desolation. And it is unfortunately too true that, whatever may have once been the merits and achievements of that wonderful system, the whole of the countries now subjected to it,—though otherwise well endowed by Nature,—are in a more or less deplorable state of arrested development, with the single exception of India. This, indeed, is the only country which, having been long subjected to Musalman rule (and being still subject to Musalman influences), has nevertheless entered on the path of progress. And it would be very interesting to compare its condition with that of Persia or the Turkish Empire, while all three were under the sway of the Crescent; and to note what, apart from more recent changes, had been the peculiar result of the engrafting of Islam upon the ancient life of the Hindus. It would probably be found, if only materials sufficed, that this influence had struck deep in every limb and organ of society: in art, literature, and language, no less than in political and domestic life; and had been productive both of evil and of good. Unfortunately the materials are anything but abundant; and all that can at present be done, is to look as well as we can into the faint records of Hindu life before the conquest, and compare it with the life of the people as revealed by those who described them after centuries of Moslem rule. Eastern writers love the heights and condescend but seldom to the wide level of popular existence. But it may be possible to form some faint conception of the state of the country at the two periods here specified, say, in the 9th and 17th centuries, in the time of the great mediæval Hindu dynasties and in that of Sháhjahán and Aurangzeb. And some further conception of the important action of Islam on India in general might also be perhaps obtainable by looking at the state of societies—otherwise not dissimilar—where Islam has not been at work. Such are those of the Carnatic, of Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, and the like. And if we should find, after such an inquiry, that Hindustan and the Deccan differ in their social condition and evolution from both classes of communities, the purely Moslem and the purely heathen—and if also we found at the same time that the difference was in any degree for the better—we might have to draw conclusions not altogether adverse to Islam, and very highly favorable

to the character of the Indian population. Chauvinist impulses would lead Englishmen to say, at the first mention of such a problem, that the advantages of India in the comparison must be due to English influences. But this would be a rash assertion. British power has not been firmly established in any part of India —out of the Presidency towns—for much more than about a score of years; and we know that such a period does not count for much in such questions. Moreover, there is a certain amount of evidence to show that Northern and Central India were, even during the most vigorous prevalence of Mohammadan rule, in a far more civilised and prosperous condition than any of the surrounding countries. Burmah, Ceylon, and Siam, indeed, were not much known in those days; but this much we can say that none of those countries is at all likely to have retrograded since then in social, commercial, or other respects. What glimpses we have of them through the accounts of early travellers, show them to us, as peopled by wild beasts and almost equally savage men. But the state of society in regions ruled and inhabited by Moslems in the 16th and 17th centuries, is known very fairly from the adventures of such men as Sherley and Chardin; and the following brief resumé of Bernier's experience appears especially appropriate:—

"It was Bernier's opinion, after an extensive study of eastern lands, that in all the marks of civilisation the Indian Mughals excelled the European Turks by reason of their Persian element; but that the absence of a sense of a secure ownership in property, was ruining the social system in both India and Turkey, and in Persia likewise....He addressed Colbert in a long letter upon...the cause of 'the decay of the States of Asia.' In this he asserts that, throughout Asia generally, 'we see almost no other towns but what are made up of mud and dirt, nothing but ruined villages, or villages that are going to ruin.'...He mentions in the same paragraph Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. He also allows that Persia and India were both more prosperous than Turkey, having large metropolitan cities where manufactures were carried on and trades practised; and where, as he repeatedly observes, justice was administered under the especial supervision of the imperial government.*" On this head another European—contemporary with Bernier, but with three-fold advantages and experience—says that "nothing can possibly be more uniform than the administration of justice in the States of the Mughal...in which barbarism is so qualified by the equity that pervades the administration as to render the government of the Mughal little inferior to that of any other nation."

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* *Turks in India.* 157 *f.f.* I hope to be pardoned for quoting from myself; the resumé was to my hand.

This is the testimony of S. Manucci, physician to Shahjahán and Aurangzeb, who lived in Hindustàn for the whole of the second half of the seventeenth century. It appears from this, and similar evidence to be noted hereafter, that the Aryan element was a main factor of whatever good existed in India. The Persians, heterodox and lax in their Mohamadanism, and having much Aryan blood, made decent administrators both in their own country and here; many Native Indians were associated with them by the wise and liberal policy originating in Akbar; and, finally, the democratic and law-abiding tendencies of the subject Hindu populations, to a considerable extent of Aryan origin, aided the labours of the Government, even as they do to this day, and produced a general, though low, level of national well-being. But something must have been due to Islam also.

It was an error, as I have elsewhere observed,* of the great historian of civilisation to attribute the decay of this system to the influence of the Arab character. Much as Buckle knew, he could not be expected to know everything; and a special study of Indian history shows that the Mohamadan power in India owed very little to the Arabs. That empire was founded by mixed races from Central Asia, and maintained, so long as it had any stability, by constant immigration from its original sources, from Afghanistan, and from Persia, availing itself at the same time of a large infusion of the Native element. Akbar's Prime Minister (Rajah Todar Mal) was a Brahman; one of his best generals (Rajah Mán Sinh) was a Rajput; and both of them positively refused to change their religion. Akbar himself was an eclectic freethinker, as was also his chief favourite, Abul Fazl; and both of them were of Persian extraction; the favourite entirely so, and the Emperor by the mother's,—probably the more influential—side. From 1560 to 1660, when India was in the most prosperous condition that it has ever known, the public service was open to all competent men, and the court was thronged by visitors from all parts of the known world, from London and Lisbon to the furthest East.† The influence was Islamite, but the Islamism was Aryanised, and acted on Aryans.

This is a concise view of the condition of the amalgamated Indian nation after the Moslems had ruled the country for five hundred years. The earlier portion of that period was, however, one of anything but prosperity; as, indeed, was the latter also. In fact, the greatness of Musulmán India only lasted a century. Constant disturbance and misery appear to have prevailed over a great section of the land, both during its foundation and during

* *Calcutta Review*, No. 137, p. 58.

† Chinese carving is clearly visible in the palace at Fatehpur-Sikri, side by side with Italian painting.

its fall. But that these were not entirely attributable to the fermentation due to an unwelcome intrusion, seems clear. That such fermentation will happen from that cause, we know. Nothing could have been worse, for instance, than the state of our own islands during a great part of the same wretched ages as those that saw the commencement of the Musulmán power in India. From the struggle between the Saxons and Normans in the time of William the Conqueror to the anarchy under Stephen and Henry III., through the Scottish and French wars, and the Wars of the Roses, say, from 1066 to 1483,—England and the adjacent countries were in a state of almost chronic suffering, from war, pestilence and famine. During this period the Moslem powers in the South of India probably gave far more happiness to their subjects than Plantagenets or Bruces gave to the British Islands. The weakness of the Dehli Empire during this period, therefore, and the undoubtedly wretched condition of the people, must be mainly due to the same sort of causes that were operating in Britain—disputed successions and foreign hostility. Of the first cause history gives many illustrations. Pathans and Mamelukes, native Mohamadan and even Hindus, made the cities and palaces of Upper India run with blood. Of the second it need only be said that, from A.D. 1001 to 1398, Upper India was invaded and ravaged by Tartars and other savage tribes nearly fifty times.

Let us now turn to the scanty evidences of the state of the country before the first of these incursions, that of the celebrated Mahmud of Ghazni, and try to obtain some notion of the Hindu Heptarchy as it existed before the conquest. We shall then be in a better position for ascertaining how the modern communities of India have been affected by Islam in regard to the more important factors of life; religion, law, morality, literature, and art.

In examining this question, it must be kept in view that there is almost no authentic history of the early Hindus forthcoming. All that can with certainty be said is that, two or three centuries before the Christian era, there was a powerful kingdom in Bahár; that there was a Scythian power in the country about Mathura or Muttra for some time after that era; that there is subsequent evidence of the existence of a Hindu monarchy at Ujjáyin, or Ujain, in Southern Rajputáná; and that the first Moslem Settlement was made at the expense of a Rajput dynasty that ruled at Dehli. To this, if we add that, for a good deal of this period of, say, 1250 years, there was another kingdom at Kanauj, and that the reformed religion, or heresy, of Buddha rose, culminated, and fell during its duration, we shall have recorded all the substantive facts about mediæval India that are capable of being

determined. But there is, in the literature of the time, sufficient evidence to show something, though not very much of the condition of the country; and, it is to this that we must now turn for such information as it may yield.

The literature of the whole of this vast epoch, a millennium and a quarter (or more than the whole history of England) is of course not homogeneous. But, for our present purpose, it may be regarded as a whole, divisible into three main sections; law, poetry, and the drama; of the first two we can make but little use; for this reason that the beings, the acts, the manners dealt with in the codes, the epics, and even the elegiac and lyric writings of the time in question, are nearly all ideal. It is, therefore, in the drama that we must look, if anywhere, for a true picture of Hindu life as it existed between the time of Sandracottus and that of Mahmud, son of Sabaktagin. And, even in this limited department, there do not deem to be many works which are in all respects trustworthy guides. Some, like the best-known Sanscrit play, the *Sakuntola*, are too romantic and legendary; other plays are more of the nature of "moralities," or are of questionable antiquity. There are, however, a few comedies of actual life, written during the period, which meet every requisition, and undoubtedly reveal the state of manners in the palmy days of the Hindu community, when the "Vikrama" dynasty ruled at Ujain.

One of these, the *Mrichakati*, or "Toy-Cart," is assigned by Professor Wilson to an early portion of the period. It represents the adventures of a Hindu Timon, who has spent his substance in munificence and hospitality; but who, unlike the Greek spendthrift, has preserved the gentle frankness of his original disposition. A celebrated beauty of the city falls in love with this fallen hero (who it should be mentioned is a Brahman noble, named Charudatta); and the hero, though a family man, openly returns the lady's admiration. This is a startling plot for modern readers,—for English readers especially; but we must take it as we find it. Vasanta—such is the lady's name— has another lover, the brother of the King's wife, a comic character, such as we have no example of in western fiction; a sort of ridiculous Don Juan, amorous, vain, cruel, cowardly, and given to airing a superficial acquaintance with literature which leads him into absurd solecisms and false references. Flying from the pursuit of this licentious lordling, the fair Vasanta finds herself taken by mistake into a garden where her persecutor soon after encounters her. In a frenzy of rage at her continued rejection of his addresses, he strangles the poor creature and then hurries off to denounce the hero as the murderer. The Judge sends policemen to the garden,

but the body is not to be found. Nevertheless, the unhappy Charudatta is sentenced to death, and led forth to the Golgotha, or cemetery outside the walls, where executions are usually performed. As it passes through the city on this sad errand, the cortége makes an occasional pause for the purpose of proclamation being made to inform the population of the nature of the crime and the sentence. At the last of these a disturbance arises; the lady supposed to have been murdered, having been revived by due attention, hears the proclamation, and hastening to the spot, informs her lover's wife and child of the real circumstances. The crowd propose to immolate the silly and criminal prince, who has come to gloat over the sufferings of his intended victim; but the latter pronounces his sentence:—"Loose him, and let him go." And the drama ends by the two ladies falling into each other's arms in an ecstasy of sisterhood.*

This curious play—which Professor Wilson regards as the earliest work of its kind—is apparently descriptive of a state of manners not separated by many centuries from the time of Megasthenes. The record of that traveller's observations has perished; but Arrian, writing about 400 years later, describes India, principally citing Megasthenes as his authority. And we find from this source indications, scanty indeed, but by no means immaterial, that the manners and customs assumed in *The Toy-Cart* are those of the ages immediately preceding and following the Christian era. Buddhism prevailed, and religious persons of both sexes were set apart from the world by vows. Yet general life was luxurious, and by no means ascetic; in fact, somewhat sensuous, though without coarseness. Habitually gentle, the people were not destitute of warlike spirit, and had a great contempt of death, both for themselves and others. Women of good social position went abroad, received visits, and mixed freely in life. Megasthenes recorded, says Arrian: "this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave." So, in the play, the servants are faithful, but independent in their bearing, and evidently not slaves. Houses and fortifications were of wood, brick, or mud; no stone building is mentioned by either writer. There is a strong system of caste, in which those called by the Greeks "Sophists" hold the supreme place of dignity. Charudatta, as a Brahman, is treated by the court before which he is tried for murder, with profound respect. As an instance of the freedom of manners may be cited the "grove of Káma (Cupid)," where Charudatta was first beheld by the

* This mormonistic sentiment likewise inspires the pretty Court Eclogue, *Ratnavali*.

heroine of the *Toy-Cart.* It was, says Wilson:—"the Daphne of the Hindus, the resort of the young of either sex...and the scene of many love-adventures." Such gatherings have long ceased among the Hindus; Cupid's grove, indeed, "could not possibly be frequented a moment after the intrusion of Mohamedan brutality."

If these had been the only institutions to which the conquest put an end, no great complaint need perhaps have been made by the friends of Hinduism. But when we turn to a play written just long enough after the conquest to show its first results, we shall find that many better things had disappeared. The *Toy-Cart*, says Wilson, "is a picture purely Indian. It represents a society sufficiently advanced in civilisation to be luxurious and corrupt" [he means voluptuous], "and is certainly very far from offering a flattering similitude." Yet he is forced to admit that it has attractive features. Neither the parasite nor the low comedy man are rendered contemptible, as would be done in societies really corrupt; the heroine, in spite of her equivocal position, is sweet and womanly, redeemed by love and glorified by perfect devotion.

But in the *Mudra-Rákshasa*, a historical drama referred to the end of the twelfth century, and possibly still more modern, everything is represented as changed for the worse. The author says of his country that—

> "—— this nurse of elemental life,
> "Now harassed by barbarians, shall repair
> "For refuge to the bosom of her kings,
> "And so escape a second annihilation."

But his patriot vows were not heard. The old gay freedom was gone, never perhaps to return. The Hindu lady had availed herself of the *pardah* of the conquerors as a protection from the conqueror's pursuit. "A little boy of five," the minister is told by his secret agent, "ran out into the courtyard of the banker while I was reciting. Cries of 'He is gone out,' uttered by female voices, proceeded instantly from the apartment; and a woman, coming to the door, caught hold of the child, and dragged him in. She showed herself with evident caution, so that little more was seen of her than a pair of beautiful arms." The chief characters are two statesmen, both "of a depraved school." There are no female characters whatever. Fraud and assassination are the simple means by which inconvenient obligations are acquitted. There is no mention of law or law-courts. Foreign chiefs and mercenary soldiers are employed; and all point to the approach of political and social anarchy.

The past never returns; the kaleidoscope of life, unstirred, may

long retain its pattern; but, when once it is shaken, new forms succeed, and the old arrangement, how long soever it may have endured, will never be exactly reproduced. Avoiding alike foreign war and maritime commerce, the Indian life continued unchanged for more than twelve hundred years, save, indeed, as to religion. From the sixth to the eighth centuries of the Christian era, the cold agnosticism of Sakia Muni had declined in popular estimation; and there is reason to think that, soon after the latter date, the great temples of Sarnath, near Benares, and other Buddhist shrines perished by violence, and Puránic Brahmanism, in one or other of its forms, became universal as the popular belief. Fa Hian, a Chinese pilgrim, found some signs of decay in the Eastern part of India at the end of the fourth century; but in the North Buddhism was still flourishing. In the seventh century it was still patronised by many chiefs, but Brahmanism appears to have been gaining in public favour. About the time of the conquest, it disappeared from the whole Indian peninsula, and has never since shown the faintest tendency to return. In the absence of authentic information, we may connect the two events, and suppose that a more powerful and popular propaganda seemed called for by the troubles of the times; and that Buddhism, long decaying, died out—partly through public dissatisfaction, and partly through causes such as would prove fatal to Quakerism in the British islands if they were invaded by a powerful enemy.

For the first four centuries after the conquest, little or no amalgamation took place between the old rulers of India and their supplanters, though changes were at work, more important and more directly due to the conquest than the precipitation of a dying religion's downfall. Foremost among these was the introduction of the *pardah;* and the degradation of woman to a certain extent followed. Where monogamy and educated women had once been in favour, concubinage, with a harem full of idle dolls, was substituted. Of one of the later plays, Wilson observes: "The state of manners, particularly as affects the multitude of wives, is not of ancient character...Dasaratha had three wives, but his son Rāma had but one...and many of the traditionary kings of the Hindus, in like manner, contented themselves with the same number...to judge from the dramas, there ever remained a peculiarity in the practice of the Hindus which distinguishes them from the Mohamadans, and in no case do we find any allusion to a system of concubinage established in their harems." (II. Theatre 359.)

He is here writing, of course, of the dramas descriptive of life before the conquest; the very piece on which he is commenting shows how different was the state of matters subsequently. In

this drama the king has no less than nine wives, though by Hindu law one wife was regarded as fulfilling the moral object of the contract, even as among Christians. *Hoc fonte derivata clades:* this corruption—more than any other Mohamadan contagion—has lowered the tone of Indian Society by degrading the human female, and precluding her offspring from receiving a proper training in tender years. In a later passage, Wilson speaks of the "debasement of moral feeling among the Hindus which led to the degeneracy of poetic taste and subversion of political existence."

Yes: to that it came at last. But we should err if we were to conclude, hastily, that the influence of Islám in India had been wholly evil. From a European point of view it will, no doubt, occur to many that what happened in Greece would be likely to have happened to another Aryan people conquered by Turks in Asia. But the analogy is not complete. The Greeks were an active, maritime, adventurous people, with a fine climate, an extensive line of harbours, and a constant commercial intercourse with the civilisation of their day. Turkish conquest could bring them no benefits, and was only conducive to repression and revolt. A good idea of the action of the Osmanli Turks on their European subjects may be formed from an abstract made by M. Emile Burnouf in a recent article on Hellenic civilisation. Take, for instance, the following:—

"Many causes combined to render complete assimilation impossible. In the West the barbarian conquerors spoke Aryan languages like the natives; these idioms were able to unite and give birth to the languages of modern Europe; Turkish on the contrary, a Turanian tongue, had no community of origin with Greek, and had not reached the same stage of linguistic development; nor did the Arab words it borrowed tend to facilitate a fusion with Greek, Arab being a Semitic speech. Thus conquerors and conquered, having no means of communiation, remained strangers one to another." After dwelling on the irreconcileable hostility between Christianity and Islam, and on the contempt felt by the Greeks, as a great historic people, for their barbarous masters, M. Burnouf proceeds to point out how these causes all co-operated to keep the races apart. Something of the sort had existed under the earlier Moslem rulers of India; but the Hindus were inferior in all respects to the Greeks, as the Mughals were superior to the Osmanlis. Akbar had the wisdom to conceive and the skill to execute, a compromise on both sides which went far to make of the Hindustánis a new and united community. Akbar's cousins in Europe had a glimpse of the same good path; but they did not keep it open. "The Turkish empire prospered,"

adds M. Burnouf, "as long as its high functions were entrusted to Hellenes; its fall began on the day when they were replaced by Ottomans." (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, XXVII. 210.) This is, word for word, true of the Mughal Empire of India. But India had pretty well isolated herself from intercourse with the outer world during her mediæval period. The neat summary of a recent historian puts this well :—

"From the overthrow of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom by the Indo-Scythians to the downfall of the Gupta dynasty, India was nearly cut off from the outer world. Greek and Roman writers discoursed about India; they likened it to Egypt, and sometimes even confounded it with Egypt, mixing up the alligators in the Indus with the crocodiles in the Nile. Roman merchants brought back stories of the Malabar pirates on the Western Coast, but they had nothing to say about Bengal, or Coromandel. Indeed, there was little in the current of events in India to interest men accustomed to the political life of Greece and Italy. India was still divided into a number of little kingdoms, as it had been in the war of the *Mahábhárata*." And, a little further on, the author adds, with much truth :—

"It is difficult to realise the actual condition of India under the ancient Hindu Rájahs. It is, however, evident that the whole Continent was a chaos * * * utterly wanting in political life and cohesion," (Wheeler's *Short History*, 54—73.) In the language of Mr. Herbert Spencer, the evolution of India had not emerged from a condition of "indefinite, incoherent homogeneousness."

Into this amorphous mass the rude life stream from Central Asia began to pour from the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era. The first result was shocking. Murder and rapine marked the path of the coarse and fanatical intruders. This state of things, nevertheless, could no more last than a period of tempest, earthquake, and volcanic eruption. The hardy Tartars and Afghans began to root and to rest in their rich heritage. In the East and centre of the peninsula, kingdoms were founded, and civil life was restored under changed forms. Delhi became the seat of empire, and mosques and palaces arose on the sites of destroyed Hindu shrines and cities. Of all the arts that refine life, therefore, that which provided the dwellings of gods and earthly sovereigns was the first to feel the new impulse. It is still a moot point whether the Hindu builders had been acquainted with the pregnant principle of the arch. At all events, they had not made use of it; and consequently their architecture had remained a gloomy and grotesque assemblage of timid colonnades, horizontal sky lines, and

restricted space. But the new comers had seen the remains of Byzantine building in Africa, Asia Minor, and Armenia; and even when they did not know, practically, how arches were constructed, they prevailed on the indigenous artizans to make structures that produced the effect of arches to the eye. The ritual of their religion, too, required towers from which the call to prayer should be sounded far and wide over a subjugated heathendom. From such needs arose the great mosque of the *Kutb* at Delhi, whose lofty minár and soaring gate-ways are still among the great spectacles of the world. Moreover the cities of the Delhi campagna multiplied and spread. The constant incursions of the heathen tribes from North and West called for fortifications and a standing army. When the Moslem armies invaded the Deccan (early in the fourteenth century), it became necessary to furnish the capital with news, and provide for the transmission of despatches to the army; hence postal arrangements arose. It is true these faint dawnings of civilisation were soon overcast. After Firoz Shah—the latter part of the fourteenth century—the power of the Delhi Empire nearly vanished. But the work was taken up in the Mohamedan kingdoms of the South, where the grand ruins of Bijapur, and many another old city still testify to the taste and skill of the Deccani Moslems. In this direction, at least, India undoubtedly gained by the conquest. Let us hear Mr. Fergusson :—

"When the Mohametans first conquered India, they imitated in their earlier mosques, not only the details, but even the forms of the Hindu architects." [This must be taken *cum grano*; for they generally pulled down what they found, and re-erected it for their own purposes, as at the *Kutb*.] "And their style in that country always bore strongly the impress of the land in which it was elaborated" [so long, at least, as they employed Hindu workmen], "still *retaining its arched form and a more daring construction than the Hindus had ever attempted.* In process of time a complete reaction took place; and * * * the Hindus began to adopt the arcades and vaults of their antagonists." Of this truth, capital examples are to be found in the ancient palaces of Madura in the South, and of Ambere in Rajputana. Nor was the process confined to secular uses; as we may see from many existing temples, the finest of which is probably that built by Raja Mán Sinh at Brindaban, near Muttra, about the end of the sixteenth century.

Coming down to this later period, when the Moslem power had been consolidated by the Mughal conqueror, Bábar, and his grandson, the admirable Akbar, we find the influence of Islam at its height, meeting with least resistance. No longer confined almost

entirely to architecture for its positive effects, and to repression and hostility for the effects that were negative or indirect, it now appears as an element in a more or less complete amalgamation. At length, under Aurangzeb and his successor the old antagonism was, to some extent, revived ; but the union had lasted too long to be entirely undone ; and, although anarchy certainly ensued, we find the modern Hindustáni character, with the domestic habits and institutions of the people, still retaining the impress of Mughal formation, and run in a mould which, after all that has happened since, is hardly yet much altered.

It is time to examine this a little more in detail. The "Hindustáni character" above mentioned should be explained as meaning the nature of Indian mankind, north of the Narbada River. In that region the generous dreams of Akbar were the most fulfilled ; but even there for the most part they remained in the state appropriate to dreams, by reason of his death. He was able to weaken, almost to destroy, the power and organisation of the Mahomadan Church in India. He was unable to introduce his "divine monotheism" as the popular creed of the country. He got his people to live under equal *laws ;* but he had no Parliament to deliberate upon, shape, and record, his edicts. After his death removed the weight of his personal pressure, the two bent springs flew back to their respective shapes, the Hindus returned to their sacred *Shástras,* the Moslems revived their no less consecrated *Shará.* But under Akbar there was established a *fiscal* method, somewhat opposed to both those legal systems, which did, nevertheless, take root : taxes on opinion disappeared ; the hateful *jazia* in particular, which was a poll-tax, or capitation, imposed by Islam upon conquered unbelievers, as a condition of their being allowed to live. As the fields could not be cultivated, nor the needs of civil and military life maintained, if the bulk of the population were put to the sword, this tax was an absurdity in a country like India, and any Moslem ruler, with a grain of unprejudiced intelligence, ought to have seen that to levy it amounted to raising money under false pretences. The *language* of the people began to be fused at the same time ; the popular Prakrit, known as "Hindi," being enriched by Persian and Turkish vocables, while it retained its own simple and useful grammatical forms. Thus gradually grew up the *lingua franca* of India, at first known as "*Urdu,*" or "*Rekhta Zabán*" (camp dialect), but now generally recognised under the term "Hindustáni." In *architecture,* the fusion became equally complete ; and we should, in vain, seek for a more complete display of a new style, composite yet harmonious, than what we find in such buildings as those of Futtehpur-Sikri, or Mán Sinh's temple at Brindaban. The vast

vaults and arches of the Saracenic school are there, with the graceful minarets, cupolas, and kiosks; but the elaborate horizontal mouldings, the sculptured pillars and brackets, the occasional use of animal forms in capitals and friezes, show a richness of invention and a complication of light and shade that are absent in the colder purity of true Musalmán buildings. In politics a considerable *rapprochement* had at the same time taken place. Rajah Todar Mal is the next man to the Emperor, the Chancellor of the Empire, as we may say: Indian armies under Mán Sinh and Bir Bal contend with the Mahomadan tribes of the N.-W. Frontier, and occupy Balkh. Abul Fazl translates Sanscrit books, and, greatest gain of all, statistics and history take their proper place in the ranks of *literature*. Before the conquest these branches of writing were almost unknown; we have seen a period of nearly 1,300 years as to which the annals of India are all but a perfect blank.

Such and such like was the nature of the amalgamation that went on during the long reign of Akbar. Partly it succeeded, partly it failed. His successor, Jahángir, born in the purple, and spoiled by indulgence from the cradle to the grave, could do little towards carrying on his father's work, but at least he did nothing to frustrate it. Sháh Jahán inaugurated a Musalmán revival, which went forward more rapidly under his son and successor, the bigoted Aurangzeb; but neither the sumptuous father, nor the ascetic offspring, was able to alter what had been going on so long. In all the parts of human life that we have touched on, in law, finance, language, literature, and national monuments, Islám—in the peculiar Aryo-Turkish way in which it had been introduced—had coloured the Indian character. The women were secluded, numerous, generally neglected, and untaught—a mighty evil, it must be allowed; commercial and political intercourse had been opened with the court of Persia and with the Portuguese government of Goa—and that was certainly a gain. The smoking of tobacco had been introduced by a Turkish visitor—and this tended ultimately to place in the hands of the poor a solace which no ruler has yet attempted to tax or take away. The idea of one God has been introduced among nations of Devil-worshippers—and, although the majority of these have not embraced the creed of Islám, it can hardly be doubted that a seed of moderation has been sown in the luxuriance of their moral jungle which may yet bear good fruit.

It has been said that the Mohamadan revival was begun by Sháh Jahán; and the statement is correct. But this Emperor did not persecute; he did not revive the *jazia*; and the number of nobles and high officials of the Hindu races increased, rather than diminished, in his reign. This was a great channel of

fusion, as all experience serves to show. The provincials, like Trajan and Seneca, who attained rank and office under the Roman Empire, became thereby the best of Romans; and it is perhaps to be regretted that the British Government has not yet seen its way to following the example on any extensive scale in modern India. Another administrative measure had powerfully aided in this direction under the Mughals. In the first dawn of administration, under that wonderful *parvenu*, Shir-Sháh, Sur, the accounts of the public revenue had been kept in the *Nágari* or Hindi character. But when Raja Todar Mal acquired supreme control, under Akbar, all this was revolutionised. Persian,—already the language of polite conversation—became the official medium of record, and all accountants and public officials were required to learn Persian. So deep has this reform sunk that to this day there are ten Hindus who read and write Persian for one who possesses a similar knowledge of English; the educated Hindus employ Persian as a means of communication among themselves; and many useful works, on history and other branches of knowledge, continue to be written in the Persian character and language, by men of this class, down to the present day.

Thus, when Aurangzeb came to the throne, anxious to cover his usurpation, and the crimes by which it had been carried out, with a show of piety, he was unable to separate the elements that had been so long blending, or to draw a complete line between those of the people who followed the old creeds and those who belonged to Islàm. Detailed statistics are wanting; but we know that, by the mingled forces of persuasion and persecution, many Hindus of all classes were led to embrace the faith of the Emperor, and their descendants are still known among the people. If these conversions, however, helped to diffuse Mohamadan feelings, other of the Emperor's measures perhaps had the opposite tendency. The Mahrattas were certainly alienated, and the Rajputs driven into rebellion. The celebrated letter addressed to Aurangzeb in 1679 by a Prince of the house of Udaipur is sufficient ground for saying that these discontents had a religious basis. Some parts of this remarkable manifesto are good enough to invite reproduction here.

"Your royal ancestor, Mohamad Jalal-ud-din Akbar," so commenced Ráj Sinh's relentless diatribe,* "conducted the affairs of the State in dignity and security for fifty-two years, keeping every

* Tod, who gives full particulars about this letter, says that his munshi had seen the original draft. (II. *Rájasthan* 322.) The years alluded to are *lunar*, and aggregate just one century, according to our computation.

class prosperous, whether they were followers of Jesus, of Moses, or of Mohamad; were they Brahmans, were they Atheists, all alike enjoyed his favour; insomuch that his subjects distinguished him by the title of Protector of the human race."

"H. M. Mohamad Nur-ud-din Jahángir also extended for a period of twenty-two years the shadow of his protection over his people's heads. . . . .

"Not less did the illustrious Sháh Jahán, in a fortunate reign of thirty-two years, acquire for himself immortal fame, the just reward of clemency and righteousness."

After boldly proceeding to point out that it had been reserved for the present reign to alienate the people's loyalty, and reproaching the Emperor with putting special imposts upon the Brahmans and Hindu devotees, the writer thus proceeds:—

"If your Majesty puts any faith in those books by distinction called divine, you might there learn that God is the god of all mankind, and not of Musalmans alone. The Pagan and the Moslem stand alike before Him. . . . In your mosques it is in His name that the call to prayer is uttered; but in a house of idols, where the bell is rung, it is still He that is the object of adoration."

This noble protest bears testimony not only to the irritation of the Hindu mind, but to the nature of the influence produced upon the popular creeds by the monotheism of Islám. When Ráj Sinh indignantly asks how Aurangzeb can hope to attract to himself the favour of the Painter when he is constantly defacing his works, he approaches the highest ideal of which anthropomorphic theology is capable. But the warning fell on indifferent ears and a heart hardened by obstinate egotism.

I have elsewhere* shown the difficulty that attends any detailed inquiry into the condition of the Hindus under Aurangzeb. The histories of the period—though one at least is far above the average of painstaking and ability—do not go into questions of that sort. The writers of history were generally retired courtiers, who dwelt upon the negotiations and intrigues that they had knowledge of, and upon the campaigns in which they had shared, without troubling their heads about the population of the country, whom they probably regarded simply as breeders of soldiers and producers of supplies for the use of armies. But we have evidence, in the *Institutes of Alamgir* (or Aurangzeb) that this ruler's aim was to restore the ideal of Moslem policy, by virtue of which unbelievers were to pay double of the taxation laid upon the faithful. Inasmuch as the former were about seven times as numerous as the latter, this was on the face of it, and merely

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* *The Turks in India*, p. 146.

as finance, a good financial scheme, and it goes far to account for the enormous estimates that have been made of the revenues of India under Aurangzeb.*

But ultimately such a policy was suicidal, mainly because, by referring everything to a religious basis of authority, it took away in the mind of the Hindus a good deal of that sanction to which orientals are most inclined to pay respect. Let a ruler, armed with the attributes of power, say, "Do this, it is my will," and there will be in Eastern lands especially a disposition to obey. But, when a ruler in endless and evident difficulties with foreign foes and domestic disaffection says, as Aurangzeb did, that his officials will be guided, in all things concerning the tribute, by the enlightened law of a prophet whose inspiration is not admitted, and that disobedience will meet with eternal punishment in which the people do not believe, the step is nearly crossed that leads from the sublime to the ridiculous. And the policy was further neutralised by its novelty, and by its palpable injustice.

Accordingly Bernier, in his celebrated letter to Colbert, was able to draw a picture of Indian administration and social life most unfavourable to Aurangzeb, although indirectly very flattering to the system pursued in France by his patron. While obliged to admit that the system of the Indian Mughals was more humane and successful than that of the European Turks, he held that the absence of a secure ownership in private property was ruining progress in one country as in the other. There were almost no towns but what were made up of mud and dirt; and the villages were ruined or rapidly hastening to decay. To this general squalor of the East—much of which still subsists, he, however, found exceptions both in Persia and in India, in the shape of manufacturing towns with settled provision for the administration of justice. The Viceroys of great provinces, and the administrative corps beneath them, exercised great power; but it was in a subordination to the Dehli Chancery, which was more than nominal then, and which, in its nominal form, endured down to our own times. Till the reign of William IV. the Indian Government still struck its coins, for instance, in the name of the Emperor, or "King of Dehli," as he was called latterly. And in the most lawless times of the great anarchy which prevailed after Aurangzeb, the feeble shadow of the Mughal Government was still looked to from all parts of India as the central and ultimate authority and arbiter.†

* Compare Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire.*

† *See* what de Boigne says on this, so late as 1789. *C. R.*

But the Mughal Empire was doomed, and beyond saving. Aurangzeb's son was a competent and noble Prince; but, owing to the great length of his father's life and reign, he came to the throne at too great an age, and the evil impetus that the Government had received was too strong for him to be able to arrest permanently. To the existing recalcitrance of the Mahrattas and Rajputs was added another element of Hindu disaffection, in the growing power of the Sikhs in the Panjab. A still weaker and more unfortunate Government followed; the English became independent on the Bengal Sea-board; the Viceroys of Oudh and Haidarabad advanced with rapid strides in the same direction. Then came the frightful invasion of Hindustan by the Persians under Nadir Shah, with the consequent plunder and bloodshed. In the words of a nearly contemporary author—Colonel Dow—society was now in complete dissolution. "The country was torn to pieces with civil wars, and groaned under every species of domestic confusion. Villany was practised in every form; all law and religion were trodden under foot: the bonds of private friendship, and connexions as well of society as of Government, were broken: and every individual, as if in a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm."

Twenty years of this state of things had gone on when another invasion from the North took place. As if judging that breathing time enough had been afforded to the miserable Hindustanis, the Afghans appeared before the gates of Dehli under their famous leader, Ahmad Sháh, of the Abdáli (or, as it is now called, the "Duráni") tribe. The city and surrounding country were once more ravaged, plundered, and strewn with corpses; and the remnant of the evil harvest, after the enemy had departed, was gleaned by the Prime Minister of the Mughal Government. The heir-apparent fled from Dehli with a small following, and passed ten years of adventure in Bahár and Bengal; the Mahrattas streamed into Hindustan, to meet their fate at Panipat: Delhi was sacked twice more; and then a merciful cloud fell upon the scene. Through this, however, we still have gleams of fire and sword; the reek of innocent blood, the fumes of burning crops and habitations, go up to the calm heaven. The ultimate outcome of Islam in India—for all the fair promise of its early and middle course—had been nothing better than the abomination of desolation.

Virgil, speculating upon the possible course of the heavenly bodies (necessarily misunderstood in Ptolomæan times), asks:—

Aut redit à nobis Aurora, diemque reducit?

And this is just what seems to be going on in modern India. When Hindus and Musalmáns retired, in general weariness, from

the carnage-laden plain of Panipat, in 1761, there was little or nothing left for Islám to do. It had said its last word; and—unless some new influence should be at hand—the Indian races would probably change no more, would certainly not change for the better. But there *was* another influence at hand. England and France, under the feudal system, had become far from pleasant countries for poor men. A system of adventure, originally determined towards America and the West Indies, and, becoming satiated there, began to turn towards the lands of old renown where pearls were fished from the sea, and the great Mughal sate upon his throne of emerald and ruby like a powerless earthly god. The Moslems had taught the people of those countries many things, but they could not teach them to fight. Bernier—who saw the Mughal hosts in all their glory—recorded his opinion that twenty-five thousand French troops trained under Condé or Turenne could overthrow the whole forces of the Empire; and subsequent events showed more, *viz.*, that Native troops themselves were good against almost any odds when disciplined and led by Europeans.

But this would take us beyond our present subject, which has only been to consider in what directions, and to what extent, the original Hindu character had been affected by the Moslem conquest, and what (for evil or for good) had been the work of Islám in India.

H. G. KEENE.

Art. III.—THE DIWALI AT AMRITSAR.

The Religion of the Sikhs.

HITHERTO all great well-defined religious systems have had their periods of healthy maturity and of gradual, though, it may be, protracted decadence. In the eighth century of the Christian era Buddhism, which was merely a reformation of Brahminism, ceased to be anything more than a name in India. A little later it was destroyed by religious persecutions, the fire of which had been fanned by the Brahmin zealots, Shankar and Kumárila.* The minds of the people, however, even after the restoration of Hindu worship, were left unsettled by the faith which had been so long ascendant in India. The religious teacher, Shankar, himself is said to have so far compromised with Buddhism, as to have established monasteries of Brahmin ascetics;† and in the same way his successor, Rámánuj, at a later date established in the south of India semi-Buddhist, semi-Hindu religious fraternities.‡ These attempts at compromise do not seem to have been successful, but among the religious classes arose a reverence and devotion for religious teachers, such as had not been known since Buddhism was a living organic faith.

Side by side with these labours of religious and earnest men were the exertions of uncompromising and able critics who rejected previous systems, and sought, like the subsequent Cartesian philosophers of Europe, to acquire a knowledge of God by careful observ-

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* *See* Elphinstone's "History of India," Mr. Rhys Davids' "Buddhism," and Professor Wilson's "Religious Sects of the Hindus" in Vol. xvi. of the Asiatic Researches.

† *See* Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvii., pages 178-9. Shankar, born in Malabar, towards the close of his short life visited Kashmir and Kedarnath in the Himalayas. He was a worshipper of Shiva, according to some accounts.

‡ An account of Rámánuj is given by Wilson in Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi., pages 27, *et seq.*

ation of mental and physical phenomena. Then was presented the spectacle of six great orthodox contending with six great heterodox systems, and exchanging with one another the usual amenities of polemical discussion.* Controversies regarding mind and matter, the nature of God, of the soul, of the senses and the intellect, had the effect of making some of the disputants atheists, others pantheists, and others believers in a deity not omnipotent, but with strict limitations of his power over nature. The invasion of India by the Musalmans increased the religious disorder. Some pious and intelligent Hindus, in view of several of the ancient writings of their own faith, saw much to admire in the Moslem unity of God and the exclusion of idol worship, while the Moslems in turn saw much to captivate them in the Hindu system of caste, of social customs, and of reverence for law and order. Added to this was the disgust which the more intelligent Musalmans felt for the number of Saints introduced into their calendar, and the number of miracles which popular credulity was strained to accept.

Shankar, generally surnamed Achárya, or the religious teacher, *par excellence*, is said to have flourished in the ninth century. The precise subsequent era of Rámánuj is uncertain. It is variously asserted to have been between the beginning of the 11th and the end of the 12th century of the Christian era. Rámánuj's religious mantle descended immediately, or through a few intervening religious followers, to Rámánand, who flourished at Banáras in the end of the thirteenth century.† His predecessor Rámánuj, who taught that Vishnu was God, that he was before all worlds, and was the cause and creator of the universe, accepted only learned and high caste men as his disciples, and enforced a religious discipline too strict for ordinary mortals.

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* *See* Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi., page 12, *et seq.* for an account of these antagonistic systems. They appear to have been subdivisions of the followers of Vishnu and Shiva.

† Professor Wilson seems to have been in sore travail regarding the dates of these religious teachers. I cite one example—"An enumeration which, if correct, would place Rámánand about the end of the 13th century." "Rámánand was not earlier than the 14th, or beginning of the 15th century" (Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi., page 37). "Consequently Rámánand must have lived about the end of the 14th century" (Id., page 56). I prefer adopting the earlier date and the enumeration on which it is based. Wilson appears to me to have brought his religious teachers, several of whom lived in different parts of India, into too close a chronological proximity, to admit of the promulgation of their teachings, the maturity of their fame, and the consequent influence of predecessors on successors in the intervals of time allotted them.

Rámánand, on the contrary, threw his spiritual door wide open, admitted disciples of all castes, and boldly announced that the knowledge of Brahm emancipated man from all social bondage. Twelve disciples of Rámánand are enumerated, the most famous of whom was Kabir, the mystic weaver, many of whose compositions find an honoured place in the Granth or Bible of the Sikhs, and who may justly be considered the ablest and most successful Indian religious reformer of the middle ages.

Kabir held a belief in one God, but asserted that He possessed body formed of the five elements of matter,* that matter was eternal, and that all matter resided in God before the creation.† He taught that, when God conceived a desire to create the world, the desire became manifest in female form or *máyá*, the illusive principle from which the errors and imperfections of mankind have resulted.‡ He declared that the name of God was communicated to men through chosen religious teachers,§ that the meditation and repetition of the name thus communicated was the highest worship of God,‖ and procured for mankind the supreme reward of Nirváná or final absorption in the Deity.¶ With all the earnestness of a Christian teacher, he inculcated sincerity of devotion as distinguished from lip-worship and idle ceremonial.** While, with true oriental wisdom, cautioning his disciples that they should associate with all men, and that they should be made all things unto all men,†† he declared retirement

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* In addition to the four elements of matter of European and Arabian science, the Hindus have a fifth, *Akásh*, a sort of sublimated ether or, as some of the Hindus themselves loosely and unscientifically explain it, vacuum. See Mr. Monier Williams's "Indian Wisdom," pages 93 and 115.

† "The creation is absorbed in Him who made it.

The creator is the creature, the creature dwells in the Lord."

Slokhs of Bhagat (Saint) Kabir, in the Adi Granth.

‡ "These notions are common to the whole Hindu system." See Wilson's remarks in Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi., page 71.

§ "From the Guru the right knowledge is obtained."

‖ "Without the name of Ram final emancipation is not effected."

¶ "The Guru brings about absorption in Him."

** The passages are too numerous to cite; but see pages 478, 653, 658, 674, and 681 of Trumpp's Translation of the Adi Granth. See also Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi., page 62, for an eloquent expostulation on the same subject, written by one of Kabir's immediate disciples, and professedly embodying Kabir's own tenets.

†† सब से हिलिये, सब से मिलिये, सब का लिजिये नाउं ।
हांजी हांजी सब से किजिये, बसे अपने गाउं ॥

"The origin of the expression "Hánji!" which every Sikh is so provokingly fond of when accosted by a stranger, particularly by a European, can thus be traced. It is civility, not always stupidity.

from the world desirable to attain a state of purity, and asserted that man thus purified and spiritualised was a living semblance of the Deity. He denied the authority of the Hindu Vedas, as well as of the Musalman Qurán,* and he ridiculed alike the unreasoning idolatry of the Brahmin† and the ostentatious devotion of the Mulla.‡ Kabir lived for some time, according to his own statement, in retirement in a hut between the Ganges and the Jumna, and there he meditated and shaped those religious compositions which still, even in their ancient Hindu garb, possess a reverential attraction for his countrymen, and which for earnestness, vigour, and poetic fancy may call to the recollection of the European student of religion the inspired strains of the royal Hebrew minstrel. If there had been no Kabir, it is doubtful whether there would have been a Guru Nanak or a Sikh reformation.§

The religious tenets of this great school of reformers became widely diffused throughout Northern India, principally owing to the poetical genius of Kabir. In the Punjab the most zealous students of his writings were Nanak and Farid, the former a Hindu devotee, the latter a Musalman Súfi. According to the Punjabi history of the life of Nanak, both he and Farid were contemporaries, and lived for some time in close religious and social intercourse. Farid's place of residence was Pák Pattan, in what is now the Montgomery district, where his body reposes. Hindu and Musalmans still make periodical pilgrimages to his shrine; and I have on more than one occasion seen them, while shouting aloud the name of their great canonized saint Farid, rush fanatically through a narrow portal called the *bihishti darwáza*, or gate of paradise,

* "Skilled riders (those who can steer their course aright) keep aloof from the Vedas and the Qurán."

† "A stone is made the Lord, the whole world worships it. He who places his reliance on this, is drowned in the sable river."

‡ "The Qazi's prayer is not accepted of God. He fasts, prays, and repeats his creed, but he does not obtain paradise thereby. Seventy Kaabas are in the heart, if he but knew it."

§ Professor Wilson, finding several contradictions in the stories regarding Kabir, urges (Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi., page 53, note) the probability that no such person ever existed. This reminds one of Archbishop Whately's Historic Doubts regarding the existence of Napoleon Buonaparte. If Wilson had resided for any length of time in the North of India, he would have felt that the reality of Kabir was too tangible to be thus blown away with a breath. Whether, however, the Arabic word Kabir was the real name of the Hindu whose religious compositions have come down to us, or only his *takhallas* or poetical *nom de plume*, is a matter fairly open to discussion. However this may be, it is common enough in the North of India to find Hindus with distinctly Arabic or Persian names, such as Idú, Pirú, Fakira, Khúshi, Zahiriya, Bakhtáwar, Bakhsh in the name Gur Bakhsh, &c., &c.

in order to secure in their own fond estimation a future entrance to a state of bliss through its heavenly counterpart.*

* Cunningham makes Gorakhnath a precursor of Nanak, and states that he gave popularity to the Yog philosophy in the Punjab in the fourteenth century. Professor Wilson, whom Cunningham has followed, states that the Kanphata Jogis, or ear-split monks, acknowledge Gorakhnath as the founder of their sect. Wilson cites an extant treatise in which Kabir and Gorakhnath are introduced as contemporaries, but at the same time he admits that "passages in the Vijek (a work which expounds the tenets of Kabir) allude to Gorakhnath as if recently deceased." From these premises this highly accomplished, but too confiding, scholar draws the following conclusion :—" In either case, these two teachers (Kabir and Gorakhnath) *may have been* contemporaries or nearly so, and the latter, *therefore*, flourished in the beginning of the fifteenth century." This statement is made at page 189 of the 17th Vol. of the Asiatic Researches, while in the 16th Vol., as we have seen, Wilson threw doubts on the very existence of Kabir. Again, in the same page of the 17th Vol., he admits that Gorakhnath's followers consider him an incarnation of Shiva, the tutelary deity of Nepal. Two pages further on Wilson says that the brother of Vikramaditya is said to have been a disciple of Gorakhnath, "but chronology will not admit of such an approximation."

I have been at great pains to obtain any authentic information regarding Gorakhnath. In the Janam Sakhi, or life of the first Sikh apostle, Nanak and Goraknath are made to flourish contemporaneously, just as Gorakhnath and Kabir are in the treatise cited by Wilson. Sikhs explain this to me by saying that Gorakhnath never died, and that he still leads a roving existence, somewhat like our own wandering Jew, or Bulwer-Lytton's Zanoni until mortal love overtook him. In Rohtak, a district which adjoins mine, there is a monastery of Kanphata Jogis. The monks there have a belief, which the compositions of their bards corroborate, that Gorakhnath was a contemporary of Salivahan, whose era is ascertained to be A. D. 78. This in a curious manner lends some credibility to the statement which Wilson rejects, namely, that the brother of Vikramáditya was one of Gorakhnath's disciples, or at any rate that they might have been contemporaries. On referring to the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, a Persian work on Indian religions written in the time of Shah Jahan, I find the author gives such an account of Gorakhnath as to show that even then he was a mythical personage. It is stated that the followers of Gorakhnath consider him God himself. The ancient Hindu gods Brahma and Vishnu were only angels who were disciples of Gorakhnath. At the same time, with an audacious contempt for chronology, veracity, and Islam, Gorakhnath's followers boasted that he was the foster-father and religious teacher of the Prophet Muhammad. In another part of the *Dabistan*, the author mentions a work he had seen, which stated that Gorakhnath and the Khizr of the Musalmans were identical. Khizr has been identified by some Christian writers as the Prophet Elija (See D'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale, *sub voce* Khedher). The author of the *Dabistan* does not even allude to the Kanphatas, and I have some doubts whether the sect, if it existed in his time, then possessed any numerical strength or religious importance. Wherever Gorakhnath lived, it would appear certain that he was a jogi ; but I believe the Rohtak priests that it was Mastnath, a religious teacher who

Nanak, the immediate founder of the Sikh religion, was born A. D. 1469. It would be tedious and unnecessary here to relate the story of his life; but some account of his doctrines must be given. In studying them, however, it is vain to look for any clearly defined scientific system, or for any consistency of theological tenets. While following Kabir, and announcing that there was no Hindu and no Musulman, that is to say, that true religion was not confined to either sect, he himself remained in feeling a Hindu, wore on his forehead the saffron *tilak*,* the outward and visible sign of Hinduism, and left unimpaired the dignity of Brahmins as private religious ministrants. While preaching the unity of God, and inveighing against idolatory, he, probably in order to avoid a charge similar to that levelled at Socrates of old of having introduced new gods, lent a complacent toleration to the whole Hindu pantheon with its mythological back-ground, subordinating the Hindu gods to the Supreme Deity of his own conception. This will perhaps be better understood from the following hymn of Nanak's composition now recited among other devotional praises and thanksgivings every morning and evening by all faithful Sikhs:—

What is that gate, that mansion what, where thou
Dost sit and watch o'er all the works of thine?
Many the harps and songs which tune thy praise,
Yea countless; thy musicians who can tell?
How many measures sung with high delight,
And voices which exalt thy peerless name!
To thee sing water, wind, and breathing fire;
To thee sings Dharamraj† in regions drear.
To thee sing th' angels who men's deeds record,
And note and weigh their faith in thee Supreme!

---

flourished more than two hundred years ago, who was the immediate founder of the particular sect of jogis called Kanphatas. On the whole, I find Gorakhnath far too shadowy a character to give faith to him as a precursor of Nanak; and I can hardly find a trace of the teaching attributed to him by the author of the *Dabistan* either in the Sikh writings or in the present Sikh faith and observances On the contrary, I find that the last Sikh Guru carefully warned his followers against the ear-cropt jogis.

In what I have written in this and preceding notes regarding some conclusions of Professor H. H. Wilson, I hope I shall not be held to underrate the labours of that eminent scholar. While a recent and careful perusal of his works has left on my mind the impression that he possessed a child-like guilelessness in sifting evidence, I have been equally impressed with his great mastery of oriental tongues, his wide and catholic research, and his marvellous capacity for intellectual labour.

* I find this mentioned at least twice in the Janam Sakhi. See Dr. Trumpp's translation, pp. xxxix. and xl.

† The Indian Pluto or Rhadamanthus.

To thee sing Shiva, Brahma, and the Queen
Of Heav'n, with radiant beauty ever crown'd.
To thee sing Indra and th' attendant gods
Around his throne, and seraphs at his gates.
To thee sing Sidhs* in meditations deep,
And holy men who ponder but on thee.
To thee sing chaste and patient of mankind,
Unyielding heroes of true faith approved.
To thee sing Pandits and the chiefs of Saints;
The ages four and Veds to them assigned.†
To thee sing *huris*‡ who delight the sense;
This world of ours, high heaven, and hell below.
To thee sing gems from Vishnu's sea that rose,§
And eight and sixty spots of pilgrims' haunt.
To thee sing heroes and the men of might;
The sources four from which all life doth spring||
To thee sing regions, orbs, and universe,
Created, cherish'd, and upheld by thee!
To thee sing those whose deeds delight thine eye,
The hosts that wear the colours of thy faith.
All things beside which sing thy glorious name
Could ne'er be told by Nanak's lowly song.¶

While inculcating a belief in the unalterable decrees of destiny, and virtually denying the freedom of the human will,** Nanak taught, like Kabir, that a due repetition of the name of God

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* Jogis who have the power of suspending animation.

† The Hindus enumerate four ages corresponding to the gold, silver, brazen, and iron ages of the ancient Greeks and Romans. A Veda, or sacred volume, is assigned to each age. There are thus four Vedas, the Rig, the Yajur, the Sama, and the Atharva.

‡ Mohani in the original. Ten of these fascinating ladies are assigned to heaven, and thirty-four to earth. It is fortunate that earth, where they are more needed, has the larger number.

§ Vishnu, in his Karmavatara, assumed the shape of a tortoise which supported the earth while the gods churned the ocean. From the ocean were churned the fourteen gems or jewels here referred to. They are Lakhsmi, wife of Vishnu, the moon, a white horse with seven heads, a holy sage, a prodigious elephant, the tree of plenty, the all-yielding cow, &c., &c. (See Coleman's "Mythology of the Hindus")

|| The Hindus enumerate four sources of life—that which is born from an egg, that which is born from a womb, and that which appears to be spontaneous generation from water and earth.

¶ This hymn is repeated at least three times in the Granth. The train of thought, similar to that of the magnificent hymn which Milton puts into the mouths of Adam and Eve in the fifth book of "Paradise Lost," will occur to every reader. I have endeavoured to introduce the smallest number of ornamental epithets, and to make the translation as literal as is compatible with English pentameter verse. For the original in the Gurmukhi character and a tolerably, but not completely, accurate prose translation, see pages 9 and 713 of Dr. Trumpp's "Adi Granth."

** "According to the fate of each individual, dependent on his actions, are his transmigrations determined."
Rág Asá,

(Hari) through the Guru was sufficient for ultimate salvation.* While proclaiming that God was everywhere,† that he was to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and thus striking at the root of all priestly ceremonial, he declared that, in order to render the name of God efficacious, it must be obtained through a chosen religious teacher. While proclaiming that there was no caste in the life to come,‡ he nowhere directly preached the necessity of its abolition in this world. As with the Buddhists,§ prayer to the Supreme Being is hardly ever referred to by Nanak, and then in such general terms as to render doubtful his meaning, while prayer to the Guru is frequently enjoined as, next to meditation and repetition of the Veritable Name, the essence of all religious duty.||

By the way, it is curious to note the tendency of modern oriental religions to deify their founders. Several Sunni Musalmans in India now worship the prophet of Makka as a god, and several Shiahs hold Ali, the prophet's son-in-law, in the same estimation, and offer him the prayers and homage due to the Omnipotent. Gorakhnath, the Jógi, is worshipped as a god¶ by his followers in the Punjab, in Banáras, and in Nepal, while the most ancient gods of the Hindus are enumerated among his attendant divinities. Rámánuj is described in a Hindu treatise** as an incarnation of Hari and Vishnu, a treasure of ambrosia, and a terrestrial tree of plenty. Another religious work†† represents him as an incarnation of the serpent Ananta, or eternity, which preceded Vishnu, and afforded that god a resting-place before he created this visible

* Kabir probably laid greater stress on this than did any of his predecessors. But by them, too, the doctrine was understood. Rai Das, a follower of Ramanand, proclaimed, "A great treasure is the name of Hari to his people! It multiplieth day by day, nor doth expenditure diminish it: it abideth securely in the mansion, and neither by night nor by day can any thief steal it." It is hardly necessary to refer to our Biblical parallel of the latter expression.

† It is stated that when Nanak visited Makka, he gave offence by thoughtlessly reclining with his feet towards the holy Kaaba. When remonstrated with by the priests, he is said to have replied—"Turn my feet in a direction in which God is *not*." Curious it is to find the same expression in an Italian operatic writer of the eighteenth century.

E se, dov' ei dimora,
Non intendesti ancora,
Confondimi, se puoi;
Dimmi dov' ei non è.

Metastasio.

‡ "God will not ask man of his birth. He will ask him what he has done."

§ See Schlagintweit's "Buddhism in Thibet."

|| This was again in strict imitation of Kabir—"The last great point (in the moral code of the Kabir-panthis) is implicit devotion in word, act, and thought to the Guru or spiritual guide."
Wilson in A. R. Vol. xvi., page 73.

¶ The Sanyasis, according to the author of the Dabistan, say that he is an incarnation of Mahadeo.

** Bakhta Málá.

†† Bhargava Upapurana.

world. Among the Canarese, Rámánuj, while still admitted to be an incarnation of the serpent of eternity, is believed to have been the son of the goddess Earth* by a father whose pious works and devotion had obtained for him deification. The author who makes Ramanúj an avatar of Hari, naturally does not raise Rámánuj's successor Kabir to the same divine dignity, but contents himself with saying that he was the son of a Brahmin virgin widow who paid a religious visit to Ramanand, and conceived a son as the result of a heedless prayer offered for her by that holy man in ignorance of her status. Kabir's followers, however, not satisfied with this human origin of their teacher, assert that he was an incarnation of Vishnu, seen floating on a lake near the sacred city of Banáras, and adopted as child by a lowly weaver and his pious consort. And though more recent the date and critical the age in which Baba Nanak lived, his immediate followers consider him a god, and the world his creation,† while the terms in which, in the holy Granth of the Sikhs, his disciples are represented as addressing him, "Nanak is indeed God"— "He is the supreme Lord,"‡ leave few doubts in the minds of the present Sikh faithful regarding the divinity of their holy guru.§

Like other philosophers, even when possessed of more profound learning and greater opportunities, Nanak did not demarcate with any distinctness the borderland between pantheism and theism. In some passages of his writings pantheism is distinctly implied,‖ while in other texts matter is made distinct from the Absolute,

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* Bhumi or Prithwi. This gooddess was also worshipped by the ancient Germans :—Herthum, id est, Terram matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur. Taciti Germania, Cap. xl.

† So says the author of the Dabistan who wrote in the middle of the 17th century. و گفتند بابا نانک خدا ئیست و گیتی آفریدۀ اوست, Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Lucknow edition, page 225.

‡ See Trumpp's translation of the Janam Sakhi, pp. li. and lxxi.

§ The early Sikh Gurus themselves vigorously encouraged this belief. "The Gurdeo (the human Guru or teacher) is the true Guru, the supreme Brahm, the Lord God. O Gurdeo Nanak! I salute you as God!" This verse, the composition of Arjan, is part of a refrain in the Rág Gauri. Nanak spoke of himself as neither chaste nor learned, and as having been born foolish and stupid; but at the same time he enjoined prayer to the guru, and from prayer to deification the progress is tempting and easy.

‖ For instance, "Eko shumro, Nanaka, jo sab men raha samae." Think upon One, O Nanak! who is contained in everything. This doctrine was subsequently more clearly enunciated by Guru Rám Dás—

"Thou art in each thing, and in all places,
O God! thou art the one existent Being."
Asá Rág.

and, as in the system of the Súfis, an emanation from the Creator, nearly approaching to theism. In other passages of the early Sikh writings a system of idealism, somewhat corresponding to that of our English philosopher Berkeley, is distinctly indicated. External matter has no real existence, and mortals are not to fall into the error of egoism, and consider themselves individual beings distinct from the Supreme. This *máyá*, this error of men, in supposing distinct existence,* together with the human attributes of passion and of spiritual blindness, are what produce sin and evil in the world, and render the soul liable to transmigration.

In the Sikh religion a distinct Buddhist foundation can be traced. Existence of any sort is deemed a heavy burden, and the Buddhist Nirvána,† or cessation of individual consciousness and reunion with the Absolute, should be the object of all Sikh devotion and aspirations.

> My soul, seek shelter in God's holy name;
> Pondering on this should'st thou all thought employ,
> No more thou'lt grieve, hemm'd in by mortal frame,
> But gain in God Nirváná's final joy.‡

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* On account of the difficulty of describing the Omnipresent and Illimitable in suitable human language, hypercriticism would attach the charge of pantheism to the most orthodox as well as to the most heterodox, to Christian as well as to Pagan writers :—

> Doth not the Lord fill heaven and earth?
> *Jeremiah.*
>
> God in whom we live, and move, and have our being.
> *St. Paul.*
>
> Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
> Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
> *Virgil.*
>
> Estne Dei sedes nisi terra, et pontus, et aer,
> Et cælum et virtus? Superos quid quærimus ultra?
> Jupiter est quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris!
> *Lucan.*
>
> Lives through all Life, extends through all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent.—*Pope.*
>
> Deum rerum omnium causam immanentem, non vero transeuntem statuo.
> *Spinoza.*
>
> All in All and All in every part.—*Cowley.*
>
> Se Dio veder tu vuoi,
> Guardalo in ogni ogetto,
> Cercalo nel tuo petto.
> Lo troverai in te!—*Metastasio.*

† The Sikh spelling of this word is Nirbána.

‡ These lines are the clearest exposition of Nirvána as a Sikh tenet, that I have been able to find. They are attributed to the father of Guru Gobind. They are in the original—

> Re man! ot leo Harnáma, jáke sumran
> Dukh na biápe, pawe pad Nirbáná!

Nirváná, however, is not to be obtained, as with the Buddhists, by goodness, by moral culture, by abstinence from gross and material pleasures, or even by study of the holy law itself,* but, as in the system of Kabir, by muttering the name of God, through the Guru, with sufficient attention and iteration.

It is not easy to tell what the Buddhists believed to be the soul. It is even denied that a soul is known to orthodox Buddhists; and it is stated that to assert the existence of the soul is with them rank impiety.† But surely these religious men must have had at least some conception of the spiritual essence which undergoes transmigration, and which is finally lost in the Infinite by Nirváná. The Sikh gurus, following Kabir‡ and still more ancient Hindu religionists, believed, somewhat like Heraclitus of old, that the soul was light or a certain fiery particle, which, after due purgations, was absorbed in the light of God, and thus obtained the supreme reward of divine tranquillity:—

As water blends with water, when
Two streams their waves unite,
The light of human life doth blend
With God's celestial light.
No transmigrations then await
The weary human soul;
It has attained its resting place,
Its peaceful crowning goal! §

The next stage obtainable by the pious is swarga or heaven, where for the good works done on earth, but unattended with due meditation and repetition of the name of God, pleasures and rewards are meted out in suitable quality and duration. After this the soul returns to earth, and is born in a good and pious family, where it begins anew its human career, to end in the supreme bliss of ultimate absorption, or the supreme misery of countless transmigrations. If man here on earth has acted under the influence of passion, he must look for scant pleasures in the intermediate state, and return to earth to receive birth in the dwelling of some worldly-minded person. If he has acted under

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* See Mr. Rhys Davids' "Buddhism," page 117.

† See Mr. Rhys Davids' Buddhism, pp. 93, *et seq.* for a cautious handling of this subject.

‡ See the Rámáini of the Kabir Panthis given by Professor Wilson in Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi., page 61, with his commentary.

§ In the original—

Jyun jal men jal aé katáná,
Tyun joti sang jot miláná;
Mit gae gawan, pae bisram:
Nanak, Prabhu ke sad qurbána;

The last line I have not translated, deeming it an unneccessary asseveration. The passage is to be found in the Sukhmani of the Rág Gauri, and is the composition of Guru Arjan, though the doctrine is ascribed to Nanak.

the influence of spiritual blindness, and has heaped up demerits, he is punished in narak, or purgatory, by the supreme judge, Dharmraj, corresponding to the Pluto or Rhadamanthus of Greek mythology. When the soul has suffered in narak punishment corresponding to its misdeeds, it is born in some vile animal, and passes through a greater or lesser number of the eight million four hundred thousand forms of existence in creation, until its turn comes to appear on earth, the visible offspring of human parents of the lowest social status and the lowest moral qualities—

> Longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,
> Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
> Ætherium sensum atque auraï simplicis ignem.

The soul, thus re-born in a human being, has again to enter on its long struggle to obtain the boundless reward of Nirvána.*

A late writer has stated that the most serious loss which would result to mankind from a disbelief in an after-existence would be the despair of reunion with those dear to us, who have ended their earthly life before us.† An aspiration for such a reunion is easy to understand, and the hope of its realization has soothed the death-bed of many a believer in the soul's immorality. But all people are not equally dear to us, and it has apparently not occurred to that eminent philosopher that, granted the hope of meeting those we love beyond the grave, there is also the possibility of meeting those who are not equally the objects of our affection—those who have perhaps embittered or even abridged our terrestrial existence, and who, it may be, as the result of predestination or elective grace are admitted to the sempiternal joys of paradise. To the believer in Nirvana there is no apprehension of such associations. Only those who are purified by ages of countless transmigrations can be absorbed in the Absolute, in the all-dazzling fount of God's infinite perfection and love. Here individual consciousness ceases, the supreme goal of existence is attained, and as no further happiness can be

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* See Sketch of the Religion of the Sikhs prefixed to Dr. Trumpp's translation of the first four Rágs of the Adi Granth. Though Sikh priests have given me all reasonable assistance, I am considerably indebted to the work of this laborious German for facilitating my study of the religion of the earlier Sikh Apostles. I have not, however, adopted all his conclusions.

† Mr. J. S. Mill in his posthumous essays on Religion (See essay on the Utility of Religion, page 120). Those essays have been tenderly and appreciatively criticized in this Review by Dr. Milman, the late Bishop of Calcutta ("Calcutta Review," April 1875).

sought or hoped for, so neither sorrow, nor misery, nor remembrance of earthly evils can be apprehended.*

It may be here remarked that the points of similarity between Buddhism and certain schools† of Hinduism are very numerous. The great points of dissimilarity may broadly be reduced to three, the rejection of caste, of the Vedas and their sacrificial worship. and the necessity of good works.‡ Only the *term* Nirvana is Buddhist. The Hindus had the same *idea* of final emancipation, but gave it other appellations.§ At the time of Kabir and Nanak, Buddhism and Hinduism had, as we have seen, reacted on each other, and a clear distinction between the two religions was probably not immediately perceived by the masses. However much Kabir and Nanak must be considered independent thinkers, their functions were essentially eclectic; and while they and the school of reformers|| to which they belonged, utilized Budhistic doctrines regarding the equality of the human race at any rate in a future state, the rejection of the Hindu sacred books, the means of final emancipation, and the unreal and illusive character of matter, they laid the ancient Hindu religion also under heavy contributions. From the Hindu Upanishads they derived the dogmas that the essence of God and of the human soul was light, that the universe was created by the True,¶ and that the meditation of the name of God was the real means of final emancipation. To God's chosen teacher was applied the ancient Hindu term guru, and subsequently the fifth Sikh apostle, who compiled the writings of his predecessors, applied the ancient Hindu word granth** to the inspired compilation. The manner in which

* On the alternatives of consciousness or non-consciousness in a future state compare the observations of Socrates in Plato's "Apology," chapter XXXII. Plato has not left on record whether Socrates noticed the other side of the picture, in the event of the soul's consciousness. The language of Socrates regarding the excellence of the state of natural non-consciousness is almost identical with that used in the "Chandogya Upanishad," VIII, 6. 3; VIII, II, I; and in the "Kaushitaki Upanishad," III, 3.

† The Sankhya and Vaiseshika. See the chapters on Budhism in Mr. Monier Williams' "Indian Wisdom" and Weber's "Indian Literature."—See also Mr. Rhys Davids' comparison of Hinduism with Buddhism ("Buddhism," pp. 80, *et seq.*)

‡ Good works in Hinduism do not rank high as a factor in ultimate salvation. See the Upanishads *passim*, but more particularly Mr. Max Müller's commentary on the Vajasaneyi Sanhita Upanishad ("Sacred Books of the East," Vol. I.)

§ "Indian Wisdom," page 70.

||Nam Dev, Trilocan, Kabir, Rai Das, and numerous others are mentioned.

¶ Satya, Τὸ ὄντως ὄν. The Sat Nam, the True or Veritable Name of Nanak. See Mr. Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. I., pp. xxxiii., *et seq.*

** Weber questions whether this word is not as old as the grammarian Pánini.

Sikhism was constructed out of contemporary Hindu and Budhistic beliefs supplemented by the exaltation of the guru and the necessity of his meditation may perhaps not inaptly be compared to the process by which the prophet of Makka reared the fabric of Islam out of Judaism, Christianity, and the paganism of the Sabeans, crowning the spiritual edifice by his own exaltation to the dignity of God's chosen prophet.*

In a few important respects Nanak and his followers appear to have broken away from some of the superstitions of their age, which tended to limit man's usefulness or exercise a deteriorating influence on his physical or moral nature. In Budhism those who attained the noble path which led to emancipation were avowedly the monastic orders.† Nanak, on the other hand, deeply sensible of the extravagances of some of the religious orders of his time, encouraged the secularization of religion. He taught that a man who married, attended to his secular avocations, and neglected not at the same time the duties of his religion, was as surely pursuing the noble path as the cenobite and the anchorite. Final emancipation does not depend upon external circumstances, and cannot be purchased at the price of austerities. Emancipation depends on man's mental condition; and his soul, even amid the ordinary avocations of life, may be effectively engaged in devout meditation and contemplation of the name of his Creator.

While wine and intoxicating drugs were, according to the practice of most oriental religions, forbidden by Nanak,‡ he compromised with the custom of the Jats of his country regarding the use of meat. As a believer in the transmigration of souls, he ought, for the sake of consistency, to have forbidden the destruction of animal life; but he found the practice of eating meat was too general and inveterate among the people whom he sought to convert; and he knew that they would no longer retain their hardy character and stalwart physique, if they were by any force of circumstances or religious discipline to abstain from their usual sustenance. Accordingly, we find no prohibition of the use of meat in the Sikh religion as known in the Panjab. On the contrary, in their Granth it is stated that Nanak on the occasion of a visit to Hardwar, the famous Hindu place of pilgrimage, remonstrated with the Brahmins against considering the

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* "Islam is composed of an eternal truth, and a necessary fiction, that there is only one God, and that Muhammad is the Prophet of God." —*Gibbon.*

† Mr. Rhys Davids' "Budhism," page 125.

‡ See page xlii. of Dr. Trumpp's translation of the "Janam Sakhi."

flesh of animals impure and abominable,* and declared that eating the flesh of animals was allowed even by the sacred books of the Hindus in all ages. And in the Life of Nanak it is stated that, on the occasion of a visit to Kashmir, he ate fish and flesh with apparently great relish,† and all secular Sikhs in the Panjab now follow his sensible example.

We have seen that Buddhism insisted on good works, and indeed the moral code of Buddhism may perhaps vie with that of any other religion ancient or modern. We have also seen that good works, or what are comprehended in the general term of virtuous actions, were not generally necessary for a final state of repose in the Hindu dispensation. Nanak wisely judged that the strictness of the Buddhistic moral law, which undoubtedly led to its expulsion from India,‡ would in no way recommend his own reformation, while, on the other hand, if he released men from all moral restraints, this would subvert the basis of society; and no check would be imposed on the sins and enormities which he daily saw perpetrated even by members of the religious orders themselves. Nanak, accordingly, threw in some moral precepts, compliance with which he declared to be meritorious, though of totally secondary importance to meditation on the name of God

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* Kaun más, kaun ság kaháwe? Kis men páp samáe?
Mát pitá ke rakat nipanne machchli másan khanhin.
Más puráni, más katebin chahu, jugi más kamáná. "*Granth.*"

It is somewhat curious to find Dr. Trumpp stating ("Sketch of the Religion of the Sikhs," CX.) that abstinence from animal food is inculcated in the Granth. In the portion of the Granth translated by him, I find only one verse, the composition of Kabir, which interrogatively indicates that it is sinful to violently kill animals. Cunningham translates some verses of Nanak from the Rag Majh, to the effect that Sikhs should eat nothing which has enjoyed life; but Cunningham's translation is, I find, totally erroneous. He also gives a translation ("History of the Sikhs," page 362) of what purports to be another verse from the same Rag, to the effect that an animal slain without cause cannot be proper food: but I cannot trace this verse in the present volumes of the Granth, and the Panjabi Sikhs deny its existence. Again, Professor Wilson gives some verses recited at the Sikh sangat of Nanak Shahis in Banaras, in which strong language is used regarding destroyers of animals, and an injunction is given not to destroy life for the preservation of the body; but these verses and injunctions also are repudiated by the Punjabi Sikhs, Lakhshmi Das, one of Nanak's sons, was a huntsman, and he could hardly have adopted this calling, had Nanak issued any prohibition of the destruction of animal life.

† See Trumpp's translation of the "Janam Sakhi," page xxxiii.

‡ Such is the opinion of several candid Hindus whom I have consulted. Compare Weber's "Indian Literature."

communicated by the holy Guru. Truth, continence, charity, temperance, humility, and, indeed, most of the virtues of civilized society thus received a qualified sanction, while, perhaps with an eye to religious discipline, if not consideration for religious teachers, alms-giving, austerities, religious retirement, and sacred pilgrimages, were tolerated as important adjuncts to meditation on the Creator.

Such is a brief sketch of the early religion of the Sikhs, but it must be stated that it differs as much from their present religion as the religion of the Vedas differed from that of the Hindus in the age of Manu, as the religion of the Old Testament differed from that of the Jews at the time of Christ, as the Indian religion of the age of Manu differs from that of the present Hindus, or as the religion of the prophet of Makka differs from that of the Hinduized Musalmans of India. The alterations and corruptions of the Sikh religion will subsequently be described.

M. MACAULIFFE.

ART. IV.—CASTE IN INDIA:—(FROM A NATIVE POINT OF VIEW.)

I.

IT is but seldom that controversy ends in agreement of opinion; but there can be no question that it often produces rancour, and increases previous divergence in great or small measure. We may, indeed, gratify our combativeness by flooring a literary opponent; but even this poor satisfaction cannot always be counted upon. For the passion for such warfare naturally grows cool when one finds himself at the mercy of his opponent even as regards the language he has to employ. The interest even of literary warfare does not thicken unless the Greek is met by one from his own country. Leaving aside metaphor as well as the acrimonious feeling which is couched in it, I cannot hope to cope with Rev. Sherring on his own ground: I cannot hope to write in his dashing style, still less to controvert every principle of religion, morality, and politics which, as an Anglo-Indian and a Protestant priest, he naturally assumes as unavailable; I cannot hope that my paper will be read with an infinitesimal part of the pleasure which his will certainly afford to lovers of good English and crushing vituperation. If, therefore, I venture to enter the lists against Mr. Sherring, it is because deeper interests are at stake than the susceptibilities of a resentful reader of his paper. Mr. Sherring will be the first to acknowledge that his subject is one of such great importance that all divergence between us deserves to be subordinated to the larger scientific and historical interest of unravelling the mysteries of caste.

Mr. Sherring, for all his strong opinion against Indian caste, and those who, like the present writer, stick to the institution, has advanced the inquiry by his valuable contributions to the literature of the subject, and by admitting certain points in his article in the *Calcutta Review* which are of great consequence in the present speculation.

Mr. Sherring admits that caste in India is essentially different from caste as it was among Egyptians and Jews, and as it exists in English or European society. His statement will satisfy the world that castes in India now count by thousands, and that they are each perfectly autonomous, and confined to peculiar occupations of an industrial character. From a perusal of his paper one ought to understand also that, however strongly every Hindu

may be attached to his caste, there is a gradation of ranks—a hierarchy in fact—between the various castes, which is fairly well recognized by the community in general. Moreover, the religiousness of the Brahman, and consequently of the entire people governed by the social system of caste, is a significant fact, no less than the high intellectual eminence of the Brahmans and their moral grandeur as evinced in their rejection of the sordid triumphs of wealth and military conquest. These facts, put forward by Mr. Sherring himself, will, for the most part, form a reply to the charges recklessly flung by him upon the poor Brahmans.

No social question can be properly understood, unless it is viewed, first, with reference to the group of facts in which it is found embodied at any stage of history; and, secondly, with reference to the changes which these facts have undergone in successive ages. Caste, therefore, must necessarily remain obscure so long as the religious, social and political history of India remains unascertained, so long as the evolution of the Hindu religion remains a mystery, and the history of the domestic and foreign relations of Indian government remains unknown. The natural history of caste depends upon the natural history of Hinduism and the political history of the Indian peoples.

But in addition to these sources of obscurity, I may be permitted to name another which, however, I fear my European and Europeanised readers will, as a matter of course, hesitate to acknowledge. Having in view the circumstances noticed above, the history of caste must be a comparative study. Now, in order to rightly understand a question of social progress, we are bound to examine the merits of its ultimate destination. If, therefore, European society be the goal to which all social progress moves, there can be no harm in judging and even in modifying caste by that standard. But if that standard itself be no more than a provisional, and a temporary state of social life, we should wait at least before we seek to crown our speculations with any measure of a practical kind. Such measures may cause us trouble in undoing them in the future, as well as in working them out in the present. It is impossible that any absolutist, who delightfully believes himself to be furnished with ideas of a perfect and changeless character should appreciate the position I assume. But, fortunately, men are not wanting now who are not so intensely satisfied with the religious or social system of Europe as Mr. Sherring seems to be. And I hope they at least will not despise one, because he ventures to doubt whether the representative form of Government is after all the best model for all mankind. The future of caste, and in fact, of Indian society, may to some at least be an open question, and for them caste will have to be judged, not by the standard

of society and government presented in Europe, but by *any* standard which an apologist may choose to present consistently with the ideas of his contemporaries.

If Hindus could be left to work out their own destiny, they would of course have an ideal of their own, and the merit of the means employed to attain that ideal would possess a distinct character. Such an ideal the Hindus cannot possibly have in their present condition. Bereft of political independence, their ideas and opinions of collective action cannot bear that impress of sound logic and morality which collective action alone can impart to them. What boots it, then, that one Hindu should talk big about representative government, and another of something else, when neither of them has any opportunity of having his opinion tested by actual experiment, or the collective opinion of the nation at large formally recorded? The future of caste must therefore remain a mere speculation so long as the Hindus cannot assume the responsibility of working out their own social evolution.

But it would seem that there are among the governing nation individuals—I hope Mr. Sherring is one of them—who consider the present relations between the governing and the governed to be of a tentative character, and who are anxious to help the evolution of Hindu society in a way which would be conformable alike to the best interests of the people themselves and to those of all mankind. For such a section—however they may be the laughing-stock of so-called practical people—it is of some consequence at least to understand what is the form of life which caste may be expected to develope: and they must be content to be presented with divergent views because there is no better means of eventually arriving at a consensus.

My idea is simply this, that Indian caste is a natural development of the Indian village communities, and that, to rightly judge of its future, one must be armed with solutions of the questions which even now divide European society. Such questions, for instance, as that of ownership of property, or of communism—questions of profit and wages as determined by custom or competition—questions of the relation between temporal and spiritual government; and, finally, questions about the future religion of the world, such as Mr. Sherring is bound to recognise with all his store of scathing contempt for his heathen opponents.

It is impossible within this short compass to mention every step by which, in the absence of authentic records, I try in my own mind to trace the historic relations between the village system and the caste system of India. I must therefore content myself with noticing only the few distant land-marks of our history which have struck me most.

One of the most essential points of the caste system—a point which I believe had nothing to do with questions of physiology and consanguinity—is the rule that persons of the *same gotra* or *different castes* shall not intermarry. For *gotra*, I believe, the proper English equivalent is *tribe*. Caste, therefore, at its outset, involves a rule of exogamy and one of endogamy, showing evidently that it was sought by means of the rule to bind together a number of tribes so as to form one coherent body. The *gotras*, or tribes, must have at first been endogamous; and, as endogamous tribes, they must have dwelt, unlike castes, compactly within geographical limits. It is impossible to say whether each tribe covered a single village or a large tract. But, the *tribal organisation* being thus anterior to caste-organisation, the analogy between gotra-relations and those of village commuities becomes an important subject of study. This study, however, has not yet received any attention.

The next point to notice is the distinction between a local unit occupied by the same gotra, and the unit of village-organisation, such as would grow up under the operation of the above-mentioned laws of endogamy and exogamy. The village system thus lies midway between two extremes, at one connected with the gotra, and at the other with the caste-organisations of India. We have, in fact, to suppose that at one time certain tracts were each occupied by one and the same *Gotra;* that subsequently, by a rule of exogamous marriage, they became united, so that members of the same occupation, but belonging to different gotra-tracts, gradually formed a certain social (and also industrial union,) and that eventually this union became the principal feature of the entire group of peoples thus united. The growth of mixed castes—of the distinction between pure marriages and marriages of a regular and reverse order—and of the order of rank between different castes, may be accounted for as features of this evolution.

How far the Brahmans must have helped forward this process of development, and how far they deserve our thanks for it, are questions of secondary importance as compared with the historical filiation above sketched. But the next step in that filiation would, perhaps, throw some light upon the present hazy notions surrounding the worth and policy of the Brahmans. For, just as caste appears to have changed tribal warfare into a life of industrial union, the subsequent political union of a number of villages under the principality of a single family (all the village people being organised upon the basis of caste) must have served to create divisions and sub-divisions of the same castes.

We have thus before us two different, and I believe conflicting kinds of social union acting upon one another, and each union

subject to successive historic changes. There is the geographical basis of union, originally comprising a tribe or gotra, transformed by a process of exogamy, and eventually converted into an assemblage of castes, each governed by rules of endogamy, so as to be divided from other like assemblages, as in the days of gotra-organisation. Upon this basis we should put *Gotras*, and such divisions as *varh* and *barendro* into one category. But side by side with these changes we should have, in a different category, the various castes or industrial guilds, the autonomous government of each, the growth of mixed castes and the cessation thereof, and, lastly, the mutual hierarchical relation between the separate castes of the same locality which, with the assistance of a central sovereign power, seems to have perpetuated our castes and village government in such a striking manner.

The industrial basis of the caste organisation and the hierarchical character imparted to it by reason of the institution being dovetailed into the ordinary system of geographically-divided peoples, are the peculiar features of the caste system in India, and it is by these features that the institution and its originators have to be judged. But the history of the institution is necessarily obscure, and must remain more or less speculative until light is thrown upon the subject by men abler than myself. It lies, however, with men who are governed by caste to understand the internal and external bearings of the institution apart from the history of its formation and growth. The dynamical portion in fact will remain uncertain, though the statical portion of the subject is intelligible enough.

II.

Examined statically, caste presents two important features which have already been noticed : (1) the social union founded upon men's occupations ; and (2) the external and internal relations of each society united upon that principle. It is the practice to put caste in India in the same category with the social divisions called caste in English society, with the divisions of the Jewish nation, and with those of the ancient Egyptians. Indian caste, however, differs from English caste in that it is based upon men's occupation, and not upon wealth, or upon birth alone. At first sight the hereditary transmission of occupation would seem to be the most striking feature of caste, but a little close attention will show that it is only a means to further the more important ends of caste, one being the division of society into classes with an exclusive occupation for each. Viewed in this aspect, it will be easy to distinguish Indian caste from European and Jewish caste. The latter, in fact, was a tribal institution, such as caste has been supposed to have emerged from by means of the rule of

endogamy and exogamy previously alluded to. The supremacy of the Brahmans may, it is true, be compared with that of the house of Levi. But the analogy holds good in nothing else. The rest of the Jewish tribes had no caste occupations; nor did they present any hierarchical relation as between one another. On the contrary, the Levitical supremacy—served to bind the rest of the tribes with a military-bond which was snapped with the advent of Christ, but which has nevertheless imparted to Christians an unenviable character of hostility in their relations with the rest of the world. Christian love has become a bye-word with the semi-barbarous Asiatic, who, since the persecution of the Chinese in California and Australia, can no more be hoodwinked by Cosmopolitan platitudes about rendering unto Cæsar what is due to Cæsar.

The analogy between the caste systems of Egypt and India seems to be greater. But, however Europeans may treat Indian and Egyptian religion as equally polytheistic—whereas we consider the Hindu divinities to be nothing worse than abstractions—it will be impossible to overlook that the Brahman priesthood minister to the spiritual wants of the bulk of the nation, whereas the Egyptian priesthood were only something like the *Pandas* of Benares, Gya, and Jagannath. But a deeper, though still less patent, difference lay between the relations of the warrior and priestly classes in the two countries. In Egypt the priesthood and warrior were co-ordinated under the sovereignty of a king who was at once the head of both communities. The result was that the system broke down with the development of military distinction. In India, however, for all that might be said about the legend of Parasuram, the subordination of the Khshettryas to the Brahman became unimpeachable at a very early date. Moreover, the king, although he might belong to the Khshettrya caste, was in any case supreme over both them and the Brahmans who ranked above them. The caste system, in fact, reckons a Hindu king as the key-stone of the social fabric, and to judge of caste without the king, is as great an error as to treat as castes the sort of social divisions which have grown up since the true Hindu sovereigns have ceased to exist.

The truth is caste is distinguished not only by the autonomy of each guild among us, but by the mutual relation between these autonomous guilds.

I do not pretend to clearly understand the form of government called parliamentary or representative. I have never seen it in life, I have always been amused by the mockeries of it which one may notice now in this country, and I do not think that I possess a clear notion of the principles of the institution from

what I have read of it. I shall therefore leave it to more competent persons to consider whether a number of autonomous guilds can be held together by that form of government. As it is, however, we see that, but for the confusion caused by the absence of a Hindu sovereign, the various castes among us would rank either individually, or in diverse groups, one below another in regular succession. But to understand the hierarchy of Indian castes, we should study how the autonomy of each is maintained. In proceeding upon this study we have, however, to remember that the central power—that of the sovereign—having ceased to exist, the autonomous character has developed largely at the expense of the hierarchical character. Tradition speaks of a *gotra* of the Kayastha caste in Bengal—the Dattas—having renounced the supremacy of the Brahmans and of the Gotra having in consequence been set down at the bottom of the list: it is within the memory of men still living that a certain Kayasth claimed in Bengal a rank above all but the Brahmans, and actually went through the ceremony of putting on the holy thread. And just now there is a hot controversy going on in Hindu society as to whether or not the Bunnya caste in Bengal are the representatives of the ancient Vaisya caste. These facts show how the autonomy of caste tends to trench upon the hierarchical character of the institution, and how the circumstances are affected by the character and status of the Sovereign power.

The autonomy of a caste extends over an indefinite number of villages: within that limit they intermarry, and may be assembled by any member of the same caste, or even by any one of a different caste, but belonging to the same autonomous group of villages. The assembly takes place on occasions, such as Sradh, Marriage-Upanayan, Annaprason, &c., and, in a modified form, on occasion of religious festivals. The corporate character of each caste, however, is most distinctly recognised, and the subordination of the individual to the corporate body is maintained by means of marriage restrictions, and certain privileges of the assemblies referred to above. Within the limits of the corporation any rule may be established, and whoever infringes it, is punishable in himself and such of his family as adhere to him, by being fined or excommunicated. Caste excommunication is of several kinds; and the interdict applies variously to (1) messing with one's caste people; (2) intermarrying with the rest of one's caste; or (3) to intercourse with other castes of the community. The last named species of excommunication refers to the case in which a man—no matter to what caste he belongs—is cut off from his fellows of the barber, the washerman, and the priestly castes. Good or bad, such

is the system; and it must be admitted that it has been very efficacious in securing the subordination of individuals to the body politic.

It will now be understood why I said that the hereditary character of caste occupation is to be looked upon more as a means than as the end of caste government. This feature of the caste system arises from the fact that a most powerful means of subordinating an individual to society is to punish him for his faults (provided, of course, they are serious enough to deserve the punishment) by forbidding his marriage. Now, this penal measure would fail if a man could marry outside the community to which he belonged. Hence the first step in caste government was to prevent marriages between different castes. This was achieved by tabooing, first of all, marriages with men of inferior caste, next with those of superior castes, and, finally, with any people of a different autonomous caste group. And we find in consequence that the people are very punctilious about the marriages of their caste-fellows.

The marriage restriction, however, cannot well be enforced, except on occasions of the gravest character. For minor offences, therefore, certain minor penalties were provided. But to give effect to these punitive measures, there was one general and ultimate punishment—cutting off the offender from the common mess of the caste. Now, it may seem singular that a host who paid for the entertainment could be punished by his guests refusing to dine at his place. But such is the fact. Every Hindu is possessed by a longing desire to see assembled on occasions of domestic festival as many of his caste men as he can afford to entertain. And the efficacy of the social penalty alluded to entirely depends upon this simple fact. Englishmen cannot possibly understand how sensible men should take so much pleasure in entertaining strangers, or even avowed enemies, or how men should willingly incur all the trouble that certainly attends these festive gatherings. But they do so, nevertheless, and the passion (I do not find any other word to express the peculiar state of mind) for entertaining people is a well-known and easily observable fact.

I cannot, at this place, pass on from a controversy with Mr. Sherring to one with John Stuart Mill, on the subject of the normal relation between the individual and the society to which he belongs. I may be permitted, however, to express my dissent from the doctrine which regards the mutual repression by people of an everlasting combat between their respective individualities as the most promising condition of social existence and of people's intellect and morality. But,

however the repression of individual liberty by caste government may be objected to, one must hesitate to condemn the system when he considers that caste government in its own way did the duties which now occupy the three-fold instruments of a foreign Government—the police, the magistrate, and the judge. Nay, it combined also the spiritual authority of the priesthood. And it was only by an encroachment upon caste government that a Christian convert—or from my standpoint—pervert—could be protected from the punishment which would otherwise be inflicted upon him. (I refrain from noticing the empty talk about liberty of conscience, considering that their opposition to the appointment of a Catholic Viceroy over heathen nations, and in a secular administration, has exposed the Protestant English community to severe ridicule from all non-Christians.) Be that as it may, the autonomy of Indian caste was doubtless most complete, and if men may be allowed to indulge in a fond hope for a universal religion in the future, I hope to be excused when I say that with such a religion the hostile attitude now presented by caste to all foreign religions will, in future, cease to cause any annoyance to the world around.

The autonomy of each caste being thus perfected, the hierarchy of caste was maintained by the force of tradition, religious ordinances, the wisdom of the priesthood, and the supreme authority of the Sovereign. And here we see that the strength of the system lay, firstly, in the intellectual and moral eminence attained by the Brahmans; and, secondly, in their renunciation of all things which most attract people's selfish cravings. It is somewhat strange that Mr. Sherring condemns the Brahmans in one and the same breath for their selfishness and for their religiousness, admitting all the while that the Brahman ambition was "to bring them (Hindus) to look upon him as their example to follow," that "he cared little for wealth, or, for what the world calls honor," and nothing at all for the ambition of the soldier—"vile and sordid conquest." For my part, and according to the light I possess, I should be happy if my selfishness could be gratified by so much unselfishness, and should not care much for lacking the sort of enlightened selfishness which the Brahman lacks, and which seeks the largest number of converts to one's religion consistently with the glorification of his king and country.

However this may be, for all that the British Government has been doing to set wealth and display above real and unassuming merit, Hindu society still persists in underrating wealth except as a means to support religion and extend the influence of caste government. Indeed, I do not know but that inferior rank of the Bunniya caste in Bengal, as compared to that of the Vaisyas,

in Upper India, only indicates a well-known social struggle; certain unhappy relations have been known to prevail between the money-lending and other classes in India, and, in fact, between capitalists and laborers all over the world. And it is hard to say whether the solution arrived at in Bengal did not signify the degradation of the money-lending caste. But, however their rank may have been affected by the mutual relations between castes, and especially in the absence of a sympathic sovereign power, there is no question that the influence of an administrative caste has been carefully upheld.

In the North-West the Kshatryas fulfilled the function of administrators as feudal chiefs, while in Bengal the same function was discharged by Zamindars, and ancient rajahs, who, I believe, once largely belonged to the Kayastha caste.

Below this it is now hard to determine the exact rank of each caste. But I am sure every Hindu will bear me out in the assertion that the rank of a caste in the hierarchical scale is indicated by its relations with the supreme caste—the Brahmans. I have not space at my command to enlarge upon the internal administration of a caste as involving questions of *kulinism*, but the relations to which I refer—those as between a guest and a host, a donor and donee and a purohit and his yajman—will be easily understood by any Hindu. These relations, and the principle involved therein—quite apart from traditions and texts—will sufficiently establish the fact of a hierarchical relation between castes, even as they now exist. The most important and noticeable point in this connection is that the autonomy of each caste, coupled with the mutual relations of various castes tends to stamp out crimes from Hindu society. Under a national government excommunicated criminals would necessarily be extinct without the help of the hangman. But in the absence of such government, we are furnished with classes who bear the significant name of criminal. Now, a criminal class means a distinct caste, not only excluded from the rest of the community, but confined also to particular kinds of offence. At the same time it should be mentioned that caste government does not recognize the finding or the verdict of any court other than what forms part of itself. Hence no caste penalties are remitted or inflicted because, in the opinion of a judge or magistrate, a man is found convicted or acquitted of a civil or criminal offence.

Passing on to the religious bearings of the institution, it has to be observed that Hinduism has always comprised an esoteric and exoteric form of the religion. How far this will suit the ideal of a Christian whose code of ethics permitted and enabled an American slave-holder to cite texts from his vernacular Bible-texts in support of the slave-trade, does not concern us in the present

discussion. But it should be understood that there was nothing necessarily corrupt in the system, because in those early times men following certain hereditary occupations were deemed incapacitated by their life and training to study the scriptures for themselves. On the other hand, the significant fact in this connection is that the Sudras were never treated as slaves, hardly even as serfs. That their spiritual welfare was duly attended to, appears from the fact that, however humble their means, their religious ceremonies always took the Brahmanic forms as the model to imitate. The ritualistic portion of the religion alone lay within reach of their humbler comprehension, and this was always rendered accessible to them; while their moral conduct was regulated by a social system the efficacy of which has been a wonder to the world. The success was all due to the exemplary behaviour of the old Brahmans, who had certainly understood the necessity of separating the functions of the spiritual and temporal governments, and had prevented the danger of the latter over-mastering the former by subordinating all temporal affairs of the priesthood to the sovereign power, and by renouncing all temporal advancement from their personal concerns. It was thus, and thus alone, that they succeeded in raising the Sudras from the condition which otherwise would inevitably have been their fate. That fate would have been as deplorable as that of the paupers of Europe, if the Khshettrya soldiery had had all their own way, *i.e.*, if they could not have been subordinated to the moral government of the Brahmans, persuaded in return to be satisfied only with a temporal authority over the autonomous castes beneath them.

The blackest spot from a religious point of view in the caste government was the treatment received by those Brahmans who ministered to the spiritual wants of the lower castes. But the history of the subject is unknown. We know this, however, that a Brahman of the highest rank may help another Brahman, however inferior, in serving spiritually the *yajman* of the latter, provided he (the former) does not accept in return any favors from either party.

There is nothing to my comprehension which could be more creditable to a priestly caste than that their general character, as well as that of their subordinate castes, should be pronounced by one like Mr. Sherring as *religious*. If religion is the great goal to which all thinkers should direct their movement, the noble instrument which must bind men's varied natures within the minds of each individual, and between them all in a firm social compact, let those beware who seek to undermine in these days of religious scepticism a system of government, society and religion which they can never hope to replace.

The economic aspect of caste has always received attention from English writers. It is pretty well known that caste prevents the struggles between capital and labor of which we have to read so much; and that it has shown no mean success in repressing pauperism on one side, and plutocratic tyranny on the other. But I am not aware whether anybody has yet noticed how closely caste approaches the economic device called co-operation. The great merit of co-operation, the merit of preventing the chronic dispute between capitalists and laborers, consumers and suppliers, lies in the union of capital with labor, or of consumption with industry in the same individuals. How far the latter description of union will be practicable on an extensive scale is yet to be seen. But the other kind of union, that of capital and labor, affords the strongest verification of the economic merits of caste. Fancy, England or Europe deprived of educational institutions and commercial facilities, the co-operatives driven to learn their craft by serving as apprentices only under their domestic guardians, and undesirous or unable to transfer by sale their shares in a co-operative joint-stock, and you will at once see the co-operatives growing into castes, such as now trouble the minds of would-be reformers of India.

If now I may be permitted to disclose the vision which I have had before me in picking up and assorting the broken fragments of this most complicated fabric, I shall have to refer once more to the rules of marriage prevalent in our society and to the principle of those rules.

Marriage with us concerns not only the contracting parties, but the whole of our community. However repugnant this may be to modern ideas of domestic life, we have to view the principle from the standpoint of the people themselves, and are bound to confine our criticism to its concrete results, as disclosed in our domestic life. I mean the joint-family system.

The infant marriages, which are now so justly condemned, were, however, formerly viewed in relation to diverse matters other than now engage our attention. It is impossible here to lay before our readers all the material facts connected with our family organisation, and I must therefore content myself by noticing only this much that, caste having originated with tribal exogamy, and caste endogamy being the ultimate goal of that movement, we should not be surprised if marrying girls in their nonage was determined upon as the most suitable means to bring about the result. One thing is quite clear if girls be not married early enough, there can be no certainty that they won't marry outside the caste community. A nation is fenced in from another nation by geographical and administrative barriers. But an association

of autonomous industrial bodies can subsist only by setting up social barriers around those industrial groups. Such barriers, comprising only distinction of rank, exist in all countries; but elsewhere they fail to protect the groups from moral and economic difficulties. Trade unions are constituted upon the basis of government by majorities, and the condition of the minority in that system of government has engaged the attention of the greatest European thinkers without an adequate remedy being yet found. Caste government requires unanimous consent; it could not help doing so. For the caste-system is made up, not of individuals, but of a series of corporate bodies, one group being comprised in another, and the unit being a joint-family or corporation of father and sons, or brother and brother. It would be as inconsistent to propose that a parliamentary enactment need not require the unanimous consent of its three constituent divisions as it is to condemn caste government because the consent of a family or a caste cannot be dispensed with in giving effect to measures concerning them all.

But infant marriage, however important to caste endogamy, is no more than a means to maintain the integrity and consequently the autonomy of castes. When, therefore, society should be sufficiently advanced for the mere fact of a man's occupation in life to place him in full communion with his fellows, it would by no means be necessary to adhere to the ancient restrictions about the marriageable age of girls. Caste has been supposed in this paper to have been an outcome of the tribal organization of Gotras, which still has a perfect prototype in the joint-families of the Mitakshara School and in the Bhaiachara tenure of Upper India. But with the perfection of the guild system, it would no longer be necessary to hold to the old communal system, or to its necessary attendant, infant marriage, provided men fully appreciated the internal and external interests of caste, and sought by other means to maintain their autonomous character.

The progress of events also seems to lie towards this destination. The struggle for existence, thanks to the advent of the English commercial instinct, growing harder and harder from day to day, will, it may be hoped, soon compel men to put off their own marriages till they succeed in choosing an occupation and obtaining a fair start in life. And if the salient idea of caste, *i.e.*, an industrial union, is duly upheld, it may also be hoped that the good sense of the people will enable them to perceive that their autonomy can be maintained best by entering into matrimonial relations with the families of their brother-workers, rather than those of their parent caste.

We have of course to thank for this tendency the fortuitous course of events which, instead of undermining caste, has only modified it by giving a turn to the rule of hereditary succession in respect of occupations. This tendency is unquestionably due to English influence. But the vitality of caste, it is to be hoped, will enable our countrymen to re-organise themselves upon the basis of occupation and by means of endogamous marriages; the only point they will have to attend to being to postpone marriage until *after* a man has entered a guild. It was at first necessary to inure people to a life of industrial union; but when they will have been sufficiently inured to that life, they will certainly overgrow their former restrictions.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

Art. V.—ORIENTAL FOLKLORE. By E. Rehatsek.

III.

Dialogue of the Khalif Walid, with a poor man.

WHEN Walid B. Yezid B. A'bd-ul-Melik learnt that his paternal uncle Yezid B. Walid B. A'bd-ul-Melik was engaged in alienating the minds of the people from, and stirring them up against, him, and had already levied forces in Yemen for the purpose of subverting his throne, and depriving him of life, he beçame very suspicious, and associated no longer with his intimate friends. One evening, being oppressed with melancholy, he called a servant, to whom he said :—" Disguise yourself, leave the palace, and take up a position in some spot where you can see well the passers by. When you perceive a man of ripe age, squalid aspect, ill-dressed, walking slowly, silently, and collected within himself, you are to whisper into his ear :—'The Commander of the Faithful wants you.' If he assents promptly, bring him at once ; but if he seeks to excuse himself, makes difficulties, or is undecided, let him alone, and wait till you find a person like the one I have mentioned."

The servant accordingly departed, and returned soon with the required man, who, being introduced into the apartment where Walid was, saluted him according to the manner used towards the Commanders of the Faithful, and remained standing, till the Khalif ordered him to approach and take a seat, and began to speak kindly, so as to remove any apprehensions he might have entertained, and to put him at his ease. Then Walid asked him whether he liked to converse with Khalifs, " Undoubtedly, Oh ! Prince of the Believers," replied the man. " Then," continued Walid, " as you like such conversation, tell me in what it consists ?" He said :—" In flattering the prince when he is silent, in being silent when he speaks, and in discussing suitable, but not vulgar subjects."

" You have said well," replied the Khalif ; " I am satisfied with your opinion. Continue, I am silent, and listen."

" There are two kinds of conversation," continued the man, " nor can there be a third. " The first consists in narrating what is worth hearing ; and the second, in discussing a subject serving a purpose which a man may have in view. But I have heard no news of any kind in the capital of the Prince of the Faithful ; therefore, I shall, instead of it, relate a parable, and, in lieu of pointing out a road to the Commander of the Faithful, I shall merely approach it and remain on the skirts of it."

"You have said well," rejoined Walid; "We shall, therefore, point out the road ourselves, and give you indications to follow it. We have become aware that a certain subject of ours desires to injure our empire. This rebellion disturbs us, and offends us gravely; do you know of anything like it?"

"Yes," replied the man, and Walid said:—"Speak, therefore, of this matter, and explain it according to your pleasure."

"O Prince of the Believers!" replied the man, "I have been told that when the Khalif A'bd-ul-Melik B. Merwan prepared to wage war against A'bdullah B. Zobeyr, and marched with his army towards Mekkah (may God preserve it!) he intended to take with himself A'mr B. Sa'yd B. As, who was considered a suspected man, of sinister intentions, resolutely aspiring to the Khalifate. A'bd-ul-Melik B. Merwan knew all this very well, he had nevertheless spared his life, from natural clemency, and on account of the bonds of consanguinity which subsisted between them. But when the Khalif had left Damascus and marched several stages, A'mr B. Sa'yd pretended to be sick, and asked permission to return to the city. A'bd-ul-Melik assented, and, as soon as A'mr had entered the capital, he mounted the pulpit, harangued the people, accused the Khalif of every kind of evil, and proposed to depose him from the supreme power. The people applauded, proclaimed A'mr Khalif, and paid him allegiance. Having in this manner obtained possession of Damascus, he began to fortify its walls, made arrangements for the defence of the frontiers, and distributed largesses. Information concerning these events, reached A'bd-ul-Melik during his march against Ben Zobeyr; and he learnt at the same time that the Governor of Emesa had thrown off his allegiance, as well as that the frontier districts were in rebellion.

Adventure of the Ommiade Khalif A'bd-ul-Melik.

Having heard all these announcements, the Khalif entered the tent in which his viziers were assembled, and, pointing with a little stick he had in his hand, in various directions, he addressed them as follows:—"Here," said he, "Damascus, the capital of our empire is situated, which A'mr B. Sa'yd has already occupied; here is A'bdullah B. Zobeyr, who has made himself master of the Hejaz, of E'raq and of Egypt, of Yemen and of Khorasan; here is No'man B. Basher the Amyr of Emesa; Zofr B. Hareth, Amyr of Kinnisrin and Na'yil B. Qays, Amyr of Filistyn, who have rebelled and saluted Ben Zobeyr Khalif." At these words the viziers were stupified; they hung down their heads and remained silent.

"Why are you mute?" said the Khalif, "Give me your advice at once; this is the moment in which I have need of it." Then one of them said:—"What can we propose in this emergency?

Would to God that I might be transmuted into a chameleon under some tree-stump in Tehamah, till these rebellions are finished?"

From this reply A'bd-ul-Melik concluded that he could expect nothing from his viziers; therefore, he ordered them to remain where they were, and went away. He at once mounted a horse quite alone, and ordered a squadron of his bravest cavaliers to arm themselves, and to follow him on horseback at such a distance that they might perceive any sign made by him. Thus he left the camp, keeping this escort in his rear according to his pleasure.

A'bd-ul-Melik rode till he met an infirm old man, with whom he entered into friendly conversation, and then asked:—"Have you any knowledge about these troops?" And the man replied:—"All I know about them is, that they are encamped in yonder place." "Have you heard," asked the Khalif further, "what the people say about this undertaking?" "What does that concern you?" enquired the old man; and the Khalif said:—"I have a mind to follow this army, and to enrol myself therein as I am in search of adventures." "But why?" asked the old man again, "elegant and polished as I see you, and of high lineage as I suspect you to be? Why, moreover, do you ask me about a thing which you have already determined to do?" "Indeed," replied A'bd-ul-Melik, "I stand greatly in need of your advice." The old man continued:—"Well, then, you must abandon that intention upon which you appear to be so much bent, because the prince whose service you desire to enter is in a critical position; his followers are about to desert him, and all his affairs are in disorder. A monarch in calamity is like a sea in a tempest; the further from him you remain, the better it will be for you."

"Old man!" replied the Khalif, "I have not sufficient prudence to restrain myself, when any ardent desire seizes me. I feel myself irresistibly impelled to follow the fortunes of this prince; and I must forsooth go after them. You would do me a great favour by communicating to me what the Khalif ought, according to your opinion, to do, in the grave emergency which has been fallen him. I might suggest to him that advice, and thus recommend myself to him; who knows? perhaps you may be the means of procuring me his favour."

"There are disasters," answered the old man, "in which the power and wisdom of God have deprived the human intellect of every means of escape. The misfortune, however, into which the Khalif has fallen does not appear to me to be of a kind with which the reason of man cannot cope, or human counsel lead to a happy issue. As you requested me, I was obliged to remove your delusion. I have given you a reply as you desired, but do

not rely entirely on my judgment, because the case is most grave, and therefore the choice of a plan is of equal gravity."

"Speak, may God reward you!" exclaimed A'bd-ul-Melik, "for I hope that He will guide you on the right way, and that I shall by your means be led to salvation."

"The Khalif," said the old man, "is waging war against his foe; but the will of God has declared itself against that course. That God does not want him to attack Ben Zobeyr, appears from the fact that He has impeded the progress of the Khalif, by allowing in the very seat of the empire A'mr B. Sayd to revolt by seducing the people from the pulpit itself, taking possession of the treasures, and even of the throne of the Khalifate. I advise you, however, to examine well the position of the prince and to await what he will do. If you see him marching forward and persisting in his intention to attack Ben Zobeyr, be sure that it will be frustrated; because that must inevitably happen after God has manifested a sign of his judgment in order to restrain him from the undertaking he has begun, and in which he nevertheless obstinately persists. If, however, you perceive that he turns back and abandons his design, you may consider him safe; because in that case he will show that he has considered the matter, and repents of it; and God cancels the sins of those who implore His pardon, having mercy upon those who return to Him."

"But would it not be the same thing for the Khalif," interrupted A'bd-ul-Melik, "to return to Damascus, or to continue his march against Ben Zobeyr? The judgment and the will of God do not yet clearly appear from the fact that the minds of the Khalif's subjects have become alienated from him, and that they have ventured to transfer their allegiance to a pretender."

"You do not perceive," replied the old man, "that there is a very great difference between the two cases, and I shall explain it to you:—A'bd-ul-Melik is marching against Ben Zobeyr as an unjust aggressor: because he has neither promised him obedience, nor attacked any possessions of his. On the other hand, by marching against A'mr B. Say'd, he will wear the garment of offence, because A'mr B. Sa'yd has violated the oath of fidelity, has abused the confidence placed in him by the Khalif, has perverted his subjects by instigating them to rebellion and perfidy, and has taken possession of the capital of a realm belonging neither to him nor to his ancestors, but to A'bd-ul-Melik and to his fathers. Therefore A'mr B. Sa'yd is the usurper of the empire; and it is said:—

Who fattens himself by rapine will become lean; who governs

by fraud will be expelled; an iniquitous army will be conquered and tyranny broken.

On this subject I shall relate to you a parable, which will dissipate your doubts, and sharpen your intellect.

It is narrated that a fox, whose name was Zalim, possessed a den, to which he used to retire, and live in great comfort. One day he had gone out in search of food, and found on his return a serpent in the den. Zalim waited for the serpent to depart, but in vain, and at last concluded that the miserable reptile had determined not to leave the place.

The two foxes.

When the fox perceived that the serpent had made itself at home in his den, and that he could not live with it, he went in search of another lair. Zalim then roamed about until he reached a den of beautiful appearance, situated near a fertile plain, adorned with numerous trees, and irrigated by several brooks. Being highly pleased with this den, Zalim inquired about its owner, and was told that it belonged to a fox named Mowafed, who had inherited it from his father. Zalim at once paid a visit to Mowafed, who received him courteously, and led him with great politeness into the interior of his den, and Zalim, complaining of the intrusion of the serpent, explained to him what had happened. Mowafed condoled with him, and then spoke in the following terms:—"It is my opinion that you ought not to be satisfied with persecuting your enemy; you must by all means endeavour to expel and to kill him."

It is said:—Who is suspicious of his enemy has, so to say, encamped an army. Cunning often gains the victory over a large tribe. If you wish to assail a foe, do not use force before knowing that he is weaker than yourself; but if you desire to injure him by fraud, do not think that he is stronger than yourself in spite of any power he may wield.

My advice to you is that we should go to your old habitation, that I may examine it well; perchance I can devise some stratagem to put you in possession of your den again.

It is said:—The best plan is that which is founded on mature consideration. Therefore they assert that three things spoil all undertakings. The first is, when many participate in a design, so that it is divulged and fails. The second, when the participators are rivals and envious of each other, because then predilections and contentions interfere, which will ruin any undertaking. The third is, when one man intends to govern an undertaking from a distance, ousting another who had begun to deal therewith in person; in that case discord between the two will cause

the arrow to miss the target. Lastly, when a person begins an enterprise on hearsay, he may succeed; but if he does so on his own ocular evidence, he has a better chance; that much is certain."

Then the two foxes went together to the den of Zalim. After Mowafed had examined it well, he turned to Zalim, and said:—"I have seen enough to induce me to believe that I have discovered the weak side of the enemy." "It depends upon you what is to be done," said Zalim; and the other fox replied:—"The weakest advice is that which presents itself at first sight."

It is said:—Advice is the mirror of the intellect; if, therefore, you desire to know a man's mind, ask him for his advice. The best plan is, that which has been well pondered, and devised after mature deliberation. If advice be the sword of the intellect, and if a sword cuts the better the more it is sharpened, that advice will be the best which has been considered most. If, therefore, you accompany me to my cave, and will be my guest this night, I shall spend it in thinking over the stratagems which may occur to me.

They did so; and whilst Mowafed puzzled his brains, Zalim attentively examined the den of his host. It appeared to him to be so spacious, situated in so agreeable a place, so well secured, and so well appointed with every comfort, that he became more and more enamoured of it, and greatly desired to possess it; therefore he at once set himself to invent some trick, by which he might realize his wish and expel Mowafed.

It is said:—A base man is like fire, which, if you caress it, bursts out in flames; and like wine, which, if you love it, will make you its prey; and if you obey its impulses, will make you its slave.

The next morning Mowafed, turning to Zalim, said:—"I took notice that your cave is too distant from trees and cultivated grounds. Abandon it therefore, and be sure of my aid in excavating another den in this neighbourhood which is so fertile and pleasant." "Impossible," said Zalim, "my temperament is so constituted that my heart would break if I were to leave my birth-place, and, wherever else I might live, I could find no repose."

It is said that a well-balanced mind is manifested by seven qualities:—Piety towards parents; affection towards relatives; love for one's country; a desire to live quietly in one's own house; remorse for wasted youth; the custom of wearing common clothes, and patience with the evils of decrepit and declining age."

To these words of Zalim, Mowafed replied as follows:—"You know that he who gives advice must be well acquainted with the

state of him who asks for it; because, if he were not, it is likely that his advice might do more harm than good. He would resemble a physician giving a prescription suitable for a malady, but without knowing the temperament of the patient or his diet, and without taking into account the proximate causes of the malady, the season of the year, and the climate of the country. Lastly, when the physician is persuaded that he has discovered the true remedy, he must administer it in such a manner that its virtue will overcome the disease.

It is not unlikely that your habits resemble your name, and that you have been punished for some transgression which you are now expiating, for some injury inflicted by you upon others. If such be really the case, your endeavour to extricate yourself from your present difficulty will terminate like the struggles of a certain animal captured in a net, which tried furiously to burst it with its paws, and not only entangled itself more, but brought on its own death, because the huntsman who had at first intended only to retain it captive, now killed it.

Now I shall relate to you a fable from which elegant instruction may be drawn, and the fruits of mature philosophy tasted. Fables, indeed, captivate our attention, because they interest us more than dry axioms; they are like pictures which are more attractive to the eyes than the originals themselves. For a similar reason, the language attributed to animals is more willingly heard than quotations from the musings of the most profound minds.

It is said that a man well acquainted with the treatment and cure of diseases to which birds are liable, possessed a female and a male pea-fowl, the name of the latter being Zibrig. The owner, who thought highly of their beauty, and caressed them much, observed one day that the plumage of Zibrig was losing its brightness, which he considered as an undoubted symptom of an imminent malady. He knew also that the disease could be combated and extirpated by pulling out the longest feathers of Zibrig's plumage, by separating him from the female, by diminishing his allowance of food, and by giving him a certain bitter drug to eat. He put this whole treatment into operation, and Zibrig became melancholic.

The pea-fowl and the cock.

It is said:—The miseries of the ills that befall you ought to remind you of the good which you still enjoy.

Whilst Zibrig was thus isolated, he perceived a cock, Hinzab by name, who belonged to the same master; he was the handsomest of his race in stature and in the beauty of his feathers, and was amusing himself by singing. It may be imagined that this

sight only embittered the feelings of Zibrig; and what wonder that God amongst his immense miracles, should have granted intellect to these animals, and inspired them with wisdom, as he did at one time the lapwing of Solomon (see *Quran* ch. XXVII. v. 16 *seq*) upon whom be peace! Accordingly it is possible that Zibrig said to Hinzab:—"O, you, who are so free, can you pity one who is separated from his companion, whose wings are clipped, who is imprisoned, and whose food is doled out to him day by day. If you could feel pity for his misfortunes, and would listen to his lamentations, you might perhaps give him some consolation, or find him some way of escape."

"And what difficulty could there be?" replied Hinzab. "I know full well that among the acts of a generous soul, mercy towards the afflicted is the one which meets with the best acceptance from God."

It is said:—We are all bound to protect each other from injuries, but he acts in the best manner who regards as his own calamity that which has befallen another, delivers him therefrom, and puts him on his guard from relapsing into other difficulties.

Hinzab continued:—"Our first duty is to acknowledge the preeminence which man enjoys over us; ennobled as he is with the gift of intellect, and the dignity of knowledge, he has a good right to extend his authority and to exercise his power over us; he acts justly when we displease him by our faults, and punishes us."

"Are you conscious of having committed any fault?" continued the cock. "Not at all," replied Zibrig. "If," said the cock, "you would sincerely submit to the authority of your master, you ought to abandon all thoughts of resisting it."

He is not really loyal who does not cheerfully accept an act of justice from his superior, although it may be bitter.

Listen, continued he, to a story which will perhaps console you and lead you to hope and contentment.

It is narrated that a certain king had two honest and faithful viziers, one of whom, being pious, practiced works of mercy, and abstained from various indulgences. These two viziers would scarcely ever agree with each other, so that the king, who was much annoyed by their antagonism, found himself under the necessity of dismissing either the one or the other of them; but in order to determine which of the two should be discharged, he devised the following expedient:—

The two viziers.

"Having selected a house which contained a secret place, he ordered one of his confidants to conceal himself there, and instructed him that the two viziers were to be imprisoned, whose acts and conversations he would have to watch. Both the viziers

were at once conducted to the said house, which was securely locked, and only a small window left open for providing the prisoners with their daily food and drink. The first day elapsed without their uttering a syllable to each other; but in the evening the pious vizier asked his companion how he felt." The latter replied: "I trust in my fate, and abandon myself in the hands of the predestinator, whose name be praised!" "On the contrary," replied the first, "I feel the blood boiling within me, and can hardly stand on my legs. What do you think may be the reason of this?" The devotee replied: "I have reviewed my whole conduct, and I have not discovered a single error which might have displeased the king. Towards the army and the people I acknowledge having committed two kinds of injustice; I have, namely, at all times defended the people against the troops, and I have done my utmost to keep the latter contented. Lastly, I find that I have committed innumerable sins towards God, although I never failed to examine my conscience every morning and evening, to repent, and to ask pardon from God, and endeavoured to expiate my faults as well as I could. Therefore, I believe that I am being punished, only for the sins I have committed towards my God." "And I," replied his companion, "am of opinion that a certain person has maligned me, and destroyed my credit with the king. What do you think of it?" "It seems to me," replied the pious vizier, "that we both ought to resign ourselves to the commands of God, and to trust in Him; because this calamity of ours is a mystery which our minds would try in vain to understand." "Indeed," replied the other, "several plans of deliverance have occurred to me, but the best plan for me will be to write to the king and to abandon to him my whole property on condition of being set at liberty, and allowed to retire to my house, in order to adore my Lord." "This is the weakest kind of expedient," replied the devotee, "because it gives rise to so many suspicions, furnishes the king with a pretence for persecuting you, and is like despairing of divine aid."

They spent the night without any further conversation. In the morning a loaf of bread was brought, and the devotee said to his companion: "Eat this;" but the other rejoined, "I shall not; for fear of being poisoned." "I, however," continued the devotee, "shall consume my portion, and trust to God for the rest." Hereon he took one-half of the loaf, and, on beginning to eat, discovered a most beautiful ruby in it. The next morning a loaf was brought again, one-half of which the devotee took, and found another gem; and the same thing happened the third day. Then the king had the viziers taken out from their confinement, and his confidant related what he had seen. Thereon

the king called both the viziers, and asked them how they had spent those three days. They narrated the truth, and the devotee, taking out the gems, said :—" I have found these in the bread, but it is not just that I should appropriate to myself the share of another." " Indeed," replied the prince, " God has deprived him of the gems, and has given them to you, as a reward for the trust you placed in the Most High. These gems alone were in the loaves, and I only desired to make an experiment, in order to learn how each of you would behave, when his own safety was at stake. Thus I have found that your companion has listened to the inspirations of demons, whereby he gave way to culpable thoughts towards his creator, and rebelled against Him ; he also suspected me of wishing to poison him and to deprive him of his property. You, on the contrary, have not failed to console yourself, instead of endeavouring to devise a scheme of deliverance, in a case both the origin and the circumstances of which were unknown ; thus you have abandoned yourself to the will of God, and in all your conjectures blamed yourself *only*. Thus I perceive that God has chosen you for our support, and has pointed you out as the only man worthy of our favour. Thank Him who has guided you, always trust Him in calamities, and abandon yourself to Him in the dubious events of life."

Thus he declared himself for one vizier, and sent the other away disappointed.

End of the story of the two pea-fowls.

After Zibrig had heard this story, he frankly abandoned himself to the treatment of his master, which he had intended to resist ; nor did it take a long time for his disease to yield to the virtues of the medicines, whereon his master again provided him with abundant food, and became again as kind as he had formerly been.

End of the fable of the two foxes.

Observing the great desire of Zalim to return to his birthplace, Mowafed said :—" I think we ought this day to go and collect some faggots of wood. When the night sets in, I shall bring from one of the tents a burning brand, which we shall, together with the wood, convey to the mouth of your den, and put the whole on fire. If then the serpent attempts to go out, he will be burnt, and if he remains, he will be suffocated by the smoke.

" Most excellent ! We shall do so ; " replied Zalim.

Accordingly they began work, and gathered as much wood as they were able to carry ; and in the night, when the people of the tents had kindled their fires, Mowafed went and stole a firebrand. Meanwhile Zalim dragged a bundle of wood to the den of Mowafed, which he entered, and so drew in the bundle that

it became strongly fixed in the mouth of the den. As the entrance was thus barred, Zalim imagined that, if Mowafed intended to force it, he would naturally fail, and, despairing of succeeding in his efforts, would most probably go away in search of another refuge. Zalim also calculated that whilst the siege might last, he could easily subsist on the provisions which he had seen in the den, and stored by Mowafed for his own use. Thus his wicked avarice and iniquity hindered him from perceiving the folly of his scheme, and that he was actually going to meet the fate which Mowafed intended to prepare for the serpent.

It is said :—Beware of your own designs against the enemy, as you would of his against you. More than one man has perished by the schemes he himself planned; more than one has fallen into the well which he had dug with his own hands, or wounded himself with the arms which he was brandishing against others.

When Mowafed arrived with the fire-brand, he could not find Zalim, and thought he had gone to fetch also Mowafed's bundle of faggots, to save him the trouble of bringing them. Pleased with this trait of supposed kindness, Mowafed intended to help him to carry the burden. Accordingly he dropped the fire-brand, but recollecting that the wind might accelerate its consumption, and that it would be necessary to bring another, he placed it in the mouth of his den to conserve it, and went to look for Zalim. Meanwhile, however, the brand kindled the wood, and Zalim was burnt in the den ; so that he was caught in his own snare.

When Mowafed returned from his fruitless search, he saw what had taken place and exclaimed :—"I have never seen a weapon which injures him who uses it more severely than injustice. Wherefore I think that a wicked man involuntarily seeks the knife which is to kill him, and runs to the cliff from which he is to be precipitated for his bad conduct."

Then Mowafed waited till the fire was extinguished, entered the den, threw out the carcase of Zalim, and continued to sojourn there, but always on his guard, and prepared against the tricks of rogues.

"This fact," continued the old man, "resembles precisely the treachery of A'mr B. Sa'yd, who rebelled against A'bd-ul-Melik, took possession of the capital when he was absent, and proclaimed himself Khalif. But whilst A'bd-ul-Melik is marching to wage war against Ben Zobeyr, he is doing exactly that which will strengthen the hands of A'mr, both of whom are doing to him what Zalim did to Mowafed."

End of the adventure of A'bd-ul-Melik.

When A'bd-ul-Melik had heard the parable of the old man, and considered its moral, he was much pleased, and said :—"You

may count upon a handsome reward from me, because you have greatly obliged me. Take this as a promise, of which you must remind me afterwards, that I may discharge my debt to you." "I do not understand," interrupted the old man, and A'bd-ul-Melik continued :—"I hope to profit by your advice when I am with the Khalif, and will then ascribe the merit of any service I may do him to you." "And I," retorted the old man, "shall never ask a reward from an avaricious man." But how do you know," asked A'bd-ul-Melik, "that I am avaricious?" He continued :—"Why not, since you delay the gift and the reward, when you have it in you power to bestow it at once? What hindered you from presenting me with one of those costly arms or garments which you have on your person?" "Indeed, I had not thought of that," replied the Khalif, and, giving him his sword, added :—"Take this; you will not be a loser by it; the value of it is twenty thousand dirhems." "No, I do not accept presents from oblivious persons," answered the old man; "let me go; the favour of God is all-sufficient for me; He forgets not even the avaricious." Perceiving his true piety from these words, the Khalif said :—"I am A'bd-ul-Melik; trust me, and tell me what has happened to you." "We are helpless," continued the old man, "let us both go and confide what has happened to us, to Him whom both you and I serve." The Khalif then went away, acted according to his advice, and was successful.

Walid Ben Yezid, when he heard all these stories, greatly admired the intelligence, and the curious erudition of that unknown man, and asked him for his name. Having heard the name, but never known it before, the Khalif said, quite abashed :—"He who has one like you among his subjects, and knows him not, is unfortunate." "O! Prince of the believers," answered the man, "Kings know only those who come before them, and plant themselves at their gates." "No," said the Khalif, "we shall not accept an excuse which we do not deserve," and he forthwith presented him a handsome reward, with the invitation to come freely to the Court at any time.

End of the dialogue of Walid.

The Ommiade Khalif Walid II. reigned only one year (A. H. 125-126, A. D. 743-744), and was slain by the partisans of his relative, Yezid B. Walid B. A'bd-ul-Melik, who had rebelled against him in Yemen, as is correctly narrated in the beginning of this tale. Before the Khalif despatched a servant in search of a man for the purpose of consulting him what he ought to do in order to retain the sceptre which was about to fall from his hands. Absurd as a consultation with a poor

Historical notes to the dialogue of the Khalif Walid.

stranger on so important a subject may appear to be, it agrees perfectly well with the character of Walid, which was more that of a madman than of any other kind. His scorn of religion contributed not a little to his fall; he once used the Qoran for a target, when shooting arrows, and on another occasion he sent for a scholar from Kufah to explain to him neither the Qoran nor the traditions of the prophet, but only the remarks concerning wine, &c. Such and similar indecencies were the only acts recorded of the short life of Walid II. which he spent in debaucheries with women and buffoons, with wine and song; so that his courtiers and officers became disgusted with his irreligious and immoral conduct, and promoted the revolt of Yezid, who became his successor.

A'bdullah B. Zobeyr had rebelled in Mekkah and Medinah already A. H. 61 (A.D. 680-81) during the reign of Yezid I., the second Ommiade Khalif, who resided in Damascus, and was succeeded by Moa'siah II. A.H. 64 (A.D. 683), after a reign of only six weeks. Then came Merwan I., who re-conquered a great portion of the Empire; but, while his troops besieged A'bdullah B. Zobeyr in Mekkah, he was strangled A.H. 65 by his own wife, after a reign of nine months. He was succeeded by his own son, A'bd-ul-Melik (reigned from A.H. 65 to 86, A.D. 684 till 705), who took possession of the throne against the wish of his father. Merwan had, instead of making A'bdul-Melik his heir, promised the succession to the son of his predecessor Yezid I., and to A'mr B. Sa'yd B. As., a man of great influence among the Ommiades, and the same who is mentioned in our narrative. Thus it may be seen how A'bd-ul-Melik, when he ascended the throne had to struggle, not only with his own partizans for supremacy, but also with the factions that obeyed A'bdullah B. Zobeyr, and consequently also with fanatic Shia'hs as well as impious Kharejites.

A'mr B. Sa'yd B. As. was a member of the Ommiade dynasty reigning at Damascus, and therefore also a relative of A'bd-ul-Melik. He had already aided Merwan I. in his usurpation, on condition of succeeding him himself. When, however, A'bd-ul-Melik attained the supreme power, this same A'mr B. Sa'yd gave another example of extraordinary simplicity, by requesting the new Khalif to allow him to reign till his death. A'bd-ul-Melik vouchsafed no reply, but retained him near his person, and marched with his army in 69 or 70 (A.D. 688-89) against more dangerous enemies. On that occasion A'mr executed a stratagem above his usual capacity; for he marched three days—according to our narrative several stages;—fled in the night from the camp to Damascus, where he mounted the pulpit, took possession of the public treasure, and proclaimed himself Khalif. A'bd-ul-Melik lost

no time in returning and besieging him ; he found him to be not more wise than before, because he induced him to open the gates by promising him the succession to the Khalifate, which he coveted so much. By this act A'mr brought on the end of his own career and life ; for, as soon as A'bd-ul-Melik had entered Damascus, he invited him to an interview, and A'mr hastened to meet him, after having beaten a woman who had endeavoured to dissuade him from rushing into such danger. He took, however, the precaution of wearing a cuirass under his garments, and, making his appearance at the castle with four thousand armed men, whom he left at the gate, and entered accompanied only by a page. He was at once made prisoner, and A'bd-ul-Melik, who was just going to prayers, ordered his own brother to slay him, but finding, on his return, that his command had not been executed, he killed A'mr with his own hands.

It is also necessary to correct in this place the anachronism of our narrative in which the rebellion of the Amyrs of lower Palestine, of Emesa and Kinisrin, which took place during the Khalifate of Merwan, is stated to have occurred during the reign of A'bd-ul-Melik, whereas it occurred five or six years before A'mr had proclaimed himself Khalif. Apart from this little irregularity, the whole narrative is based on historical facts ; the poor old man of the dialogue serves merely to string together all the parables, among which that of the two foxes appears to be the best, as A'bd-ul-Melik and A'mr B. Say'd were nothing but two rogues, the one intelligent, and the other stupid.

E. Rehatsek.

ART. VI.—THREE CHINESE GENERALS.

THE second of the Manchu Emperors of China, the illustrious Kanghi, left to his successors a legacy of war beyond his western marches. In several campaigns he penetrated into the country lying to the north of the great desert of Gobi, and around the sources of the mighty river Amour. He re-asserted the long-lost authority of the Emperor over the petty princes of Zungaria, and waged in those regions thirty years of successful warfare, marked above all by the overthrow of the able and not less ambitious Galdan. It was not, indeed, until the genius of his General, Feyanku, turned the scale against the Zungarian prince in battle at Chao-modo, that Kanghi could congratulate himself upon assured success; and the death of Galdan in the following year rendered the triumph of his arms still more complete. But although the ablest and most formidable of the desert chiefs had been obliged to succumb to the Emperor, all danger to Pekin from the west, whence in previous ages danger had so often come, had not been removed. The years following the death of Galdan were occupied in arranging various matters connected with the countries beyond Kansuh and Sychuen. They were years also of war, and of expeditions into Chinese territory sanctioned by Eleuth princes, and composed of the scum of Zungaria and Altyshahr. One expedition against Sining failed; another against Tibet succeeded, and returned laden with the spoils of Lhasa. About the same time a severe defeat was also inflicted upon the Manchus near Turfan. Desultory warfare continued until Kanghi ceased to reign, and then his successor Yung Ching withdrew the imperial forces. The refractory chiefs were left to their own devices, and the Emperor remained content with the enjoyment of his home provinces. There was prudence in his resolution, if there was little of the heroic. But at the same time that this withdrawal from the advanced position which Kanghi had taken up beyond Gobi was calculated to husband the resources of the State, it must not to forgotten that it possessed another and a less favourable aspect. It was a tacit admission that the bold and prescient policy of Kanghi, in anticipating danger from the ambition and military ardour of the peoples of Central Asia, was to be abandoned, and that the Manchu dynasty, under the guidance of Yung Ching, would trust to the chapter of accidents for the avoidance of a danger which in times past had frequently proved to be of the gravest description. Fortunately for the peace

of the Chinese frontier, nay, perhaps, even for the preservation of the Manchu dynasty, the hesitating and weak-willed Yung Ching was succeeded by the resolute and sagacious Keen Lung, before the princes of Zungaria had recovered from the blows which Kanghi and his generals had inflicted upon them.

The same reasons which induced Kanghi in the seventeenth century to undertake a war against Galdan, operated on the mind of the Keen Lung in the eighteenth, and made him disposed to champion the cause of Amursana, a chief who had ruled on the banks of the Ili, and who had fled to China for safety from the pursuit of his rival, Davatri. It was not long before Keen Lung came to the determination to support the cause of the fugitive, and in 1755 he placed at his disposal a Chinese army commanded by a General named Panti. This General had already distinguished himself, and had obtained from his master several titles of honour. It is scarcely necessary to remark that, as has always been the case when the claims of a pretender have to be supported by a foreign army, the real authority was vested in the hands of the Chinese General. It is instructive to know what the condition of China was at the time when military enterprises were being sanctioned in remote regions, and the Emperor Keen Lung himself tells us something upon the subject:—"My empire is the largest, the richest and the most populous in the world. My coffers are overflowing with money; my magazines are filled with all kinds of supplies. I have sufficient resources to furnish the expenses for the longest war, to support my people when oppressed by unforeseen calamities, to provide for multitudes of workmen by employing them on public or other useful works." Such was the picture drawn by this ruler of the internal condition of the vast empire which he governed. It was, we know from independent sources, neither exaggerated nor overdrawn. He gives an equally glowing account of the condition of the Chinese army, of the Manchu and Solon warriors. It was with a strong detachment of these latter that Panti advanced towards Ili. Terror went before them. Davatri's followers deserted him. In five months the whole of the country lying immediately to the north of the Tian Shan was at the foot of the Chinese Emperor. His troops, sure of victory, had broken "cheerfully through every obstacle. Hardly had they time to bend a bow, or to draw an arrow, before there was submission everywhere." For this brilliant success Panti received the title of Tsè, and was honoured with other marks of his sovereign's pleasure. With a host computed at 150,000 men he had conquered an enormous extent of country, and it was his proudest boast that he had done so without losing a single man of his in action. China's first campaign on the banks of the

Ili was therefore bloodless. Her subsequent successes were to be neither so easily attained, nor so wholly satisfactory in their results.

Amursana became king of Zungaria. He was only a puppet in the hands of Panti, yet he aspired to increase of dominion. From his palace on the Ili he looked with a coveting glance towards the rich cities of Altyshahr. He longed to see himself installed as ruler in Kashgar and Yarkand. He intrigued, and he promised freely. His overtures were regarded with suspicion, yet he was the nominee of the Bogdo Khan, and, as such, spoke with authority. The leaders of one of the factions of Altyshahr placed themselves at his disposal, and Panti gave his approval to a scheme which had every appearance of resulting in the addition of a fresh province to the Empire. The enterprise fared well, and another Chinese vassal established himself as ruler at the important city of Aksu, chiefly by the assistance of a detachment of Chinese troops lent by Panti. This success further increased the growing confidence of Amursana, and, as it acquired fresh force, so the restraint of the Chinese General's presence appeared to be more and more irksome to him. When the campaign had closed with the capture of Davatri, the Chinese army had returned home. Panti remained behind with a small garrison of 500 men. The Emperor's representative continued to insist upon Amursana, submitting to his guidance in all things, although the power to enforce his will had really departed from him when his army retraced its steps to Kansuh.

The friction between the rival authorities was continual, and soon mutual suspicion became pronounced hostility. Amursana beheld his authority daily more curtailed, and he chafed at the restraints imposed upon his inclinations. Panti saw the growing distrust and restlessness of the Eleuth, and by his advice Keen Lung summoned Amursana to Pekin. The latter refused to comply, and both parties prepared themselves for the conflict. Panti, although aware of the growing rebelliousness in the mind of Amursana, does not appear to have believed that he would have sufficient audacity to attack a Chinese Viceroy. He trusted to the prestige of his country to carry him safely through all dangers. His over-confidence was not justified by the event. Amursana revolted, and his followers carried everything before them. Panti, surprised when almost alone, was slain, and his fate was shared by his colleague Aiougan and all of Manchu race. Thus fell, by the hand of the assassin, the General who but a short time before had laid the greater part of Central Asia at the feet of Keen Lung. His operations in the field had been characterised by rapidity, and they had been crowned with success. Lulled by his triumph into a feeling of security, he had not appre-

ciated at its due importance the danger from the piqued ambition of Amursana, and he paid the penalty of his blindness with his life. As a general he was no unworthy successor of Feyanku, and he left to those who came after him an example and a name.

For a moment the shock of this reverse unnerved the statesmen at Pekin. The cry was raised that it would be well to abandon the possessions on the Ili, and wise to give up the idea of preventing a sad and useless war. These views found no favour in the eyes of Keen Lung. He sent vindicating armies, and he told his generals, "in the most precise orders," that they must either capture the rebel or perish in the attempt. So far as regular resistance went, Keen Lung's generals were not more strenuously opposed on this occasion than Panti had been on the previous one. They were, however, deceived by Amursana, and an order for their recall was sent from Pekin. In the meanwhile they had fallen into an ambuscade, and been murdered. Their next successors were not much more fortunate. They also proved themselves to be too confiding, and fell into disgrace. Keen Lung never showed pity to incompetence or ill-success, and they were re-called the year after they had set out for the command of the army, to meet the fate of defeated generals at Pekin.

At this moment when matters wore their blackest aspect for the Chinese, the second of the great generals produced by the wars of Keen Lung appeared upon the scene. This General's name was Tchao-hoei, and, when everything appeared lost in Central Asia, he gathered round him the few Manchu troops that remained, and opposed the hitherto successful rebels at all points. By his noble example he restored the confidence of his soldiers, but, while striking at sedition wherever it raised its head, he made it appear that he was not less anxious for the attainment of a solid and lasting peace than he was for military renown. At first his forces were too few to strike at the root of the danger, and he was compelled to ask the Emperor for reinforcements, at the same time that he submitted a plan of campaign to him. Struck with the ability shown in this despatch, Keen Lung sent the troops required, and appointed Tchao-hoei General-in-Chief. The result completely justified the Emperor's discrimination. The whole region was re-conquered, and Amursana compelled to flee for safety to Russian territory. The close of the year 1757 found the Chinese again established in unquestioned supremacy in all the region north of the Tian Shan. Tchao-hoei became convinced that there would be no tranquillity for his master's dominions until the country to the south had also been converted into a Chinese province. The attempt was made of governing through Native princes, but these either proved weaklings or rebelled.

Barhanuddin Khoja and his brother openly raised the standard of revolt at Kashgar and Yarkand, although but a few months before they had experienced the clemency of the Emperor. An envoy with an escort of 100 men was sent to the court of Barhanuddin, by whose orders they were barbarously murdered. It became necessary, as Keen Lung says in his narrative, to again draw the sword from the scabbard in which it had just been sheathed. "March," he wrote to his General, "against the perfidious Mahomedans, who have so insolently abused my favours. Avenge your companions, who have been the unhappy victims of their barbarous fury." Of the details of this war in the country of Little Bokhara, or Kashgaria, Keen Lung says nothing. "My troops set out, and in a short time Hoeipou (Little Bokhara) was conquered." Fortunately the Pére Amiot has supplied the omission, and left us contemporary evidence which enables us to fill up something of the outline of that war. This consists in the letters from Tchao-hoei to Keen Lung. It would be easy to compose an epitomised narrative from these; but as they have never been quoted by any author, it will be most instructive to give the principal passages from the Chinese General's account of his own campaign. The letter is written from the camp before Kashgar on a date which corresponded with the 13th of September 1759. "The two Hotchom" (Barhanuddin and his brother) "having learnt that your Majesty's troops were marching against them, abandoned their amusements in repairing the fortifications of Kashgar and Yarkand. They at once perceived that it would be impossible for them to resist your arms. They fled from their cities, and they dragged themselves and their families from hiding-place to hiding-place. The inhabitants of Kashgar, like those of Yarkand,"—who had surrended to Tchao-hoei without offering any resistance before he advanced on Kashgar—"surrendered to us with every demonstration of joy, which was a sign that they asked for nothing better than to live under the laws of your Majesty, to experience in their turn the effects of the goodness of your great heart which embraces all the world. They came before us, bringing refreshments, which I accepted, and caused to be distributed among the soldiers, whilst giving in all cases to those who brought them small pieces of silver, or other money, not under the name of payment, but rather as a reward. They appeared to me to be very well satisfied with the arrangement. I entered the city by one gate, and left it by another. The inhabitants covered me with honour. Some accompanied me throughout my progress, crying out frequently, 'Long Live the great Emperor of China.' Others lined the streets through which I had to pass. They were kneeling, and remained in that posture the whole time that

I was making my progress. I made them a short address, in which I pointed out the happiness that they were about to enjoy, if they remained faithful in their duty to your Majesty. At the same time I announced that those amongst them who had followed the side of the rebels could be sent to Ili, and that that would be the only punishment for a crime for which they deserved to have lost their lives. I was frequently interrupted by fresh cries of, 'Long live the great Emperor of China! May he and his descendants give us laws for ever!' I at once gave orders for the preservation of public tranquillity, and for the prompt re-establishment of all things on their ordinary basis." The remainder of the letter is taken up with a description of the Emperor's new province, which is very interesting, but beside the present subject. By a judicious mixture of severity and moderation, by tact as a Governor, quite as much as by valour as a soldier, Tchao-hoei had accomplished the task—which the courtiers of Pekin had styled impossible—of conquering Little Bokhara. The measures he took were such as to make conquest appear to be as little odious as possible in the eyes of the people.

While Tchao-hoei was re-arranging matters in the great cities, his lieutenant, Fou-té, was in active pursuit of Barhanuddin, whom he defeated near Altchour (Sirikul). He defeated him again on the little Pamir, and the Khoja with his brother fled into Badakshan. The ruler of that country surrendered them to the Chinese, and they were sent to Pekin, where they were executed. The Chinese wars in this region closed with complete success. Beyond the frontier line which they had taken up, the chiefs of the Khirgiz force and the rulers of Khokand became vassals of the Bogdo Khan. Tchao-hoei's task completed, he returned to Pekin to receive the rewards showered upon him by a grateful sovereign. His success had been equal to that of Panti. It was greater in that no ill success marred its close. His brilliant achievements did not shield him from the envy of the great, but they received their due recompense at the hands of the sovereign. It was not too great a price to have paid, to have incurred the malice of one's rivals for having won the favour of the dispenser of all honour. Keen Lung, on his approach to Pekin, went out half-a-day's journey to meet his successful General. One of the royal palaces was set apart for his use, and he was raised to the title of Count, and appointed a minister of State, while his son was espoused to a princess of the blood royal. For several years Tchao-hoei enjoyed in peace the honours which his master bestowed upon him, and then he sank under the infirmities which flesh is heir to. An incident occurred in connection with his death which is worthy of preservation. Keen Lung paid him a visit, although it

was known that he was dead. He wished it to be supposed that Tchao-hoei was still alive, and the General was dressed and placed in his chair to receive his Majesty, who addressed him as follows:—"I command you to remain as you are. I come to see you for the purpose of exhorting you to leave nothing undone towards the re-establishment of your health. A man like you is still necessary to the empire." The task which it may be said that Panti commenced and Tchao-hoei completed, was one that stood the test of time. One hundred years after Tchao-hoei made his triumphant progress through the streets of Kashgar, and Fou-tè won his memorable victories on the crest of the Pamir, the Chinese authority was still supreme in Little Bokhara. Many a blow had been levelled against it. It had withstood the shock of rebellion and external aggression. Treason within and force from without had gone far to ruin the bright prospects that had appeared so easy of attainment, when Tchao-hoie harangued the town people of Kashgar and Yarkand, yet the writ still ran throughout the land in the name of the Bogdo Khan. The great rising of the Tungani in the country from Kansuh to the Kizil Yart in 1862-63 produced a series of events which led to the overthrow of the Chinese administration, and to the substitution for it of a variety of Mahomedan governments of which the most respectable was that of the late Yakoob Beg. That overthrow and the creation of these independent states revived the condition of things that obtained in the days of Kanghi and Keen Lung. For Galdan stood the Athalik Ghazi, with the exception that to the Khokandian soldier of fortune China in her weakness appeared to be a more likely prey than she could possibly have seemed when the Manchu dynasty was at its prime to the king of Zungaria. It is unnecessary to follow the course of events during this period. In due time the right and inevitable policy of repelling all possibility of invasion to a considerable distance from the great wall was adopted by the Pekin Government, whose confidence had been restored by a series of successes elsewhere; and it was determined to recover the lost possessions round the Tian Shan and to chastise the murderers of Chinese soldiers and settlers. The accomplishment of this resolution was entrusted to a general who, whatever test we may apply to his actions, must be held to be one of the greatest generals of the day. There is no living commander of any country who has conducted so extensive, hazardous, and little appreciated a campaign as that against the Tungani rebels and the chief of Kashgar, and there are few who have shown as much skill and knowledge of the art of war as Tso Tsung Tang, the third great general which China's wars in Central Asia have produced in modern times.

Tso Tsung Tang, as viceroy of the north-west province of Kansuh, had at an early period in the disturbances been called upon to deal with the Tungan rebels, and very soon he was in a position to announce to the Pekin authorities that the insurrection has been stamped out of his province. He then set himself to the task of collecting an army, and the necessary supplies for an advance across Gobi upon the countries of the Tian Shan. Years were occupied in this work. He submitted a plan of operations, but unlike his predecessor Tchao-hoei he had no Keen Lung to deal with. In 1871 he succeeded, by intrigues among the Calmucks, and by despatching a small expedition, in re-establishing the Chinese authority at Chuguchak ; but it was only on sufferance that he was able in that year to do even this much. His preparations were not finally completed before the year 1874, when he commenced operations by sending forward detachments from Lanchefoo, the capital town of Kansuh, and situated in the extreme north-west of that province. Two years at the least passed away before any considerable force had reached the vicinity of the Tungan cities, and during that period the Chinese soldiers had on several occasions to make halts of some duration for the purpose of forming depôts. The differences of climate between the various spots where these detachments halted also obliged them to pursue their way with deliberation across the barren wastes which lie between Lanchefoo and Barkul, the nearest of the Tungan cities. They are represented as having sown the corn which was to provide them with the means of continuing their march when it had ripened ; and, primitive as the plan may seem to the military student to be, it is the only one which makes warfare on a large scale possible in the barren regions between the great wall and the Caspian Sea, at least until the introduction of railways shall have annihilated space.

But in 1876 there was no longer room for doubt as to the movements of the army of Tso Tsung Tang. Rumour had long been rife as to its strength and the intentions of its general. Its very existence had been called in question, but in the early autumn of that year its appearance before the walls of Urumtsi, a once important city, commanding a pass through the Tian Shan, furnished a conclusive reply to the doubts and fears of the Mahomedan peoples, to whom the prospect of a return cf the Chinese had long been the one oppressive dread of their existence. The Chinese general encountered little resistance at Urumtsi. The garrison surrendered in a few days, but the Chinese gave them no quarter. It is probable, however, that the towns-people were spared. Most of the chiefs and all the fighting men of the Mahomedans fled to Manas, a town to the north-west of Urumtsi.

There they made their first and last stand against the Chinese. For two months—from the 2nd of September until the 6th of November—Tso Tsung Tang laid close siege to it, bombarding it from batteries constructed on the model of European artillerists, and levelling its walls by sap and mine. The defence was resolute, but the besiegers were persistent; and at length the end came, and the place surrendered. The Tungan army was to march out with the honours of war; but when the day came there were signs—at least such was the Chinese General's account—that it intended to cut its way through. Tso Tsung Tang took suspicion for certainty, and acted upon it without hesitation. The Tungani soldiers were all destroyed. The women, children and old men were spared. With this decided victory Tso Tsung's campaign north of the Tian Shan closed. It was but the prelude to a still more important one to the south of that range.

The Tungani being overthrown, the Chinese General turned all his attention to the more difficult task of prosecuting the war with Yakoob Beg, the late ruler of Kashgaria. The winter of 1876-77 was employed on both sides in making preparations for the conflict, and early in the latter year Tso Tsung Tang had a large army under his immediate command, probably 50,000 men, in readiness for the task of forcing the Tian Shan, while a smaller corps was advancing from Hamil. Yakoob Beg had for his part not been idle. He had concentrated most of his troops round Turfan, and a Russian Officer who visited him at the time, computed their strength at 17,000 men with 30 guns. In addition to these trustworthy troops, he had 10,000 Tunganis; but as most of these deserted before the fighting began, they were no element of strength. Early in April the Chinese army was in motion. Fighting took place in the defiles of the Tian Shan, with no result, however; but the advance of the corps from Hamil was rapid and unopposed. This movement turned the Kashgarian line of defence. Yakoob Beg was compelled to concentrate his troops behind Turfan in face of a more numerous and a successful enemy. He was defeated, and again in a second battle at Toksoun. Soon after he died at Korla, but the Chinese General kept his troops in camp at Turfan during the whole of the summer. In August, when he had completed all his arrangements, and had occupied Manuas and Karakaru with a large army, for the double purpose of overawing the remaining Tungani, and of providing against any dubious act on the part of the Russian authorities, the orders for the resumption of the campaign were issued. Tso Tsung Tang drew up a plan of action which was followed to the letter by his Lieutenants. On the 2nd of October the Chinese army for the reconquest of Kashgaria was assembled at a village called Kuhwei, some distance west of Turfan.

It numbered fifteen thousand men with thirty field pieces. On the 7th of October, Karashahr was occupied; on the 9th Korla; on the 19th Kucha, near which two battles were fought and won. Before the end of the month Aksu was in the hands of the Celestials. Tso Tsung Tang had meanwhile joined his Lieutenants with a large army, by making a wonderful march across the mountains from Manas to that city, and on the 17th of December Kashgar itself surrendered. The numerous pretenders to the throne fled to Russian territory; and the other great cities, Yarkand, Yangy Hissar, and Khoten, opened their gates to the invaders. It is not within the scope of this paper to consider the political significance of these events, but, in discussing Asiatic matters, it cannot be forgotten that China has incontestably proved that her fighting strength is far from being insignificant. She has also the good fortune to possess a great general. The man who can collect troops under extreme difficulties, who can move them across a distance of more than two thousand miles, who can convert raw material of an unpromising character into soldiers capable of winning three campaigns, must be of no ordinary stamp. His manœuvres in the field, his operations against fortified towns, his tactics, his strategy prove Tso Tsung Tang to be worthy of the title of general. Lastly his triumph has not proved ephemeral. He holds what he has won more than two years after his final victory, and he has held it under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. There is no reason for supposing that he will show less ability in retaining his conquest in the future.

The careers of these three generals, Panti, Tchao-hoei, and Tso Tsung Tang, the Chinese conquerors of Central Asia in modern times, will serve to show what China has done in the way of military enterprise. Equally important evidence might be furnished from the study of her wars in Tibet, and the Himalayan regions, in Burmah, in Yunan in Szechuen and in Formosa; but the Central Asian campaigns will suffice, and are of more present interest. The question, which need not here be answered, though it must suggest itself, arises, if in the past China has been able to do so much, what in the future may be expected from her when her army has been drilled by German, or French, or other instructors, and when her arsenals are as well supplied with weapons as those of this country? That day is certain to arrive sooner or later, and already the great military journal of Germany has gone so far as to style China "the natural ally of Germany." These predictions do indeed anticipate the future by certainly one, if not more than one, generation; but it s impossible to shut one's eyes to their growing significance.

Demetrius Charles Boulger.

ART. VII.—A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF PRAKRIT PHILOLOGY.

PRAKRIT philology must still be said to be in its infancy. In India, indeed, which is the home of that language, it can hardly be said to exist at all. An abortive attempt was made some years ago in Calcutta to publish the text of Kramadíṣvara's Prákrit Grammar, the Sankshiptasára, and within the last ten years the famous Prákrit grammar of the great Jain monk Hemachandra has been published in Bombay, and a Prákrit poem, called Karpúra Manjarí, in the "Pandit" of Benares, though neither of them with much pretension to critical accuracy. But with these exceptions we believe nothing has been done by the Native scholars of India on the field of Prákrit philology. Even in Europe, and among European scholars in and out of Europe, it is only of late years that Prákrit is receiving that attention which it so abundantly deserves. Without an intimate knowledge of that language it is impossible to gain a correct insight into, and a true appreciation of the origin, the history and the mutual affinities of the modern vernaculars of India. Prákrit, in fact, may be said to occupy very much the same sort of position with regard to the modern Indian Vernaculars, more especially to those of North India, that Sanskrit holds towards the Aryan languages of Europe and Western Asia. It supplies us with a key to the comparative study of them on scientific principles. But Prákrit does more than this. It also supplies us with a not unimportant auxiliary in the domain of Aryan comparative philology itself, on account of the evidence it affords regarding the uniformity of the laws that regulate the evolution of large sections of the modern forms of the Aryan languages of Europe. For, as F. Haas has shown in a little work published some years ago, and recently Mr. Brandreth in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* the development of the modern Romance languages of Europe from the Latin is governed by the same, or very similar, phonetic laws as those which have produced the Prákrit and its modern descendants from the Sanskrit. But we

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* Friedrich Haas, *Vergleichung des Prákrit mit den Romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1869, and E. L. Brandreth, *The Gaurian compared with the Romance Languages*. Part I. August 1879, and Part II, July 1880.

believe that the study of Prâkrit is destined to render us yet another important result. We believe that it may yet supply us with a means which will go a considerable way towards determining the vexed question of how much there is of the non-Aryan element in the Sanskrit language. This question, however, cannot be taken up with any promise of success, nor can any satisfactory answer to it be expected, before Prákrit philology has advanced considerably beyond the present initiatory state in which we still find it.

We have said that Prákrit philology is still in its infancy. In saying so, we do not mean that the existence of the Prákrit language was not known till a comparatively small number of years ago. As regards Indian Pandits themselves, of course Prákrit has been known to them at all times. But with the exception of the superficial knowledge required for the understanding of the Prákrit portions of the Sanskrit dramas, assisted as it was by Sanskrit translations, in the nature of "cribs," the study of it has been practically in abeyance for a great length of time. The last Prákrit grammarian whose date is certainly known, is the great Jain monk, already mentioned, Hemachandra, who wrote his grammar at the instance of the Chálukya King, Siddha Rája (who reigned in Gujarat, from 1094-1143 A. D.), and whose story is related by Forbes in his *Rás Málá*, (Vol. I., pp. 189-204, 171-175). There is reason to believe that he was not the last Pandit who occupied himself with the study of Prákrit. There are at least two other Prákrit grammars known under the names respectively of Trivikrama and Subha Chandra, which in all probability are of later date than that of Hemachandra. These three grammarians belonged to the Jain community; and seeing that a large number, and among them the oldest of the sacred books of that community, are written in Prákrit, it is only natural that the study of that language should have been kept alive among them for a much longer time than anywhere else in India. No doubt from the nature of the case some traditional knowledge and study of it are still preserved among the Jains. But, putting these people aside, the study of Prákrit has been practically non-existent in India for some centuries. Professor Wilson in his *Theatre of the Hindus*, (vol. I., p. LXV.) mentions a drama Vidagdha Mádhava, "written less than three centuries ago," the greater part of which is composed in "high Prákrit." This is not the only instance of its kind. But even if they were more frequent or of more modern date than they really are, the fact would not alter the case. For the writing of this so-called "high Prákrit" consists merely in turning Sanskrit composition into artificial Prákrit by the mechanical application of phonetic rules,

as laid down in Vararuchi's grammar,—a process which need require no great amount of Prákrit scholarship.

To European philologists the existence of Prákrit was made known, almost, if not quite, as early as that of Sanskrit itself. It was in the year 1789 that Sir William Jones published his translation of the Sakuntalá, "An Indian drama," as the title page says, "translated from the original Sanskrit and Prákrit." That translation "may fairly be considered," as Max Müller says in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, "as the starting point of Sanskrit philology." But, though the author of it called attention to the existence of Prákrit, his work did not become the starting point of Prákrit philology, at least not in the same sense as with regard to Sanskrit. The value of the latter in every point of view, as to language, literature, archæology, philosophy and religion, was very soon recognised. The rapid strides with which Sanskrit philology advanced may be judged from the fact that, within the next fifty years after Sir W. Jones' publication of the Sakuntalá, not less than 603 books had been published in Sanskrit philology, exclusive of all works on Indian antiquities and comparative philology.* Since then that number must have been trebled. Not that Prákrit was left altogether unnoticed; that would have been impossible, considering the intimate connection in which Prákrit stands to Sanskrit, in a not inconsiderable department of its literature, that of the drama. Thus in 1801 Colebrooke published an essay on *the Sanskrit and Prákrit Languages*, and in 1808 another on *Sanskrit and Prákrit Poetry*, where, however, Gaudian would have been a more appropriate term to use than Prákrit; for very little is said about Prákrit proper, but much about the so-called "modern Prákrits." How little real advance Prákrit philology had made at that time, and for many years afterwards, may be seen from the fact that in 1827 a great scholar, like H. H. Wilson, in the introduction to his *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindús*, could still seriously propound the question, whether Prákrit "represents a language that was ever spoken, or is an artificial modification of the Sanskrit language, devised to adapt the latter to peculiar branches of literature." (See page LXV.) And he answers the question, though somewhat hesitatingly, that "the latter seems to be the most likely," namely, that Prákrit is not a real, but a fabricated language. But, as we should expect of a scholar like Wilson, he was not blind to what might

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* See Gildemeister in his *Bibliothecae Sanscritæ Specimen, Bonnae*, 1847, noticed by M. Müller in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 2.

be said on the other side; and at all events, he saw very clearly the great importance of the study of Prákrit, not only in a philological but in a historical point of view; "for," as he rightly says, "the sacred dialects of the Bauddhas and the Jainas are nothing else than Prákrit, and the period and circumstances of its transfer to Ceylon and to Nepaul are connected with the rise and progress of that religion which is professed by the principal nations to the north and east of Hindustan." This fact, which Wilson here himself mentions, that the sacred books of the Buddhists and Jains are written in Páli and Prákrit respectively, might have made, and no doubt did make, him, to some extent, hesitate in his opinion that Prákrit was a mere literary invention. Still this much must be said for Wilson, that with the practical experience of Prákrit, then at the command of European scholars, it was hardly possible to arrive at a different conclusion from that at which he did. That experience was then confined almost exclusively to the specimens of Prákrit met with in the dramatic works of Sanskrit literature. And as to these, Prákrit philologists are now, I believe, unanimously agreed that Prákrit was never really spoken in the form in which it is exhibited in the dramas, with a partial exception, perhaps, as regards the earliest of the dramas (*e.g.*, the *Mrichchhakatiká*). But that is something very different from saying that Prákrit was no spoken language at all. I doubt whether anywhere in the vast Hindí area any one has ever been found speaking the sort of Hindí—the High Hindí—that modern writers delight in. That Hindí is an artificial language in the same sense that the Prákrit of the dramas is an artificial language. Nevertheless everyone knows that Hindí is one of the vernaculars, one of the modern languages, of North India, and many of us are able to speak it. Just as little can it be doubtful that Prákrit was one of the vernaculars of India.

But the mistake of Professor Wilson, and the reason which made him fall into it, are not without significance; for they throw a clear light on the causes which underlay the comparative neglect of Prákrit philology, compared, that is, with the rapid growth of the study of Sanskrit during the same period. The fact is that one was intimately connected with the other. The cause of this connexion was a very accidental one, but not the less of very unfortunate consequences.

At the time when Sanskrit was, so to speak, first discovered, it was natural that those early pioneers of Sanskrit philology who were official administrators first, and philologists afterwards, should have given preference to Sanskrit works which attracted them by their poetical beauty, like the Sakuntalá. Thus it was that the Sanskrit drama first brought Prákrit into notice. And

in proportion as the attention of philologists turned from these lighter departments of Sanskrit literature to the heavier, but far more ancient and more important, portions of Vedic lore, in the same proportion the occasion and the interest for the study of Prákrit decreased, for, with the exception of the drama, Sanskrit literature is almost a blank as regards that language. At the same time hardly any sources for the supply of Prákrit from elsewhere were opened up. The fact, indeed, that there was a not inconsiderable literature in Prákrit was not unknown, even to the earliest pioneer of Prákrit philology. Colebrooke, in his already mentioned essay on Sanskrit and Prákrit poetry, written as early as 1808, speaks of "specimens of Prákrit in the books of the Jains." Not long afterwards it became known that many books of the Jains contained not only specimens of Prákrit, but were wholly written in that language. In his essay on the philosophy of the Hindús, written in 1827, Colebrooke already speaks of the "Prákrit and Páli, the languages of the Jains and Bauddhas" and of the desirability of having a "good collection of original works" in those languages. A passage to the same effect has already been quoted from Wilson's introduction to his Theatre of the Hindús, also of 1827. And the same fact is noticed still more pointedly in his *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, of 1832 (see Essays, vol. I., p. 280). But although the fact of the existence of a considerable Prákrit literature, devoted to the Jain religion, was well known, the knowledge of it was derived from secondary sources; the original Prákrit works themselves were inaccessible to the European scholar, not only in those days, but for many years afterwards. It was not till 1847 that the first Jain work, the important Kalpa Sútra, was published to the world by Dr. J. Stevenson, of Bombay. Yet it was only in an English translation, rendered, indeed, but very imperfectly, from the original Prákrit. The original work itself still remained as inaccessible to the philologist as before; and it was only "the other day" that it was placed in his hands by Professor H. Jacobi of Münster (in 1879).

It was this inaccessibility of Prákrit literature that, about forty years ago, retarded the growth of Prákrit philology. At that time it seemed as if the study of it would gradually become extinct for want of materials to stimulate interest in it. It was under these circumstances that Lassen's great work, the *Institutes of the Prákrit Language*, was published in Bonn in 1837. It gave a new impulse to the study of Prákrit, and from it the real startingpoint of Prákrit philology may be dated. It is a most elaborate work, and, considering the scanty materials at that time available, a work of marvellous comprehensiveness and

accuracy. It first opened the eyes of linguists to the real character and value of Prákrit, both in itself and in its relation to the modern languages of North India. The work is founded on an extensive collation of the Prákrit specimens scattered through a large number of Sanskrit dramas, but more especially on the original works of two Prákrit grammarians, a considerable portion of the text of which is incorporated in it. But Lassen's great work was not the only cause of the revival of Prákrit philology. There happened another event at the same time, which equally contributed to it. That was the memorable decipherment by James Prinsep, of the Prákrit rock and pillar inscriptions of King Asoka, between the years 1832 and 1838, the account of which may be read in the Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of those years. In these Prákrit inscriptions there were made known to the world the first specimens of a language regarding which there could be no doubt that it was once a spoken language, the vernacular of the people to whom those inscribed edicts were addressed. But when this newly found *Prákrit* came to be compared with the Prákrit previously known from the dramas, it was soon discovered that it was of a very different kind. This discovery opened up a new problem to Prákrit philology,—a problem which even yet has not met with a, in every respect, satisfactory solution. It had, however, this advantage that it imparted a new and peculiar interest to the study of Prákrit.

Thus it was that from the achievements of Lassen and Prinsep Prákrit philology took a new start. From that time it never stood still or retrograded; thenceforth there was steady and continuous progress. It is true, for many years yet, the advance was by slow degrees; there was an interval of many years between each step that marked its onward progress; still there *was* a progress onwards; and each step tended to disperse some of the mist still hanging round the great problems, historical and linguistic, of Prákrit philology.

The two grammars, portions of which were published by Lassen, were those of the two Indian grammarians, Vararuchi and Kramadíṣvara. The former grammarian is supposed to have lived just before the commencement of our era, and his grammar is still believed to be the oldest that is known. Lassen procured the text which he published from a manuscript in the East India House Library. His portions of the text of Kramadísvara Lassen published from a manuscript in Paris. The complete text of the latter has never yet been published. The grammar of Vararuchi, however, was published in its entirety by Professor E. B. Cowell, of Cambridge, in 1854. That well-known and excellent edition

marks the next step in the advance of Prákrit philology. For many years it remained the only grammar available to the students of Prákrit, and has rendered them, and is doing so still, the most useful services. But there was known to exist a larger and more important Indian grammar of Prákrit, written by the famous Jain monk, Hemachandra, about the middle of the twelfth century A.D. Manuscripts of it had been seen here and there. As early as 1808 Colebrooke, in his essay on Prákrit Prosody, quotes from it. But for all practical purposes the work was unavailable; and it was not till 1877 that the long wished-for grammar was placed in the hands of Prákrit students, in a complete and very carefully executed edition by Professor R. Pischel of Kiel. Two years later, in 1879, Dr. G. Bühler, of the Bombay Educational Service, published a small Prákrit Vocabulary, called the Paiyalachchhi Námamálá, by Dhanapála. At this very time a newly-discovered grammar by Chanda, older yet than that of Vararuchi, and treating of a kind of Prákrit closely resembling that of Asoka's inscriptions, is in course of publication in the Bibliothica Indica, by the wonted liberality of the Bengal Asiatic Society. A collection of Prákrit roots had already been published by Delius in 1839, as a supplement to Lassen's Institutes; it gave one of the portions of Vararuchi's grammar, which had been omitted in the latter work. Besides these many other, more or less important, independent contributions to the knowledge of Prákrit grammar have been made within the last ten or fifteen years in various Journals and Periodicals, by Professors Weber, Goldschmith, Pischel and others, especially one on the grammar of the Jaina Prákrit, by E. Müller in 1876. It would be beyond the scope of a historical sketch like the present one to enumerate all these slighter contributions. All, however, in their measure, have assisted in the advancement of the knowledge of Prákrit. So much for the grammatical department of Prákrit philology.

It is impossible to fail to notice the great activity that marks the last ten or fifteen years, as compared with that of any previous period. There are two causes to account for this fact. In the first place, a fresh great impulse was given to the study of Prákrit by the rise, within that period, of a new philology, that of the Gaudian, *i.e.*, the modern North-Indian Vernaculars. Not that these vernaculars had never previously any attention given to them. Singly some of them, notably the Hindi, Maráthi, and Sindhi, had met with a considerable degree of attention. But there was yet no Gaudian philology, taking a comprehensive view of them as a whole in its relation to its parts, as well as to the older Indian Vernacular, the Prákrit. The first attempt

in this direction was made as early as 1801 by Colebrooke in his essay on the Sanskrit and Prákrit languages, where, as already noticed, he comprehended, under the term Prákrit, the Gaudians or modern vernaculars, as well as what is usually called Prákrit. Later on a similar attempt, though avoiding the confusion of Colebrooke, was made by Lassen in the introduction to his Prákrit Institutes. But the real starting point of Gaudian philology cannot be placed much further back than 1870. The first volume of Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India* was published in 1872; this will serve as a useful landmark. Gaudian philology, however, is too intimately connected with and dependent on Prákrit philology, to fail to act as a powerful stimulus to the study of the latter. A second great cause of the recent great advance in Prákrit philology is the unexpected success which has attended the exertions of the various Indian Governments in their search after Sanskrit and Prákrit manuscripts in the native libraries scattered over India. More especially it is owing to the successful search conducted by Dr. G. Bühler in Western India, the home of Jainism, by which a large number of Jain Prákrit works have been made accessible to European students. Before that time such works were almost unknown in Europe. Fragments of Jain Prákrit manuscripts existed here and there. One such fragment, belonging to an antiquarian institute in Schwerin, which fortunately fell into the hands of a very competent scholar, Professor A. Weber of Berlin, enabled him to publish a portion of the text of the Bhagavatí, one of the most sacred works of the Jains, in 1867. Since then many Jain manuscripts have been brought to Europe, and in consequence within the last five or six years a great activity has sprung up in the study and publication of the works of that community. One of the most important is the publication, at last in 1879, of the text of the famous sacred book of the Jains, the Kalpa Sútra, by Professor Jacobi of Münster, which was hitherto known only in the translation of Dr. Stevenson, already mentioned. Another of the sacred books of the Jains, the Upánga Nirayávaliyásuttam, has been published in 1879 by Dr. S. Warren of Amsterdam. There have been some other smaller publications, which, however, need not be enumerated here.

The Jain Prákrit, however, is only one, though a very important one, of the various kinds of Prákrit that are known to have once existed in North India. It is that particular Prákrit dialect which was current in Western India, the principal seat of the Jain religion. But, as was well known from the Prákrit grammarians, as well as from indications in the Sanskrit dramas that contained specimens of Prákrit, there must have existed other Prákrit

dialects in various parts of India. Of these only specimens were hitherto known. These, supplied by the dramas, were too scanty and also mostly too highly artificial to be of very great value. It was therefore a great desideratum of Prákrit philologists that entire works written in those dialects might be procured and made public. It was long known that there did exist works of this kind. One such work, called the Saptasataka, or "seven hundred stanzas," of Hála, was already noticed in 1808 by Colebrooke in his Essay on Prákrit Poetry. But till 1870 neither this nor any other similar work had been made accessible to Prákrit students generally. In that year, however, a manuscript containing rather more than half of the text (370 stanzas) fell into the hands of Professor Weber of Berlin, and was published by him. Unfortunately the value of this work, when made public, was found to fall short of the expectations which had been formed of it. The work professes to be a very old one (though its exact date is not known), and the character of the erotic poetry it contains seems to point to a popular origin, but the language in which it is now delivered is in great part highly artificial, and, on the whole, not much different from that known from the dramas. With all the keener expectation Prákrit students looked forward to the appearance of another work of this class, the publication of which had been long promised by Hoefer (in 1846), but which was still unaccountably delayed. This is the famous Setubandha or "Marine Causeway," an excellent edition of which was issued a few months ago by Professor Siegfried Goldschmidt of Strassburg. As it is this edition by which the iuditement of the present sketch of the history of Prákrit philology has been primarily suggested to the writer, he may be excused for entering at some greater length into a review of Professor Goldschmidt's edition. Unfortunately it is necessary to say at once that this work too has greatly disappointed the expectations which had been formed regarding it. Indeed it has done so to a greater degree than the work previously mentioned. The language of it is excessively artificial and labored, abounding in compounds of a frightful length, which remind one of the famous Greek word of seventy-nine syllables, invented by Aristophanes (in his *Ecclesiazusæ*, V. 1169 ff). Imagine, for example, a canto (the seventh) winding up with 11 or 12 verses, each verse consisting of one word of from 21 to 26 syllables! And there are more than one canto that finish up with such an extraordinary effort of literary perversity. The fifth and the thirteenth cantos are two other instances. That the work should have been originally written in this ingeniously perverse manner, which makes it a mental torture to read, and in which no sane person would attempt

to speak either prose or poetry, is more than we can readily believe. The poem is said to be of a very great age, but the manner of its composition, as we have it now, bespeaks the bad taste and pedantry of much later times. There cannot be a doubt that in its present recension the work has not preserved its original form, but that it has been worked over many times, and sanskritised to a deplorable degree. Indications are not uncommon which show that, in the place of real vernacular Prákrit words, others have been substituted by the scholastic recensionists which are not so much Prákrit as Sanskrit turned into Prákrit by the mechanical application of phonetic rules, somewhat in the same manner as that in which what is called "good" Bengalí or Hindí is manufactured in our days. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, however, the Setubandha will have a not inconsiderable value for Prákrit students, on account of the light which, even in its present artificial form, it cannot help throwing on the statements of Prákrit grammarians and on the character of the Prákrit vernacular, much of which no recension could eliminate. Of course these remarks in no way detract from the great value and merit of Professor Goldschmidt's labour involved in editing the poem, such as it is. It may be that manuscripts may yet be discovered which have preserved the text in a more original form ; and quite lately a manuscript of the poem has been found by Dr. Rajendralála Mitra, which is supposed to be upwards of 600 years old. But the hope is hardly likely to be fulfilled to any very appreciable degree. The materials, however, which were at his disposal, the editor has turned to admirable account. The poem is called by various names, the best known of which are the Setubandha or the "Marine Causeway," and Rávanaváha or "The Slaughter of Rávana." The two others are Setusarani and Dasamuhaváha, which are mere synonyms of the first and second names respectively. The last among them is the one that is given to the poem in Professor Goldschmidt's edition, at the end of each canto. In the same place it is distinguished by the appellation *mahákavva* or "great poem,"—a title which in Sanskrit literature is confined to six or seven of the most celebrated poems of Kálidása and other classical poets. This shows the high estimation in which the work was once held in India, though at the present day, owing to the great neglect into which the study of Prákrit has fallen for a long time, it has preserved but little of its ancient reputation. To the writers of the Sanskrit middle ages, however, the poem was well known, and it was always spoken of by them in the highest terms of praise ;* and the high repute which the poem enjoyed in

* Thus by Bána in the seventh century in his *Harsha-charita*, quoted by F. E. Hall in his introduction to the *Vásavadattá*, pp. 13, 14.

those days is also witnessed to by the fact that it has received the honor of no less than four different commentaries, made by Rámadása, Krishna, Kulanátha, and Malla Bhatta* respectively, and of two Sanskrit paraphrases, written by Sivanaráyana Dása and Jagadísa Tarkácharya. The subject of the poem, as the name indicates, is the war of Ráma with Rávana, the ten-headed Rákhasa ruler of Ceylon. In order to enable Ráma to cross over to the island from the continent, a Setu or "causeway," was constructed for him over the intervening channel by his monkey allies, crossing which Ráma conquered and slew Rávana. It is the ancient story which has supplied a theme to so many Indian poets, notably to the author of the famous Sanskrit epic, the Rámáyana. As regards the author of the poem, nothing certain is known. In Professor Goldschmidt's edition he is named as one Pravarasena. At the end of three cantos, however, the name of Kálidása is coupled with the former. The ascription to the famous Kálidása is supported by the great Bard Chanda, who, enumerating the most celebrated poets at the beginning of his Hindí Epic, the Príthiráj Rasau, mentions Kálidása as the author of the Setubandha on the authority apparently of the Bhoja Prabandha (canto I., v. 5). Chand lived in the twelfth century A.D., so that the tradition regarding Kálidása is, at any rate, an old one, whatever may be thought of its authenticity. It would account for the distinguished title of *mahákavva* being given to the poem, and, if true, would place its authorship in the second or third century of our era, when Kálidása is supposed to have lived. The other reputed author, Pravarasena, has been doubtfully identified by F. E. Hall, and after him by Dr. R. Mitra, with a King of Kashmír, the second of that name, who is suppósed to have lived in the fifth century A.D.† Professor Goldschmidt has promised to shortly publish a translation of the poem, together with a detailed introduction, in which from the learning of the editor it may be expected that much light will be thrown on the question of authorship, as well as other interesting matters relating to the poem and its language. For his edition of the text the professor has had the advantage of a goodly number of manuscripts, containing between them three different recensions, appertaining respectively to the north-west, east and south of India. Owing, however, to the unsatisfactory state of the manuscripts containing the eastern and southern recensions, he was obliged to rely in the main on the manuscripts of the north-western recension. Accordingly the printed edition presents the recension current in the

* They bear the names respectively of Rámasetu Pradípa; Setuvivarana or Setuvyákhyána; Rávanabadha tiká and Setuchandriká.

† See Introduction to Hall's Vásavadatta, p. 14; and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, for July.

north-west of India, which was only set aside by the editor in those comparatively few cases, where the grammar or the metre or the rhyme was clearly at fault; in those he has received readings from the other recensions. There can be no question, but that, under the circumstances, this was the only satisfactory course that could have been followed by any editor. The only difference of opinion can be as to the relative number of those exceptional cases where preference should be given to the readings of the other recensions. Great care and circumspection was here required, and it must be said that the presence of these is amply testified to by every page of Professor Goldschmidt's thoughtful and laborious edition. Differences of opinion as to these comparative minutiæ of the edition, nevertheless, there will be; but it would be out of place to discuss them in a general sketch of the history of Prákrit philology like the present. It must be also remembered that differences of this kind have really a much deeper foundation in radical differences of views on more general principles of Prákrit philology. It seems a matter of questionable advantage to criticise points of detail, when the criticism proceeds from general principles which, as yet, are themselves subjects of dispute. Beyond these differences the value of Professor Goldschmidt's work, as an important contribution to the knowledge of the ancient language and literature of India, will be gratefully acknowledged by all who take an interest in Prákrit philology.

The language in which the Setubandha is written as well as the Saptasataka is the so-called Máhárásbtrí Prákrit. The Kalpasútra is written in what its editor, Professor Jacobi, has called the Jaina Máhárásbtrí, which in the main is identical with the ordinary Máhárásbtrí, though there are two very striking differences between them.* Both the Jaina and the ordinary

* These differences are, the preservation of dental *n* and the insertion of an euphonic *y* between hiatus-vowels. I believe the two Prákrits to be essentially the same; their difference only being that the Jaina Máhárásbtrí has preserved more nearly its vernacular character, while the ordinary Máhárásbtrí is an artificial modification of it. In the ordinary Máhárásbtrí, every dental *n* is changed to cerebral *n*. In no modern Indian language is this the case. In the East of India the dental *n* is the rule; in the West it is occasionally changed to cerebral *n*. The latter is precisely what takes place in the Jaina Máhárásbtrí, which is a western form of Prákrit. But the pedants of literature exaggerated this feature of the western Prákrit, and ruled that every dental *n* should be changed to cerebral *n*, thus creating an artificial (the so-called "ordinary") Máhárásbtrí, which is a refinement, and only current in profane literature. If it were not so, we should have the curious fact, that every original dental *n* changed in Máhárásbtrí to cerebral *n*, and afterwards in Gaudian, changed once more back to the dental *n*! The case of the euphonic *y* is similar.

Máháráshtrí are those forms of Prákrit which were current in Western and South-Western India. But of course there also existed other Prákrit dialects spoken in other parts of India. The older Prákrit grammarians mention three other dialects—the Sauraseni, Mágadhí, and Paisáchí. The first of these belongs to Western India, and is older than the Máháráshtrí. The Mágadhí belongs to Eastern India, and is as old as, if not older than, the Sauraseni. The Paisáchí belonged, though not exclusively, to the South, and is, at least, as old as the two others. It would be of the utmost importance for Prákrit philology, if entire works written in any of these three dialects could be obtained and made public. Hitherto, however, no work of this sort has been accessible; indeed, as regards the two first named, the Sauraseni and Mágadhí, no work written in either of them appears to be known to exist. As to the Paisáchí there is one work in that dialect which is known to have once existed. This is the famous story-book, the Vrihat Kathá, which, in the Kathá Sarit Ságara,* is said to have been composed by Gunádhya in South India about the time of Sátaváhana, King of Pratishthána on the Godavari,† about the commencement of our era.‡ The work was twice translated into Sanskrit,—once by Somádeva, whose translation is the Kathá Sarit Ságara, and again by Kshemendra, under the same name of Vrihat Kathá. Both translators appear to have made their respective versions direct from the Paisáchi original, so that the latter must have still been in existence about nine or ten centuries ago.§ If this be so, it is not beyond the bounds of probability that a copy of the original Paisáchí work may yet be recovered.

It remains to briefly pass in review what appear to the writer of the present sketch to be the results regarding some of the

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In modern Gaudian, just as in Jaina Máháráshtrí, a *y* is pronounced (generally, but not universally) between two suitable vowels, simply because it is more natural to pronounce *y* than a hiatus (*iya* is easier than *ia*). Now the hiatus in Prákrit arises from the elision of an original intermediate consonant, according to a well-known Prákrit phonetic rule. In the eyes of the pedants, the insertion of *y* seemed to stultify that rule; hence looking upon its insertion as a vulgarism of the vernacular, they determined to ignore it. The universal absence of that *y* in the so-called ordinary Máháráshtrí, therefore, is an artificial refinement. In short, the Vernacular Máháráshtrí is preserved comparatively pure in the Jaina religious works, while it is made highly artificial in the works of profane poetry.

* See Mr. Tawney's translation pp. 1, 2, 31, 32, 42, 47, 48.

† See General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 553.

‡ Sátaváhana is a family name; and it is more probable that the King was not the famous Sátaváhana, but a predecessor.

§ See G. Bühler, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I., p. 302—309.

more important and general questions in Prákrit philology, so far as they have been hitherto obtained by the combined research of the labourers in that field of Oriental linguistic science. They may be noticed under the following three heads: the relative age of the various Prákrit dialects, their mutual affinities, and their local distribution. These three questions are very closely connected one with the other, and the statements concerning them cannot be altogether kept separate. The several results, too, are of various degrees of certainty; but they, at all events, show the directions in which the different lines of Prákrit research are tending.

As to the relative age of the various Prákrit vernaculars of India, four more or less well-defined stages may be distinguished. The first stage of which there is actual literary evidence existing is the so-called Páli,* *i.e.*, that Prákrit vernacular which is preserved in the sacred books of the Ceylonese Buddhists. It may be referred to the fourth and fifth centuries before Christ. Such chronological statements of course must be understood as mere approximations. But the date thus assigned to Páli can be supported by both historic and linguistic considerations. Buddhism began to be introduced into Ceylon from the time of Asoka, in the third century B.C. The original practice of those who propagated it was to introduce it into each country in its own vernacular. In Ceylon, however, it was not introduced in its own vernacular, but in that of one of the southern, or south-western, provinces of Asoka's vast empire.† This shows that in the third century B.C. the "tradition of the holy texts had lost the character of elasticity, which allowed everyone to take Buddha's words, and to adapt them to his own language."‡ At that time Páli, in which dialect the Buddhist scriptures were brought into Ceylon, was already an old sacred dialect, which might not be departed from. Hence the period when it was a living vernacular, with no claims to exclusive preference, must be placed considerably earlier, that is, in the fifth, or, at the latest, fourth century B.C. This conclusion is confirmed by linguistic considerations. Páli contains older forms than the Prákrit vernacular current in the time of Asoka. For example, in it the instrumental and ablative plural may end in *bhi* or *hi*, while Asoka's Prákrit knows only the termination *hi*; in the latter Prákrit sometimes medial single sonant consonants

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* Also the so-called Gáthá dialect; but too little of certainty is known about it. It is of about the same age as Páli.

† These geographical terms are to be understood here as well as throughout this sketch, in a relative sense, as referring only to that Indian area in which the Prákrit prevailed as a vernacular.

‡ See H. Oldenberg, *Introduction to the Vinayapitakam*, p. XLIX.

are elided (*iyam* for *idam*) and surds softened (as *hida* for *hita*), but not so in Páli. The second stage is represented by the Prákrit preserved in the inscriptions of Asoka. This stage may be taken to have endured through the three last centuries before our era. Of course the language was not absolutely uniform during this period, but was undergoing a gradual change. Thus the phase of Prákrit, which is presented by the grammar of Chanda, to which already reference has been made as being in course of publication by the Bengal Asiatic Society, though in the main it belongs to this period, is somewhat later than the Prákrit which was actually contemporary with Asoka. The third stage is that to the existence of which Vararuchi's grammar may be said to bear evidence. Perhaps the three first centuries of our era may be assigned to it. It is that period which witnessed the disintegration of the great western Prákrit vernacular, the result of which was the evolution of the younger so-called Máháráshtrí Prákrit by the side of an older surviving Saurasení. The co-ordinates of this older western Saurasení are the eastern Mágadhí, and (not particularly noticed by Vararuchi) the intermediate Arddhamágadhí. These three last mentioned forms of Prákrit mark off the third period to which they belong from that which preceded it by some very striking phonetic peculiarities. Thus single medial surd unaspirate consonants are softened, if not altogether elided, and the corresponding aspirates are softened or changed to *h;* while in the Prákrit of Chanda they are commonly retained, and only exceptionally softened.

Lastly, there is the fourth stage which may be said to extend from the third century A.D. to about the seventh or eighth century. To this period Hemachandra and the other late Prákrit grammarians bear evidence, as well as the great mass of the profane and sacred Prákrit literature. During it the disintegration of the great Prákrit vernaculars of the west and east gradually progressed, till, about the seventh or eighth century, it finally resulted in the establishment of the four great Gaudian languages of the west, east, north and south, with their many subdivisional dialects, which are the early beginnings of the eight Gaudian languages of the present day. Thus the Western Prákrit developed into the Western Gaudian with its subdivisions of Gujarátí, Western Hindí, Panjábí, and Sindhí; and the Eastern Prákrit gave rise to the Eastern Gaudian, including Bangalí, Eastern Hindí, and Oríya, and the Southern Gaudian or Maráthí. The great Western Prákrit vernacular, however, had its subdivisions already during the fourth period of Prákrit development, which, in fact, were nothing else than the future Western Gaudian languages in an embryonic state.

One of the Western Prákrit subdivisions is the so-called Máhá-ráshtrí. Owing to various more or less fortuitous circumstances, this dialect came to occupy a very peculiar and prominent position during the last stage of the Prákrit language. It became the High Prákrit, the Prákrit of literature, THE Prákrit *par excellence* of the grammarians. One of the main causes of this prominent position of the Máháráshtrí dialect, no doubt, was that it happened to be the vernacular of that part of western India which had become the principal home of the adherents of the Jain religion. These people naturally employed the vernacular of their own country in the composition of the sacred books of their religion. In this process it was undoubtedly refined and cultivated to some degree; still in all essential points it must have been the vernacular of the country, otherwise its employment would have defeated its own purpose, of conveying religious instruction to the community. This must have been the first step in its advancement. The next was to extend its employment to other kinds of literature. For this purpose it was probably used principally by the Brahmanical opponents of Jainism. These had their own sacred Sanskrit language, which they employed for their religious, and, in short, for all literature of a higher class. The Prákrit vernacular accordingly was limited to literature of a lighter and popular kind; and in the dramas its use was even further confined to people in a dependent or serving position (such as women, servants, etc.). A natural concomitant of this extended employment of the Máháráshtrí was that it came under the notice and manipulation of grammarians and pedants, who refined the dialect, and, to use a German expression, "verkünstelt" it to such a degree as to make it materially different from its vernacular original. It now became a high literary Prákrit, which was no more indigenous anywhere, but might be used everywhere in India where Prákrit literature was cherished, and might be even mechanically reproduced long after its vernacular original had become defunct.*

The Máháráshtrí was only one of the subdivisions or dialects of Prákrit during its fourth stage. There were, of course, many others. There was, firstly, the other subdivision of the great Western Prákrit, the Saurasení; next there were the various subdivisions or dialects into which the Eastern Prákrit gradually disintegrated. None of these subdivisional vernaculars, however, received any literary culture, like that of the Máháráshtrí vernacular. While the latter rose to be a High Prákrit, the others remained pure and simple vernaculars. In close connexion with

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* *Vide* foot-note marked * pp. 322-323.

this fact, a new term comes clearly out into view in the writings of the Prákrit grammarians who treat of this period. This is the term Apabhramsa or "corrupt speech." The term is not an altogether new one; it only receives now a new application. It first occurs in Chanda's Grammar during the second Prákrit period. There it is used as the name for a third great Prákrit vernacular, by the side of the Western (The Prákrit) and the Eastern (Mágadhí). As will be shown presently, this third great vernacular may be called the Northern; it was current in the north of India, including the countries to the west and the east of the Indus. The Prákrit of those parts, being immediately in contact with and under the influence of the neighbouring non-Prákrit languages, appeared necessarily impure and corrupt to the dwellers of India proper, in comparison with the pure Prákrit of their own parts. During the third period this Northern Prákrit, together with its name Apabhramsa, became more and more ignored. In the fourth period the term Apabhramsa again came into use; but, its original application being perhaps forgotten, it came now to be applied to all those vernaculars of India proper which had not been literarily cultivated and refined like the Máháráshtrí, and which, therefore, were looked upon as impure and corrupt dialects. This explains the reason why Prákrit grammarians never speak of a Máháráshtrí Apabhramsa, though they mention a Saurasení Apabhramsa and a Mágadhí Apabhramsa, and a number of others, which are subdivisions of the two last mentioned.

We now turn to the question of the local distribution of the Prákrit vernaculars. To a great extent the answer has already been anticipated in what has been said regarding their relative age. In the Prákrit vernaculars, delivered to us by the inscriptions of Asoka, we have a firm starting point. These inscriptions are scattered over the whole face of Prákrit-speaking India, from the east coast, near Puri and Ganjam with its Dhauli and Jaugada inscriptions, to the west coast of Gujarat, with the inscriptions of Girnar, and to the northern frontiers on the further side of the Indus, where the inscription of Shahbaz (or Kapurdigiri) bears witness to the wide extent of the Prákrit.* On comparing this mass of inscriptions, it is found that they may be divided into three distinct classes, being written in three different Prákrit dialects. The differences are not many, but they are striking; and following their indications, it is found that these three Prákrits may be roughly assigned to the North, West, and East respectively. The Northern dialect was the vernacular of the countries

* See the map in General Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I.; a work of very great value to all Prákrit students.

lying immediately to the East and West of the Indus. It was distinguished from the others by the retention of the subjoined *r* (*e.g.*, *putra* "son," for *puta*, as in the others). The Western dialect was the current vernacular of all countries from the West and South-West of India up to some undefined limit in the centre. The Eastern dialect, similarly, was the vernacular of all countries from the East and South-East of India to some undefined limit in the centre. These two undefined limits, however, did not coincide; on the contrary the two areas of the Western and Eastern vernaculars largely overlapped each other; but the extent of this overlapping area, which was, therefore, common to both vernaculars, is not exactly known. So much, however, is certain that it was a zone of considerable breadth running in a generally Southerly direction, from the Himalaya to beyond the Vindhya range of mountains, the modern Allahabad being about in its centre. This zone separated the exclusively Western from the exclusively Eastern Prákrit areas. The most conspicuous differences between the Western and Eastern Prákrit vernaculars were two. The first is the entire absence of the semi-vowel *r* in the Eastern dialect, *l* being substituted for it in every case; while the Western dialect carefully distinguishes between these two semi-vowels (*e.g.*, Eastern *lájá* "*king*," Western *rájá*). The second is the termination *e* of the nominative singular of certain nouns, where the Western has the termination *o* (*e.g.*, Eastern *piye* "beloved," Western *piyo*). In the overlapping area, of course the characteristics of both neighbouring vernaculars are found, and hence one means of determining its extent is to observe how far to the East and West both characteristics are met with side by side. The records, however, are as yet too insufficient to allow of more than an approximate determination. But it appears, from the Delhi and Khalsi inscriptions, that to the North of the Ganges the Eastern Prákrit want of *r* extended as far as Delhi to the West; but to the South of the Ganges, only as far as Revá; for at Rúpanáth and Bharhut the use of *r* already appears. On the other hand, the Eastern Prákrit termination *e* extended uniformly, on both sides of the Ganges, as far as the Western boundary of Eastern Rajputana, as shown by the inscriptions at Delhi, Bairát, and Rúpanáth. On the other hand the Eastward extension of the Western Prákrit semi-vowel *r* and termination *o* is shown by the inscriptions of Khandagiri in the South-East; and the same fact is further proved by the circumstance that both occur in Páli, which, as has been already mentioned, is a Prákrit dialect of Southern or South-Western India. It is the Prákrit of this overlapping or intermediate zone which has been very appropriately

called by some grammarians the Arddha Mágádhí, that is, the semi-Mágadhí. It may be easily imagined that the practice of native grammarians regarding the exclusion or inclusion of this intermediate Prákrit vernacular might considerably differ. Some, taking a Western standpoint, would include it in the Western Prákrit; others looking at it from an Eastern point of view would subsume it in the Eastern Prákrit. The latter was done by the Páli grammarians of Ceylon, who include their Páli-Prákrit, which originally came from the intermediate zone, in the Eastern or, as they called it, the Mágadhí Prákrit. The former course was followed by Chanda in his grammar. That grammar very strikingly confirms the witness of the inscriptions. He knows of the existence of but three kinds of Prákrit,* which he respectively calls THE Prákrit, the Mágadhí, and the Apabhramsa. He also points out the principal characteristics between them, from which, as they are identical with those given above, it appears that what he calls Apabhramsa is the same as the Northern Prákrit, and that his Mágadhí is identical with the Eastern Prákrit. His third dialect he simply calls THE Prákrit, which shows that in his eyes it was the most important of the three, in fact the standard Prákrit, which again renders it very probable that it was his own native vernacular. To this dialect he ascribes not only the characteristics of the Western Prákrit (*e.g.*, the use of *r*), but also those of the intermediate (*viz.*, the alternative termination *o* or *e*). So that he, being a native of the West or Western Centre, extends the area of the Western Prákrit so far as to include the intermediate zone.

Having thus established the local distribution of the Prákrit vernaculars during the second stage of their development, as previously defined, it becomes a comparatively easy task to determine their local distribution during the preceding and succeeding stages. The only Prákrit known to us of the preceding or first stage is Páli, as preserved in Ceylon. Regarding this vernacular it has been already stated that it must have come from somewhere in the South or South-West of India. In the third stage the Western and Eastern Prákrits had become sufficiently distinct from that of the intermediate zone, to be kept entirely separate. In Vararuchi's Grammar the Sauraseni and Máhárásltrí are the two subdivisions of the Western Prákrit proper, and his Mágadhí is the Eastern Prákrit. The intermediate Prákrit, as well as the Northern, are, in this grammar, altogether ignored. In the fourth stage, not only all four kinds of

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* I set aside the so-called Paisáchi, which will be explained afterwards.

Prákrit (the Northern, Western, intermediate, and Eastern) are noticed, but also their subdivisions, which gradually came, as it were, to the surface. Thus the Prákrit of the intermediate zone becomes subdivided into three dialects, a Southern or Dákshinátya (also called Vaidarbhí), a Western middle or Avantí, an Eastern middle or Ardhamágádhí proper, and a Northern or Práchya,* roughly corresponding to the modern Márathí, Eastern Rájpútání, Eastern Hindí and Baiswárí respectively. The Eastern Prákrit is subdivided into Mágadhí proper or Gaudí (Bangálí) and Utkalí (Oriyá); similarly the Western Prákrit into Máhárástrí proper (Western Hindí), Sauraseni proper (Marwárí, or Western Rájpútání), Gurjarí (Gujarátí), and Sakhí (Sindhí). To the Northern belongs the Bahlikí (Western Panjabí, Pashtu). There is, however, still considerable uncertainty as to the exact number and identity of these subdivisions, as well as to their identification with the Gaudians, owing to the great variety and indefiniteness of the statements of the Prákrit grammarians on the subject.

The last question is that of the mutual affinity of the Prákrit vernaculars. On this head little remains to be said, the main points having been already set out in the remarks on the two preceding questions. The Páli is most probably the Prákrit of the southern portion of the intermediate zone, having, however, its main affinity with the Western Prákrit rather than with the Eastern, for it possesses the Western peculiarities, the semi-vowel *r* and the termination *o;* though the Eastern termination *e* also occurs in exceptional instances.† The Prákrits themselves are, in the main and on the whole, one and the same language. Their points of divergence are very few, as compared with their points of agreement; and again among the points of divergence, the number is small of those which are sufficiently common and striking to be generally noticed.‡ The Prákrits of the intermediate zone possess the peculiarities of both the Eastern and Western vernaculars, by which these latter Prákrits are differentiated one from the other. In course of time, however, as the subdivisions of the intermediate zone become more prominent and important, and the Prákrit period approaches the Gaudian, they gravitate, one (the Arddhamágadhí or Eastern Hindí) more to the Eastern Prákrit, two others (the Avantí or Eastern Rájpútání and perhaps

* On this term as well as Arddha-Mágadhí, and on their identification with their modern Gaudian representatives, see the introduction to my *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages.*

† See W. A. Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Páli Grammatik*, p. 9.

‡ By Chand, Vararuchi, Hemachandra, the older the grammarian, the fewer divergences are noticed.

Práchya or Baiswárí) more to the Western, while the fourth (Dákshinátya or Maráthí) preserves its intermediate character. The Northern Prákrit, under the influence of neighbouring languages of altogether different affinities, gradually diverges so far from the other purely Indian Prákrits, as to cease, in the Gaudian period, to be counted at all among the number of Prákrits properly so called.

In conclusion one word must be said regarding a peculiar kind of Prákrit, which plays a not inconsiderable rôle in Prákrit grammarians. That is the Paisáchí, lit. the vernacular of the goblins, by which name the Aryan Indians in poetical pleasantry were pleased to call their aboriginal, uncultured fellow-dwellers of India. The only work which is certainly known to have been composed in this Vernacular, the *Vrihat Kathá*, was written in the wilds of the vast Vindhya forests, about three centuries before our era.* In those days the advancing Aryan immigration can have formed but a comparatively small fraction in the mass of the unabsorbed aboriginal, or Dravidian, population. The Aryan immigrants imposed their own vernacular on those whom they found in possession; that is, the latter, in all their intercourse with the former, were obliged to use the Aryan Vernacular, which in their unpractised mouth could not help becoming more or less distorted. It is this distorted Aryan vernacular which is meant by the term Paisáchí, more particularly it was the Prákrit of the Southern and middle portion of the intermediate zone, which, in its distorted form, received that name of contempt. That it belonged especially to the intermediate zone is shone by the fact that it may discard the use of *r*, which is the characteristic of the Eastern Prákrit,† and that it uses the termination *o*, which is peculiar to the Western. The distorting influence of the extra-Aryan, or Dravidian, element in Paisáchí is shown by the change of the sonant consonants into surd ones. The Dravidian languages as Dr. Caldwell says,‡ have a peculiar law of "convertibility of surds and sonants," according to which sonant consonants, in certain positions, are pronounced as surds (*e.g.*, Tamil *tantam* for Sanskrit *danta*, Tamil *pakkiyam* for Sansk. *bhágyam*). Accordingly people used to Dravidian sounds, in attempting to speak the Aryan Prákrit, would naturally mispronounce as surds the Prákrit sonants (*e.g.*,

* See Kathá Sarit Sagara (Tawney's Translation), pages 47, 48.

† Chanda's Grammar states this to be a general rule; in the later grammar of Vararuchi and Hemachandra *r* is optionally allowed, which would seem to point to a gradual approximation of the parer Western Prakrit.

‡ See his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, pp. 12, 21, 23.

Paisáchi *kili* "mountain" for Western Prákrit *giri*, or Eastern *gili*). Paisáchí has a certain connection with Páli, in so far as both originated in much the same part of India ; but while Páli is a pure Prákit, Paisáchí is the distorted representation of it, or of a very nearly allied form of Prákrit.

Herewith our task is finished. We have followed Prákrit philology step by step through its comparatively short space of existence, and have passed in review the results obtained by it. These results may be as yet few and affected by much that is still uncertain. Yet we venture to hope that we have succeeded in showing that the study of Prákrit is as well worthy of the attention of scholars as that of her sister-languages of old India, the Sanskrit and the Páli. For it contains the promise of a future of no less fruitful results in regard to our knowledge of the history and religions, as well as the languages, of India during at least a millennium of its existence.

A. F. RUDOLF HŒRNLE.

ART. VIII.—SOME FEATURES OF OLD NORSE LITERATURE.

The Englishman and the Scandinavian, or a Comparison of Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse Literature. By Frederick Metcalfe, M.A. (Trübner & Co.)

THIS book should have been called "Curiosities of Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic Literature." A collection of essays on miscellaneous subjects demands but little methodical arrangement. A critical comparison is rendered almost nugatory by any defect in arrangement. The unity of two subjects cannot be demonstrated by disconnected sketches of the various members; and we think Mr. Metcalfe has not succeeded in giving a connected and clear account of what he undertook to compare. His object, a very principal one at any rate, is to induce John Bull to read this book through, and be disenchanted of the chauvinistic illusion that he is Anglo-Saxon, pure and simple, and nothing if not that. It is difficult to conceive the extent of ignorance that any such illusion would imply. If, however, the average English reader is of the mental calibre of Squire Western of the Eighteenth century, let him take a friendly warning and study the subject first by the help of historical text-books. Afterwards he can take up Mr. Metcalfe's production.

Professor Stephens of Copenhagen, after a careful study of the Runes found in England and Scandinavia, thinks that the further we go up the stream of time the more do the languages of the two countries resemble each other. He does not attribute the Danish element in England so much to the later inroads of the Vikings as to the original identity between the Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse tongues. Even in the earliest period, he says, there was a sort of Scando-Gothic spoken in England. Mr. Metcalfe seems to favour this view. It is easy to find proofs of the theory on account of linguistic affinities. Both Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse are Teutonic languages. The geographical position of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors before they left their ancient seats admits the supposition that their *Platt-Deutsch* had many points of contact with the tongue of their northern neighbours. Their social usages, and certainly their mythological beliefs, were not utterly dissimilar. But scattered points of similarity cannot prove a general likeness or identity of language, traditions, and customs. The Scandinavian languages, of which Icelandic is the oldest and most interesting, have remarkably strong peculiarities special to themselves. Their

kinship to English renders the discovery of pure Scandinavian words in the latter a difficult matter. The crucial fact is that after an examination of the literature produced in England during the ninth and tenth centuries, when Danish influences were paramount, the scanty Northern English is seen to be strongly impregnated with Danish peculiarities while the literary and dominant southern English is almost entirely destitute of such.*

Numerous colonies of the Norsemen settled in the extreme north of Scotland and those portions of the coast that were accessible and therefore particularly liable to their ravages. That the northern islands were almost entirely peopled by the descendants of the old Sea-kings up to a recent date can be abundantly proved. Scott noticed the ethnological variation, and left his impressions on record in the *Pirate*. Many fragments of Old Norse lore were orally preserved by the rough fishers of those northern seas long after the Norse language had ceased to be spoken among them. The Norse original of Gray's *Fatal Sisters* remained treasured up in the memory of old persons in North Ronaldshaw even in the eighteenth century; and words and phrases, now crystallized in the spoken dialect, are indicative of the language and traditions whence they were derived. Curiously enough, the old northern belief in the sea serpent has extended to more southern latitudes in modern days. The majority of the old legends were connected with the sea—not the peaceful lotus-covered Water of the Hindus,—but the angry element that must be propitiated by every possible means. Scott relates that, in 1814, an old woman, named Bessie Millie, eked out her subsistence on the Orkney main island by selling favourable winds to superstitious mariners. And fortune-telling women were survivals of a very early state of society. Lovers, when making a binding promise would invoke *Odin* at the stones of Stennis. This Orcadian Stonehenge seems to indicate a superstition common to Norse and Druidical rites. To take one more instance:—Norna of the Fitful Head is a veritable personification of the Northern *Wise-Woman*.

On the two subjects we have just discussed, language and the colonisation of littoral tracts by the Norsemen, there is not much difference of opinion. The perusal of Mr. Metcalfe's book carries us into other debateable lands. His subject would naturally com-

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* The opinion of the best philologers seems to be that the original Saxon spoken by the early invaders of Britain (symbolized under such names as Hengist, Horsa, and the like) was more closely allied to Old Frisian than any other low German dialect; and the names *Saxons* and *Frisians* appear to have been interchangeable (Trans. of the Phil. Soc. for 1855, p. 248.)

mence with a consideration of the Runes, of all things the most venerable and reaching far back into Time Past. The persevering reader will, however, find the chapter on these puzzling hieroglyphics at the end of the volume, where it is very correctly stated that the antiquity and origin of Runes is still a much vexed question. Traces of them are to be found wherever the Norsemen went on their marauding expeditions. It is reasonable to suppose that the older Runic letters were more complex and numerous than their later developments. The tendency would be in the direction of simplicity. All alphabets have been evolved out of an original pictorial method of writing; and we believe the oldest form of Runes would be met with most frequently in countries whence their use subsequently spread to other parts of Europe, though the absence of *dates* in the inscription themselves renders it almost impossible to speak with certainty, because the earliest dated stone is as late as the fourteenth century. Younger Runes, if we may use the term, are found in thousands of inscriptions; old Runes in one hundred and eighty only—thirty-six of the latter belonging to England. That Roman culture, and Christianity stunted the growth of Runic writing in England is certain; and the original alphabet being corrupted, and superseded, it became easy to discover resemblances between it and the dominant Roman letters. The oldest English alphabet consisted of twenty-two letters together with the Runic *Thorn* and *Wên*. The true derivation of the word Rune (mystery) was first given by Sir Henry Spelman in 1630. Chaucer and Spenser use it as a verb (= to whisper &c.); and the use of Runes continued up to the sixteenth century in out-of-the-way places.

Mr. Metcalfe's remarks on philology and etymology, contained in three chapters, entitled "*Medley*," are interesting, but discursive. Anent the word *island* he writes at page 208:—"We see that our word is a hybrid, manufactured irregularly out of a French and Saxon one." The sibilant undoubtedly crept in through false analogy with *isle*; but the two components of the word *island* are surely ea + land = water + land; that is, Saxon + Keltic, or Old High German. At page 210 are some rather strong remarks: "Alliteration in England is well nigh forgotten, or has become dwarfed into mere orthoepic tests for the young, *e.g.*, 'Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled pepper,' or 'Round the rugged rock the ragged rascals ran.'" This is meant to be humorous, but is not quite correct. Alliteration can no longer rank as an integral element in English prosody; and it was rarely resorted to by the classical schools of Dryden and Pope; but, as a subtle artifice employed to heighten effect and assist *onomatopœia*, it has been employed by many poets of the present century,

particularly Byron and Swinburne. Any one who reads "Locksley Hall" will see that alliteration is not disdained by Tennyson, and we subjoin a few passages from other poets to prove their use of it.

> "*W*hite *w*ith the *w*hiteness of *w*hat is dead"
> "The gusty *w*inds *w*aked the *w*inged steeds"
> "*P*rickly and *p*ulpous, and *bl*istering and *bl*ue."
>
> *Shelley.*

> "Who hath not proved how *f*eebly words essay
> To *f*ix one spark of Beauty's heavenly ray ?
> Who doth not *f*eel, until his *f*ailing sight
> *F*aints into *d*imness with its own *d*elight,
> His *ch*anging *ch*eek, his sinking heart confess
> The *m*ight the *m*ajesty of loveliness."
>
> *Byron.*

And of Rienzi he says:—

> "Then *t*urn we *t*o her latest *T*ribune's name
> From her *t*en *th*ousand *t*yrants *t*urn *t*o *th*ee."

The Roman Forum is

> "The *f*ield of *f*reedom, *f*action, *f*ame, and blood ;
> Here a *p*roud *p*eople's *p*assions were exhaled."

There is no need to multiply instances.

Mr. Metcalfe makes the—"dy" in *la-dy* come from the Icelandic *deigja.* The derivation seems to us far-fetched. A comparison of the old forms *hlafweard (m.)* and *hlafweardige (f.)* with the Icelandic *lafavadr* (= lord) is instructive. We select one more passage from another part of the book, (p. 417). In reading it we were reminded of Hector MacIntyre's flowing version of his regimental piper's Ossianic utterances!

> "You don't seem to me
> To be any great shakes;
> Bare foot you go, and are clad like a tramp
> You've not even got your breeches."

It is too much to expect philology to be treated of adequately in three chapters; and if not discussed exhaustively, it seems better to leave it alone altogether. To discuss philology superficially has been a common practice since the days of Horne Tooke's memorable derivation of *wench* from *winckan* to wink.

The materials composing Old English and Old Norse Literature are as diverse as the spirit animating either. The religion of a people is an important factor in determining the nature of its literary productions. Iceland was not converted to Christianity till about 1000 A.D., that is, more than four centuries after Augustin's mission; and old Norse literature is pervaded by the spirit of mythological allegorising which characterises polytheistic societies; while Anglo-Saxon is remarkably deficient in it. When a plurality of gods is succeeded, in the course of "Concen-

tration of Function," by a Divine Unity, the old cultus falls into open discredit, and can no longer, in any overt way, supply materials for poetic imagination. The allegory, says Carlyle, is the product of certain belief, however erroneous it may be. Indeed it cannot produce any system of worship. Take away the belief, and you must necessarily impair the efficacy and grand sincerity of its allegory. Supplant the belief by an antagonistic creed, and you place the old mythology under a positive ban. This is what happened in Anglo-Saxon England. The introduction of Christianity laid the axe to the root of the tree of Paganism, with all its wealth of legend and word-hoard, worthy to be moulded into songs which the world would not willingly let die. A sickly plant of priestly superstitions, conveyed through the medium of an alien tongue, grew up in its stead. The Sword was exchanged for the Crucifix; and national spontaneity of song almost ceased. Learned ecclesiastics make poor jokes in Latin, compose Letters and Saints' Lives in the same language; or, as in Cædmon's case, take Holy Writ to suggest a subject. The sturdy Anglo-Saxon churl, religious, deeply earnest, and peace-loving is philanthropically very pleasant to contemplate; but he excites very little poetic thought. A rugged Bersaker with Faith in Woden and Thor, Valkyrs and Jotüns, is a Homeric figure. A remote county town with gasless streets typifies the former; the latter guides us into Gotterdämmerung, the "Twilight of the Gods." The Saxon looked forward to the end of the world like a good Christian; Norsemen thought of the time when "substantial night" would "re-assume her ancient right," like the Hindu who, living in this Kali Yuga, thinks the end of the Kalpa and Vishnu's tenth Avatar not for off. It is noticeable, however, that Icelandic poets and their Sagas always found a welcome at Anglo-Saxon courts much in the same way as French literature and Roman Catholics were patronized by the Stuart Kings.

Besides the genuine Norse literature of indigenous growth, there is a fairly copious prose literature of foreign extraction due to a great extent to the foreign tastes of King Hacon Haconson (p. 370); such are the sagas drawing their subjects from historical facts of the early middle ages the saga of Charlemagne, &c. There are sagas on sacred subjects—such as the Virgin and Apostles; and *Balaam and Josaphat*, founded on a Greek legend, representing the triumph of Christianity over Paganism. There are also Lives of Saints and Homilies, all reminding us of Anglo-Saxon literature; as also Laws and Charters. All this foreignized literature is not the genuine stream that has rendered Northern studies so interesting.

Icelandic literature proper comprises the Eddas and Sagas.

I would compare the *Eddas* with the *Vedas*, and the *Sagas* with the *Itihasas* of Sanskrit literature. The Sagas have undoubtedly a substratum of historical truth ; for even when the actual facts cannot be relied on, local colouring and descriptions of social life are unconsciously given in all their naked simplicity. Hearers of these old tales would expect events and scenes to be cast in an heroic mould ; but artificiality in the expression of ideas and opinions would certainly have been distasteful. In those early days men did not try to conceal their real opinions and ideas. How frankly Alfred confesses the manifold shortcomings in his literary work ! But, setting aside the Sagas, we are better informed of Scandinavia than Anglo-Saxon England in point of history. Snorri Sturleson's *Heimskringla* or History of the Kings of Norway is superior in design and execution to the lifeless and meagre Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Snorri may be inaccurate, but he possesses a philosophic breadth of mind which led him to collect materials with care, and make the best use of them.

The Eddas, which answer to the Sanskrit Vedas, were not given to the world till the seventeenth century. The Elder, that is the Poetic Edda, was published in 1643, several years after Arngrim Jonas, parson of Melstad in North-Western Iceland, had disinterred the younger, or prose, Edda, of Snorri Sturleson, the author of the *Heimskringla*. "Snorri (died 1241) seeing the utility of the Old Edda (in a poetic and linguistic sense), sought to preserve these props of poetic art from destruction. His own sagacity showed him that the few remaining mythic verses would either be lost, or, from their archaisms, become difficult and obscure. He therefore arranged the materials into fables written in an easy and popular style, and left it to posterity. To these he added a cornucopia, or treasury of poetic phraseology (Eddu-Kenningar), and rules of prosody, *i.e.*, himself and others after him." Snorri and the other writers of the Prose Edda did the same work for the elder Edda as the Sanskrit commentators for their old writings ; but the former laboured as Antiquaries, the latter as Theologians.

The first part of Snorri's Edda, the *Gyifaginning* is only an introduction to the Scandinavian Heaven and its gods. The second part *Skaldskaparmal* is taken up with the art of poetry ; while a third section, the *Hattatal*, relates to metres, and includes examples of the various kinds of versification. There are certain modern interpolations which are readily distinguishable by the subject-matter. We must remember that the younger Edda was *written* in Christian times. The elder Edda is said, rather hyperbolically, to have been *compiled* by one Sæmund (died 1133), a century before Snorri's labours. The old songs forming the

basis of the compilation had been orally preserved from very remote times. Their authors were Pagan scalds; and Christian poems can be immediately detected by religious colouring and dialectic peculiarities, in the same way that the latter hymns of the Rig-Veda are separated from those more ancient.

The purely *mythical* portions of the elder Edda speak of the Kosmos. The *heroic* parts have more of the human element. For instance, in the mythic *Grimnismal* is described how the earth was shapen from the flesh of the giant Ymir, from his blood the sea,

> "Rocks of his bones,
> Trees from his hair,
> But of his skull heaven—
> And of his brows
> The blithe Powers made
> Midgard for the sons of men:
> But of his brain
> Were, hard of mood,
> The clouds, all shapen.

On the other hand, *Volundr*, the Norse Hephaistos, hamstrung by King Nidud, taking a terrible revenge on the king's sons, and ultimately escaping after the manner of Daidalos, is far more *real* than the ἀμφιγύηεις Ἥφαιστος, who was flung out of Heaven by Zeus,

> "And with the setting sun
> Dropt from the zenith like a falling star,
> On Lemnos the Ægean isle."*

In Wayland Smith we see Volundr still more humanised. A real personage, perhaps the Norse leader of similar name who fell at Ashdown in 871, was the cause of the introduction of the legend attaching to his unreal homonym. Historical facts have a tendency to become blended with mythical conceptions; as the purely mythic Sigfried is distinct from the semi-historic Attila and Dietrich of the Niebelungenlied. We cannot bring ourselves to believe, with Mr. Metcalfe, that Sir W. Scott showed uncommon genius in seizing on the mythus of Wayland Smith and adapting it to his own purposes. When the veil of Romance is once withdrawn from an old myth the figure discovered appears dull and corporeal. It is humiliating to think that Tressilian lowered the pride, and fathomed the mystery, of the wonderful *faber ferrarius.*

Before leaving the subject of Wayland Smith, we would notice another explanation of his real character. The coincidences

* The story of Hephaistos falling out of heaven is curiously like that related in the Rámáyana, of King Trisanker who was cast down by Indra, but kept from reaching the earth by the power of Viswámitra. The king became a constellation. The Greek deity, having no friendly Viswámitra, suffered the consequences of his descent through space:—

"ὀλίγος δ᾽ ἔτι θυμὸς ἐνῆεν"

between Volundr, Hephaistos and Lucifer,—who were flung out of heaven by the supernal Powers, and were connected more or less with fire, the first two as smiths, the last in a way familiar to Christians,—induce a belief that Volundr was really the German and Scandinavian Devil. There is something comical about his functions. Dr. Dasent shows that the Christian διάβολος took very small hold of the Norse mind, because he constantly appears under a heathen aspect, and is outwitted with the greatest ease. If we believe Grimm, there seems to be some connection between Wayland (Vâlant=deceiver) and the Graumann, Grant, of Teutonic folk-lore. In his character as lord of the under world, he is attended by the Hell-hound Managarmar, corresponding to the Greek Kerberos. Confusion of attributes makes *Teufel* partake of the idea conveyed in the word *Donner*. Grimm shows that Teufelskind is synonymous with Donnerskind; and the use of Teufel as an expletive carries us back to the time when Donner was a principal deity. Grimm relates one legend, similar in some respects to that of Kyklops, which finishes off the arch-enemy in a very satisfactory way. The Devil was in need of a new pair of eyes, and requested a man whom he saw moulding buttons, to mould him a pair of eyes. The moulder, having first induced his patient to allow himself to be pinioned, informed him that his *own* name was *Issi*, and thereupon poured a quantity of boiling lead into the Devil's eyes. Though the Devil escaped, and soon after disappeared, he was unable to identify his tormenter; for the only complaint he could make was *Issiteggi* (that is, *self did it*).

We have tried to get a connected account of the contents of the Eddas from Mr. Metcalfe, but found only descriptive sketches of readable passages. He devotes a chapter to prove that German and Scandinavian myths are alike, and shows that the prohibition of German heathenisms by the Church led to a specification of gods and rites which are not only German but also Scandinavian. On the immediate and ultimate sources of Norse mythology he says almost nothing—perhaps it was not within the scope of his work, which we have to wander from, and follow the leading of others whose researches into Scandinavian, Greek and Hindu myths have been of a most exhaustive character.* It is important to recognize the intimate inter-connexion of all human beliefs, and it may not be out of place to notice a few of the conclusions arrived at by modern research, particularly

* Grimm's Deutsche Mythologie. Dasent's Norse Tales. Cox's Aryan Mytholgy. Max Müller's Lectures on Language. Comp: Mythology, Chips. Thorpe's Northern Mythology, &c., &c.

that of "deep-thinking Germany." All the Teutonic peoples had originally one common faith; and its corner-stone was the tale of Sigurd, Brynhild, Gunnar and Gudrun—a storehouse of materials which have been wonderfully amplified and changed in accordance with the genius of race, and are to be traced, though not very distinctly, in the Anglo-Saxon Beowulf. The Edda is the most ancient shape in which Teutonic mythology is enshrined, and as such is of chiefest importance to the enquirer. Snorri relates certain legends of the Eastern origin of the divine *Asir* who were said to have entered Europe under the chieftainship of Odin. A little euhemerism like this is not amiss, that is, when it falls in with popular tradition, and is not the product of antiquaries who lucubrate on the historic explanations of theogonies. Apart from traditions there are many points of similarity between Norse and Eastern myths, which indicate an underlying element common to all the faiths of Aryan races. "Krishna destroying the serpent reminds us of Thor and his adventures with Migardsorm (the earth-serpent). Those thousands of demons who infest Southern India, and are kept at bay by the several gods, reminiscences of the older Dravidian men who were conquered by the Aryan invaders, forcibly call to mind those giants (Jotüns : cf : Titans) whom it was the business of Thor and other benign deities to subdue, but who were the remains, real or imaginary, of the old aboriginal inhabitants, invested by the people with supernatural attributes. When we hear of Brahma's body being divided, and its several members doing duty in another capacity among men, his mouth reappearing in the Brahmans, his arm the origin of the military caste, his thigh of the merchants, and his feet of the lowest caste, the Scandinavian student thinks of Hymer's becoming the sea, his flesh the earth, his bones rocks, his skull the arch of heaven (Prose Edda)." The cow *Adumbla* is conceived quite in the Hindu spirit. And *Yggdrasil*, the Ash-tree of Life, is curiously like the *kalpataru* of Indra, but is far grander in its attributes. "At the foot of it, in the death-kingdom (the realm of Hela) sit three Nornas (Parcœ) Fates,—the Past, Present, and Future, watering its roots from the sacred well. Its "boughs," with their buddings and disleafings, events, things suffered, things done, catastrophes, stretch through all lands and times. Is not every leaf of it a biography, every fibre there an act or word? Its boughs are Histories of Nations. The rustle of it is the noise of Human Existence, onwards from of old." *(Carlyle On Heroes.)*

Even if Scandinavia cannot claim to have built up a mythology out of original materials, the way in which the fabric has been reared is worthy of our best admiration. It is stamped with

individuality. According to Professor Bugge, the Norsemen received the great bulk of their traditions from poems composed by Englishmen and Irishmen, who in their turn were inspired by Greek and Jewish legends. Certainly the similarity of Northern mythology to that of the Greeks is remarkable. Perhaps the story of Sigurd and Brynhild is only another form of the myth representing Phoibos as slaying the Dragon at Pytho, both being myths of the conflict between Summer and Winter. The desertion of Brynhild would be the victory of Summer over Spring. We must remember that the growth of Norse mythology was checked by Christianity; that of the Greeks attained its fullest development before final desuetude. While Thor, Odin, and Freya were yet uncouth and misshapen, Christianity pointed the finger of scorn at them. Had their cultus been allowed to develop unchecked, it would have attained a form as different as are the finished statues of Phidias from the rude unanatomized figures of early Greek sculptors. The story of Sigurd and *Gudrun* is only a rude and savage reproduction of the *myth of Paris* Helen and Oinone. It is not difficult to draw a complete comparison between the Volsung Saga and the Iliad; and to resolve each into *one* series of natural phenomena. Both turn upon the possession of a lovely woman and her treasure; in both the hero is doomed, after a bright and glorious course, to an ignoble and unexpected death. So Sigmund, the son of Volsung, like Achilleus, possesses an invincible weapon, the Excalibur of Arthur. Siggeir and Sigmund struggling for the sword Gram reminds us of the contest of Paris and Menelaos. And when the son of Sigmund is grown up, he and his father take vengeance on the followers of Siggeir who resemble the suitors of Penelope. Sigmund regains his rights; but is slain by Odin's help, as Phoibos Apollon assists the unwarlike Paris.

Then Sigurd, the posthumous son of Sigmund, encounters fresh, though somewhat similar adventures as one day's sun has a different course to that of his predecessor. Like Achilleus, he accomplishes what is beyond the power of others. As Thetis gives wondrous weapons to her son, so Sigurd's mother gives the shattered fragments of the sword Gram, which, after being rewelded, smites to death the Dragon Fafnir. As Cheiron, the Centaur, instructs Achilleus, so does the wise Gripir impart learning to Sigurd. The hero leaps the wall of flame and wins the Valkyrie Brynhild; but he forsakes her for Gudrun, who is the Deianeira of the Norse Herakles. It is curious to see how all these events and names in the Volsung and other kindred Sagas are reproduced in the Niebelungenlied.

In comparing the Teutonic deities with those of the Greek

Pantheon, we are not only struck by the mortal element in the former, but also their resemblance to the Hellenic heroes and demi-gods. Norsemen had a profound belief in the transitoriness of human existence. They looked forward to the certain destruction of the gods, while the Greeks and Hindus fed them with ambrosia and Soma, and preserved them with perpetual vigour. In the myth of Prometheus we have perhaps a dim foreshadowing of the fall of Zeus; but in the voluptuous careless life he leads, in his various erotic adventures, there is none of the sternness and grim melancholy that marks Odin and Thor. Zeus overthrows the Titans; and Odin overcomes the Jotuns. Differences between the conceptions of Odin and Zeus may be accounted for by difference of climate. The Jotun Ymir represents the unformed universe, when the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. Odin and the *Asir*, a term signifying "Beings whose existence is not dependent on others," like one of the numerous names given by Musalmans to Allah, proceed from Buri, the maker of the world, and dwell in Asgard or Ether. Professor Max Müller connects Odin (Wuotan) with Atman, self, the moving force in creation corresponding to the Greek *μένος*. As Wish or Will is a motive power, so does Wuotan blend with *Wunsch* and the Sanskrit *Kama*. When Odin is represented with only one eye, and regarded as the All Father, we think of the Sun, the Giver of Light and Life, that is doubly a blessing in the inclemency of northern climates. Or, perhaps, the name All Father is due to Christian influences. Thor is not so much a beneficent being as the deity in his more terrible aspects, the Lord of Thunder, representing the Latin Jupiter Tonans, and Zeus wielding the thunderbolt. In the lightning flash he is another form of Vishnu with special reference to the striding Avatar. The adventures of Thor and Herakles are similar; their deaths inevitable; and their powers gigantic and ponderous. As the clouds are formed by moisture sucked up from the ocean by the sun, so Thor makes his horn a sort of straw, and sucks up a plenteous draught from the waters below. When his hammer is stolen, the god assumes a woman's garb, like Theseus, or Achilleus, and avenges himself on Thyrm in Jotünheim.

Descending from the principal deities, we come to the *Norns*, a most remarkable group in Norse mythology. The struggle between light and darkness, and so between good and evil, was a conviction profoundly impressed on early minds. The Necessity that all men must bow to, the irresistible Fate all must undergo, was pourtrayed in the Hellenic Eumenides. Ormuzd and Ahriman contending for the mastery is an earlier conception

than the "blind fury with the abhorred shears;" but both foreshadow the warfare of human existence.

> "Œqua lege necessitas
> Sortitur insignes et imos;
> Omne capax movet urna nomen."

Homer has but one Moira, Hesiod three. *Time* readily divides itself into the past, the present, the future; and it would be easy to assign a distinctive controlling power to each. In the English word "weird" we still retain the appellation of the Norn presiding over time past. *Vurdh* represents the preterite of *werden* to be; *Verdhandi* is *Werdend*, the present participle and the name of the Norn controlling the present; *Skuld*, the Norn of the future, is akin to our word *shall*. Imagination speedily invested each Fatal Sister with her own peculiar attributes.

Closely connected with the idea that darkness must triumph over light is the legend of Baldur, the Norse Phoibos, slain by the blind Hödr. The descent of Odin, forcibly though not literally given by Gray, corresponds to the errand of Orpheus; and the ultimate vengeance to be wought by Wali, the son of Odin and Rinda, on Hödr typifies the new birth of the sun after his temporary extinction or decline.

> "To-morrow he repairs the golden flood,
> And warms the nations with redoubled ray."

Scandinavian mythology then is an amplification of the worship of natural phenomena. It acted upon the literature of the North, and was reacted upon by it. In the earnest longing after truth the known furnishes materials for conjecture of the unknown. The life which the old Norsemen led, and the lands they lived in, imparted a robustness and sincerity to beliefs which never attained a full maturity, and could not therefore be disintegrated nor ignored by the excessive refinement and culture which destroyed the vitality of the faith professed by Cato, and is threatening to revolutionize the modern developments of Christianity. "That Norse religion, a rude but earnest, sternly impressive *Consecration of Valour* (so we may define it), sufficed for these old valiant Northmen. Consecration of valour is not a *bad* thing! We will take it for good, so far as it goes. Neither is there no use in knowing something about this old Paganism of our fathers. Unconsciously, and combined with higher things, it is in us yet, that old faith withal!........" "To which of the three religions do you specially adhere?" enquires Meister of his teacher. "To all the three!" answers the other. "To all the three; for they by their union first constitute the true religion."

CHARLES P. CASPERSZ.

Art. IX.—THE PROPOSED NEW RENT LAW FOR BENGAL AND BEHAR.

1.—*The Report of the Rent Law Commission, with the Draft of a Bill to consolidate and amend the Law of Landlord and Tenant within the Territories under the Administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal: and an Appendix containing the Proceedings of the Commission and the Papers considered and referred to in the Report and Proceedings.—The Calcutta Gazette Special, July* 21, 1880.

2.—*A Digest of the Law of Landlord and Tenant in the Provinces subject to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, by C.D. Field, M.A., LL.D., Member of the Rent Commission, Calcutta:* 1879.

THE Report of the Bengal Rent Law Commission is a masterly performance. Everybody will recognise in its style the well-known hand which prepared the admirable digest of the existing rent-law. The changes in the existing rent-law recommended by the majority of the commission, their exact meaning and probable consequences, and the grounds of justice and expediency on which they are based, are all methodically and lucidly set forth in it. These changes are embodied in the Draft Bill, which proposes to repeal, in whole or in part, seven regulations of the Bengal Code, four Acts of the Bengal Council, and four Acts of the Supreme Council, and consists of two parts, the first dealing with the substantive law of landlord and tenant, the second with the procedure in suits between landlords and tenants. Two of the native commissioners have signed the report subject to separate minutes recorded by them, in which they express their strong disapprobation of many of the proposed changes, and contend that some of them would virtually amount to a confiscation of private property. The majority of the commissioners, however, are of opinion that nothing contained in the Draft Bill has for its immediate result the impairment of existing interests, and that, if the Bill becomes law, it will prove beneficial alike to landlords and tenants.

It appears from the Government correspondence published in the *Calcutta Gazette* that *it was the landholders of Bengal* who

first clamorously called for some reform in the existing law relating to the recovery of rents. In the course of certain tentative efforts at legislation in this direction, it was found impossible to frame a procedure which should afford facilities to the zemindar without at the same time pressing unfairly upon the ryot. It was, therefore, resolved to place the whole law of landlord and tenant upon a new and more satisfactory basis; commissioners were appointed to inquire into the present state of the Statute-law and Case-law governing the relations between landlords and tenants in Bengal, and to draft a Bill embodying such additions to the substantive law and such improvements in the law of procedure as might commend themselves to their judgment; and the results of their labours are the Report and the Draft Bill.

However this may be, *it is the landholders of Bengal* who now complain most loudly of the vast and various innovations embodied in the Draft Bill. On the other hand, there are not wanting enlightened friends of the ryots, men whose sincerity it is impossible to question, who apprehend that some of the provisions in the Draft Bill designed for the ease of the ryots are ill-calculated to better their condition, and may lead to quite unexpected results. We purpose to consider the true character and tendency of some of the fundamental changes in the substantive law recommended by the Rent Law Commission, whether they trench upon the vested rights of landowners, and how far they would contribute to the real welfare of the peasant population.

I.—The Permanent Settlement.

All land legislation for Bengal must accept for its basis the Permanent Settlement. That celebrated measure has been characterised by Sir George Campbell as a sin against posterity, and the philosophical historian of British India has stigmatized it, in a passage which has become classical, as a spurious product of aristocratical prejudices and sheer ignorance. But, whatever may be thought of the wisdom or policy of the measure, it is absolutely certain that the 'aristocratical person' then at the head of the British administration in India did not mistake the zemindars for landowners, in the English sense of the expression. It is not true, as people who should know better so often say, that the English, when they came into possession of the Bengal provinces, assumed, as indisputable, that there must be an absolute proprietor of all land, the only question being how to *find* him. It was not under any such delusion, but in pursuance of a determinate policy, that the authors of the Permanent Settlement *made* the zemindar into a proprietor of the soil. "The question that has been so much agitated in this country,"

says Lord Cornwallis, in a Minute, dated 3rd February 1790, "whether the zemindars and talookdars are actual proprietors of the soil, or only officers of Government, has always appeared to me to be very uninteresting to them, whilst their claim to a certain percentage upon the rents of their lands has been admitted, and the right of the Government to fix the amount of those rents at its own discretion has never been denied or disputed. Under the former practice of annual settlements, zemindars who have either refused to agree to pay the rents that have been required, or who have been thought unworthy of being entrusted with the management, have, since our acquisition of the Dewanny, been dispossessed in numberless instances, and their lands held khas, or let to a farmer; and when it is recollected that pecuniary allowances have not always been given to dispossessed zemindars in Bengal, I conceive that a more nugatory or delusive species of property could hardly exist. On the other hand, the grant of these lands at a fixed assessment will stamp a value upon them hitherto unknown, and, by the facility which it will create of raising money upon them, either by mortgage or sale, will provide a certain fund for the liquidation of public or private demands, or prove an incitement to exertion and industry by securing the fruits of those qualities in the tenure to the proprietor's own benefit." It was in furtherance of these views, thus clearly expressed, which found favour with the Court of Directors, that the Governor-General in Council issued a proclamation on the 22nd March 1793, notifying to all zemindars that the juma assessed upon their lands under the rules for the decennial settlement was fixed for ever, and that they were thenceforth to consider themselves proprietors of the soil. Within six short weeks from the date of this proclamation,—on the 1st May 1793,—forty-eight Regulations were passed by the Governor-General in Council, the first enacting into a Regulation the several Articles of the proclamation, and the whole constituting a comprehensive code for the fiscal and judicial administration of Bengal.

In determining the respective interests in the land of zemindars and ryots under the Permanent Settlement, we cannot do better than confine ourselves to a collation and critical examination of the various passages of the Cornwallis Code, touching the rights and liabilities of the owners and occupiers of the soil. This is the ordinary and well-understood method of judicial determinations; and in departing from this method and importing into the inquiry all sorts of State-papers relating to the Permanent Settlement, which, as might be expected, contain all sorts of opinions on the policy, meaning, and effects of that

measure, some members of the Commission have effectually succeeded in darkening counsel. They maintain that frequent reference to State-literature is not only permissible, but obligatory upon them as legislators, and Mr. O'Kinealy, in particular, contends that the free use of such stores of information is sanctioned by the practice of Chief Justice Coke, Lord Westbury and other eminent judges. Mr. O'Kinealy's arguments did not convince Mr. Field, now, to the universal satisfaction of the public and the profession, Mr. Justice Field. In some remarks upon the Minutes of Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy, he says :—" As to my method in examining the Regulations alone, in order to discover the intention of the legislature, and refusing to look at the discussions which led to the enactment of these Regulations, or at other matter *dehors* the statute-book, I am not aware that Chief Justice Coke or Lord Westbury has ever adopted a different canon of construction. The general rule has certain exceptions ; and the rule itself has occasionally been violated ; but none the less the tendency of all our modern decisions, as observed by Mr. Sedgwick in his learned work on *The Construction of Statutory and Constitutional Law,* is to the effect that *the intention of the legislature is to be found in the statute itself,* and that *there* only the judges are to look for the mischiefs meant to be obviated, and the remedy meant to be provided...... In writing the digest, I was endeavouring to exhibit *the law as it is.* I think therefore that the method which I followed was rightly followed. In determining what *the law shall be,* I, however, agree entirely with Mr. Mackenzie that we ought to explore the entire field of State literature." (*Calcutta Gazette,* p. 481.) Doubtless it is very desirable to explore the whole field of State-literature, and perhaps it may not be amiss to look into some portions of the popular literature also, before deciding what the law *shall be ;* but when legislation affecting property is contemplated, the legislators should, and in every civilised country do, refer to the statute-book and the reports alone for the purpose of ascertaining *existing proprietary rights.*

Again, the Permanent Settlement is a solemn written contract between the State and the landholders. It is as much a contract as the Promissory Note of the Secretary of State for India. It is, of course, a much more complex contract, and different minds may well put different constructions upon it, but it is still essentially a contract. It is also a contract for the benefits of which the majority of the present landholders of Bengal have admittedly paid full value. Nor was it originally a contract without valuable consideration. The landholders of 1793 engaged to

discharge regularly the revenue in all seasons, without any reference to drought, inundation, or other calamity of season; and it must be remembered that the revenue at that time represented *ten-elevenths* of their rent-roll. (Regulation I, 1793, Section 7; Regulation II, 1793, Preamble.) They came under another heavy responsibility which lasted down to our own time. The sale-law of the Cornwallis code provided that if the proceeds of the sale of the defaulter's zemindary should prove insufficient to liquidate the arrears of Government revenue, *any other real or personal property* belonging to him* was to be attached and sold to make good the deficiency. (Regulation XIV, 1793, Section 44.) This provision was expressly retained in the sale-laws of 1794 and 1799, and it was only in 1868 that it was repealed by an Act of the Bengal Council. (See Regulation III, 1794, Section 14; Regulation VII, 1799, Section 23, Clause 5; Act VII, 1868, B. C., Section 29; and Schedule E.) Last, not least, the claim of the zemindars to a certain percentage upon the rents collected by them was sanctioned by immemorial usage, and that claim had been recognised by the British Government for many years before the Permanent Settlement. It would be idle to say that in this compact between the State and the landholders, there was no valuable consideration originally moving from the promisee to the promisor.†

The terms proposed by the State, and accepted by the landholders must be collected from the *public declarations* of the State. Those terms appeared to many zemindars at the time to be so ineligible,—the pecuniary responsibilities required to be undertaken appeared to many of them to be so onerous, that they declined to enter into the engagement. The framers of the Permanent Settlement were fully prepared for this contingency, which was duly provided for in Regulation VIII of 1793, which directed "an allowance in consideration of their proprietory rights"

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* It would be interesting to compute the sum total of the "*other* real or personal property," sold in the seventy-five years between 1793 and 1868. This problem in Political Arithmetic would of course present itself in the simple form of the summation of a *decreasing* arithmetical series, but the subject is very worthy the attention of every genuine student of State-literature.

† According to English law, an agreement to assign leasehold property, the assignee taking upon himself to pay the rent and perform the covenants of the lease, is never looked upon as a *nudum pactum*, but always considered to be an agreement for *valuable consideration*. PRICE *v.* JENKINS, Law Rep. 5 Chancery D. 619. We verily believe that in the early years of the Permanent Settlement, many zemindars, to use the words of Lord Justice James, "might be actually willing to pay money to get rid of" their zemindary, and with it, their engagement with Government.

to be awarded to zemindars, who might refuse to engage for the juma required from them. (Regulation VIII, 1793, Section 44.) The great majority, however, entered into the engagement, placing implicit reliance on the word of an English nobleman and the honour of England, and looking more to the distant future than to the immediate present. In short, and in fact, they were moved by the magic of property and perpetuity.

The *public declarations* of the State are to be found in the Regulations of 1793. Those Regulations were enacted in order to "enable individuals to render themselves acquainted with the laws upon which the security of the many inestimable privileges and immunities granted to them by the British Government depends." (Regulation XLI, 1793, Preamble.) All rules and orders affecting in any respect the rights, persons or property of the Natives were directed to be recorded in the Judicial Department, and there framed into a Regulation and printed and published and translated into Persian and Bengali by the Government translator. (Regulation XLI, 1793, Sections 2, 15.) It is to these Regulations,—to these translations,* that the zemindars looked, and were expressly referred by Government for information respecting the terms and conditions of the Permanent Settlement, and their rights and liabilities thereunder. Nothing can be more unjust, nothing more repugnant to common sense and common notions of fair dealing between man and man, than to construe a contract, a composition, and, to some extent, a settlement of uncertain claims, by referring to the vacillating intentions and wishes of one of the parties, which were never communicated to the other. It is the words in which the final expression of the will is conveyed, the plain meaning of which should determine the meaning and extent of the obligation of the parties. The doctrine of the *secret direction of the will* is dangerous to social security.

Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy have made diligent use of the permission accorded to the Commissioners to call for and peruse "all papers recorded either in the Legislative or Revenue Departments of this Government, bearing upon the question of the amendment of the Rent Law." But it is especially unfair for them to be perpetually quoting from Mr. Shore, when everybody knows that he was from the first decidedly opposed to the Permanent Settlement, and that he was overruled by Lord Cornwallis. Mr. O'Kinealy concludes his minute, which is referred to

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* Query. Has this portion of State-literature utterly perished? The perusal of these translates would be very interesting, and very germane to the present inquiry.

in the report as his valuable historical minute, with the following observations:—"The position of the ryots in Bengal is, no doubt, a matter on which opinions are divided, and will probably continue so until the despatches and revenue proceedings of the period before and after the Permanent Settlement are published. I have read some of them, and I remain more firmly convinced than ever by their perusal, that the ryots of this country were protected not only by the engagements entered into by the zemindar, but also by the common law, from arbitrary eviction and enhancement." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 480.) We object to the dislogistic expression 'arbitrary,' and we shall have something to say of this 'common law' hereafter, but here we take leave to ask, if the rights and property of individuals are indeed to depend upon State-literature, is it not fair that legislation based on the assumption that Mr. O'Kinealy's opinions are unimpeachable, should be postponed till *all* those papers, the perusal of some of which has confirmed him in his opinions, shall have been published, and subjected to a searching public examination? But to have done with State-literature, let us see what are the respective interests in the land of the zemindar and the ryot according to the plain meaning of the Regulations.

II.—Rights of Zemindars and *Ryots under the Cornwallis Code.*

The great Regulation defining the relative rights of zemindars and ryots is Regulation VIII of 1793. But, in order to understand aright the provisions of that Regulation, we must bear in mind that the zemindars had been already proclaimed to be *proprietors of the soil,* six weeks before the Cornwallis Code was passed on the 1st May 1793. The preamble to Regulation II of 1793 recites that "the *property in the soil* has been declared to be vested in the landholders, and the revenue payable to Government from each estate has been fixed for ever," and goes on to say that "the *property in the soil* was never before formally declared to be vested in the landholders." In numberless places in the Cornwallis Code, the zemindars are styled *proprietors of the soil,* but Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy contend that nothing particular was meant by the expression, and to prove how illusory this *proprietorship,* this *property in the soil,* was from the first understood to be, Mr. O'Kinealy cites a case decided in 1811 by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut:—

"I will now refer to a case decided in 1811, as a striking illustration confirming the opinion I hold in regard to the effect of the Permanent Settlement, and the limitations on the character of the proprietary right of the zemindars as established by it. In Beerbhoom there had existed from a long time a *Loha Mehal,* or collections from the digging and smelting

of iron within the estate, similar to the *Nimak Mehal* or salt revenue. The revenues of this mehal were, at the Permanent Settlement, kept separate from those arising out of cultivation. Subsequently the mehal was sold, and soon after a dispute arose as to the rights of the "proprietor" of the permanent settlement and the purchaser. The former declared that the rights to the mines, and the places of manufacture followed the property in the land in which they lay; the latter that the proceeds of the mines formed one branch of revenue, that the zemindar had paid a distinct assessment on it, and that the right to the mines went with the sale of the mehal, not with the Permanent Settlement. On inquiry it was ascertained that, according to the custom of the place, the *Loha Mehal* had been separately assessed. The Sudder Dewany held that the proprietor could not restrain the miner, who was entitled to work old mines, and open new ones according to established usage. I suppose nothing could bring out in stronger relief *the difference between rights of property in England and India* than this case. The common law of the land carved a perpetual mining lease out of the proprietary rights of a landowner as viewed from the standpoint of English law." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 452.)

The case to which Mr. O'Kinealy alludes is very fully reported in Macnaghten's Select Reports, vol. I., pp. 451-60. New Edition. It is the case of *Goorooper shad Bose* versus *Bisnoochurn Hajra*. On reading that report very carefully, we are astonished to find that Mr. O'Kinealy has wholly misread the facts of the case, and misappreciated the decision of the Court. We seriously believe that he has been misled by some account of the case in some obscure portion of State-literature, and that he could not have had before him the report in Macnaghten, to which we observe he does not give any reference. The great weight that is justly due to everything which falls from the learned Legal Remembrancer makes it necessary that we should point out how and wherein he has fallen into error. It appears, then, from Macnaghten's report (1) that the zemindary of Beerbhoom, *including the Loha Mehal*, had been permanently settled with the Rajah of Beerbhoom; (2) that the profits of the *Loha Mehal* had been, all along, from a time long before the Permanent Settlement, kept separate in the Rajah's private accounts from the general rents and profits of the zemindary, and that the assessment paid by him to Government on account of the *Loha Mehal* was likewise entered separately in the accounts of Government; (3) that the plaintiff became the purchaser of the whole *Loha Mehal* in 1799, and the defendant had purchased a particular pergunnah in the zemindary in 1796; (4) that the former in his plaint alleged that the "*Loha Mehal had continued the property of the Rajah of Beerbhoom, till the year* 1205, *Bengal era, corresponding with the year* 1799, *A.D., when it was sold*," and that by his purchase he "*had acquired the whole of the former zemindar's rights in the iron mines of his zemindary;*" and (5) that the latter insisted that by his previous purchase of the pergunnah, he was

entitled to so much of the profits of the *Loha Mehal* as were derived from the mines and manufactories within his pergunnah. It is clear that both parties *claimed under* the "proprietor" of the Permanent Settlement, and the only question was, what portion of his rights had passed to the plaintiff, and what portion to the defendant. It was found at the trial that the plaintiff's allegations were true, and that the deed of sale from the Rajah in favour of the defendant, although it particularised with great minuteness the rights and property conveyed to him, contained no mention of the mines, and manufactories in the land sold. The decree which was ultimately made by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut was in favour of the plaintiff, who was declared entitled according to the established usage, to the profits of the entire *Loha Mehal*, including those derived from the mines, and manufactories in the pergunnah purchased by the defendant, and also entitled to open new mines in that pergunnah on condition of making to the defendant "*a full and liberal compensation for the value of any land which may be rendered unfit for cultivation.*" It was not on the strength of a title paramount, it was not on the strength of any supposed 'common law' rights, overriding the proprietary rights of the zemindar, that the plaintiff sought to recover the *Loha Mehal.* Fortunately for him, the plaintiff was better advised, and claimed the *Loha Mehal* on the footing of his purchase, insisting in his plaint that he "had acquired the whole of *the former zemindar's rights.*" This was also the ground of the decree, which, amongst other matters, whilst declaring the plaintiff's right according to the established usage to open new mines in the lands purchased by the defendant from the same zemindar, provided upon equitable principles for full and liberal compensation to the defendant. Then as to "the difference between rights of property in England and India," we are not aware that under British rule any ever existed; but we apprehend that the difference will be brought out in very strong relief indeed if the Draft Bill in its present shape shall become law. And here, as well as elsewhere, we may remark once for all that to say that the Bengal zemindar has not the *same* rights as the English landowner, is to say nothing to the purpose. The English landowner, too, does not possess the *same* set of rights as the Bengal zemindar. The rights of each are defined by the law of the realm in which the land is situate. The English common law defines the proprietary rights of the English landowner. The same code which constituted the zemindar proprietor of the soil contains the restrictions to which *his* proprietary rights are subject.

These restrictions, so far as they are relevant to the present inquiry, are to be found in Regulation VIII of 1793. The first 47 Sections of that Regulation lay down rules as to the assessment of the sudder jama or revenue. Sections 48, 51 deal with the relations between the zemindar and dependant talookdars, *istemrardars* and *mocurrerydars*, and immediately after, the Regulation proceeds to enact as follows:—

LII.—*The zemindar or other actual proprietor of land, is to let the remaining lands of his zemindary or estate, under the prescribed restrictions, in whatever manner he may think proper;* but every engagement contracted with under-farmers, shall be specific as to the amount and conditions of it; and all sums received by any actual proprietor of land, or any farmer of land, of whatever description, over and above what is specified in the engagements of the persons paying the same, shall be considered as extorted, and be repaid with a penalty of double the amount. The restrictions prescribed and referred to in this Section, are the following*:—

LIII.—No person contracting with a zemindar, independent talookdar, or other actual proprietor, or employed by him in the management of the collections, shall be authorized to take charge of the lands or collections, without an amilnama, or written commission, signed by such zemindar, independent talookdar, or other actual proprietor.

LIV.—*Process to be observed to prevent imposition on the ryots under the denomination of abwaub, mhatoot, &c.*

LV.—*Proprietors and farmers of land prohibited imposing any new abwaub or mhatoot on the ryots.*

LVI.—It is expected that in time the proprietors of land, dependent talookdars, and farmers of land, and the *ryots*, will find it for their mutual advantage to enter into *agreements* in every instance for a specific sum, for a certain quantity of land, leaving it to the option of the latter to cultivate whatever species of produce may appear to them likely to yield the largest profit; where, however, it is the established custom to vary the pottah for lands according to the articles produced thereon, and while the actual proprietors of land, dependent talookdars, or farmers of land, and *ryots* in such places, shall prefer an adherence to this custom, the engagements entered into between them, are to specify the quantity of land, species of produce, rate of rent and amount thereof, with the term of the lease, and a stipulation, that in the event of the species of produce being changed, *a new engagement shall be executed for the remaining term of the first lease, or for a longer period, if agreed on;* and in the event of any new species being cultivated, a new engagement, with the like specification and clause, is to be executed accordingly.

LVII. *First.*—The rents to be paid by the *ryots*, by whatever rule or custom they may be regulated, shall be specifically stated in the pottah, which, in every possible case, shall contain the exact sum to be paid by them.

Second.—Rule where the rate only can be specified, and for payments in kind.

LVIII.—*Forms of pottahs to be registered in the Zillah Court, and copies to be deposited in each of the principal cutcherries.*

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*The reader will mark well the colon after following:—for thereby hangs a tale.

LIX.—*Ryots may demand pottahs of proprietors of land and farmers who are also required to grant them.*

LX.—*First.—All leases to under-farmers and ryots made previous to the conclusion of the settlement,* and not contrary to any Regulation, are to remain in force until the period of their expiration, unless proved to have been obtained by collusion, or from persons not authorized to grant them.

Second.—No actual proprietor of land or farmer, or persons acting under their authority, shall cancel the pottahs of the *khod kasht ryots,* except upon proof that they have been obtained by collusion; or that the rents paid by them within the last three years, have been reduced below the rate of the nirkbundy of the purgunnah; or that they have obtained collusive deductions; or upon a general measurement of the purgunnah for the purpose of equalizing and correcting the assessment.

We must bear in mind that the *remaining lands* spoken of in Section 52 are all the lands of the estate save the lands in the possession of dependent talookdars, *istemrardars* and *mocurrerydars.* The plain meaning of Section 52 and the next following sections above cited, as any one, be he lawyer or layman, may see for himself, is this. The zemindar is to be at liberty to let the remaining lands in any manner he may think proper, subject only to the *prescribed restrictions,* that is to say, 1st, Section 53, if he elects to let his lands in farm, the farmer shall not be authorised to collect rents from the ryots unless he is armed with an *amilnamah;* 2nd, Section 54, he shall consolidate all *abwaubs* and *mhatoot* with the *assul* into one specific sum; 3rd, Section 55, he shall not impose any new *abwawb* or *mhatoot;* 4th, Section 56, he shall vary the pottah if the species of produce is changed for the remainder of the term, or for a longer period, *if agreed on;* 5th, Section 57, he shall specify the exact rent, or *rate* of rent, in the pottahs given to ryots; 6th, Section 58, he shall register the *forms* of these pottahs in the Zillah Court; 7th, Section 59, he shall grant pottahs to ryots who may also demand pottahs from him; and 8th, Section 60, he shall allow all existing leases to ryots to remain, until the period of their expiration, when of course he may let the lands comprised in these leases in any manner he may think proper; but as regards *khod kasht ryots,* he shall not cancel *their* pottahs unless within the last three years their rent has been reduced below the *pergunnah rate,* or unless the existing *pergunnah rate* itself is altered upon a general measurement for the purpose; this, of course, is not to prevent him from cancelling the pottahs of all ryots, *khod kasht* and other, if they are proved to have been procured by collusion.

This is the plain meaning of Sections 52-60 of Regulation VIII., 1793, and in order to complete our view of the relative interests of the zemindar and the ryot under the Cornwallis Code, it remains only to add that under Regulation XLIV., 1793, the zemindar is prohibited from granting pottahs to *any ryot* for a

term exceeding ten years. In few words, the zemindar is left at liberty to let his lands in any manner he may think proper, and there is no limit to the rent he may demand except *his agreement with the ryot*, which must always be reduced to writing, and the term of which is in no case to exceed ten years ; but as regards the *khod kahst* ryots *who were at the time upon the land*, he must not cancel their pottahs so long as they pay rents according to the *pergunnah rate*.

The above is also substantially the meaning which Mr. Field, in his digest, deduces from Regulation VIII., 1793, Sections 52-60, after a minute and systematic examination of the whole subject. (Digest, pages 189-95.) Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy warmly contend that Mr. Field is all wrong. Mr. Mackenzie invokes the "Shades of Grant, Shore, and Cornwallis," (*Calcutta Gazette*, page 418), and both Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. O'Kinealy triumphantly point out, though it appears that the credit of the discovery is due exclusively to the former, that the *fons errorum* of Mr. Field's opinions on this subject is—*a full point* in his edition of the Regulations. Mr. Field still adheres to his *full point* after the word 'following' in Section 52, Regulation VIII., and says that this *full point* is to be found in the Baptist Mission Press edition of 1827. (*Calcutta Gazette*, page 481.) We are afraid that Mr. Field shall have ultimately to surrender his *full point*. We find that in Henry White's edition of 1817, Section 52, ends with a *colon*, and not with a full stop. In the preface to that edition, the editor says that the "public may, with confidence, depend upon this volume, being perfectly correct, and an exact copy of the original published by the Government." Mr. O'Kinealy in his Minute pressed upon his colleagues the imperative necessity of having this momentous question satisfactorily settled, (*Calcutta Gazette*, page 450), but the public have not been made acquainted with the result of the further researches recommended. It is impossible to be serious when one finds grave senators spending so much valuable time and energy in a controversy about a colon. In truth, it does not make the least difference in the world whether Section 52 is closed with a full point or a colon. The contention of Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy is that Section 52 which leaves the zemindar at liberty to *let the remaining lands* in his estate in any manner he may think proper, subject to certain *prescribed restrictions*, is to be read as connected with Section 53, but totally disconnected from the next following Sections including Section 60, which speaks of the *khod kasht* ryots. The virtue of the colon, specially when it comes after 'following,' with which it has some kind of elective affinity, is universally acknowledged to be very *comprehensive*, and there is

no reason why the colon at the end of Section 52 should be held to exhaust its connective virtue exactly at the end of Section 53. But we had better give a portion of Mr. Field's considered answer to this contention.

"*First*, as to the argument concerned with the punctuation and the supposed printer's error, the construction of a statute cannot be made to depend upon the punctuation, which is not part of the statute. See cases quoted in *Maxwell on the Interpretation of Statutes*, page 35, and *Sedgwick's Work*, page 225 . . . . *Secondly*, the last sentence of Section 52, speaks of 'restrictions' in the plural. It is impossible these *restrictions* can be included in, and cease at the end of, Section 53, for this Section contains a single restriction only" . . . . . (*Calcutta Gazette*, page 481.)

We cannot help expressing in this place our admiration for the firmness with which Mr. Field kept his eyes fixed on the plain language of the Regulations amidst the dust whirlwinds of State-literature raised by his colleagues. Mr. Field, however, has a difficulty of his own, which we confess we cannot appreciate. He says that the term *let* in Section 52 is properly applicable only to "a demise of land by an absolute owner to a stranger who has no rights except those created by the demise." It is therefore inapplicable to the *khod kasht* ryots of Section 60, which, according to his construction, and as we also contend, is connected with Section 52. He concludes that the term *let* was used by the makers of the Regulation in a loose colloquial sense. But there is no necessity whatever for imputing to Lord Cornwallis and his associates ignorance of the legal sense of the word *let*. The zemindar was declared to be at liberty to *let the remaining lands of his estate* in any manner he thought proper, like a proprietor as he had been solemnly proclaimed to be, but subject to this *restriction* in regard to lands already in the occupation of *khod kasht* ryots, that these ryots were entitled to remain on the lands so long as they paid the *pergunnah rate* of rent, failing which the zemindar was at liberty to let their lands to anybody else whom he chose.

III.—Meaning of Reservation in the Cornwallis Code.

But it is said, whatever may be the actual limitations upon the proprietary rights of zemindars imposed by the Regulations, there was a power reserved by the Governor-General in Council by Clause 1, Section 8, Regulation 1. of 1793, under which the legislature may, whenever it thinks fit, modify, alter, or, for the matter of that, cut down those rights, according to its own sense of what is equitable or expedient. Clause 1, Section 8, Regulation I. of 1793 runs as follows :—

"It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, and more particularly those who from their situation are most helpless, the

Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such Regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talookdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil: and no zemindar, independent talookdar or other actual proprietor of land shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively agreed to pay."

And the Report concludes with the emphatic declaration that all the provisions of the Draft Bill, so far as they propose to benefit the ryots, "fall well within the power expressly reserved by the conditions of the Permanent Settlement," (*Calcutta Gezette*, p. 100.)

Now it is to be noted that the power reserved by the Governor-General in Council is expressly reserved on behalf of dependent talookdars and ryots, and as against zemindars who shall not be entitled to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment on account of this power being exercised. There was no similar power reserved on behalf of the ryots as against the *dependent talookdars.* But the provisions of the Draft Bill in favour of the ryots, *if* they encroach on the rights of zemindars, encroach in the same manner on the rights of *dependent talookdars.* If the proposed legislation is to be justified by this reservation, the power ought to be strictly pursued, and *dependent talookdars* may well say that, as between *them* and the ryots, it would be a manifest perversion of the power to exercise it to *their* detriment for the benefit of the ryots.

But a short and conclusive answer to any interpretation of this reservation, which goes to the extent of contending that it justifies interference with the proprietary rights of zemindars, is furnished by Regulation II. of 1793. The preamble of that Regulation, after reciting that the property in the soil has been vested in the landholders, and that it is expendient to erect Courts of Judicature presided over by Judges, "who, from their official situations and the nature of their trusts, shall not only be wholly uninterested in the result of their decisions, but bound to decide impartially between the public and the proprietors of land, and also between the latter and their tenants," concludes with these memorable words:—

"NO POWER WILL THEN EXIST IN THE COUNTRY BY WHICH THE RIGHTS VESTED IN THE LANDHOLDERS BY THE REGULATIONS CAN BE INFRINGED, OR THE VALUE OF LANDED PROPERTY AFFECTED."

The preamble of Regulation II. of 1793, which, according to Regulation XLI. of the same year, we are to call Section 1 of the first mentioned Regulation, is still law. We do not find that Section 1 of Regulation II. of 1793 is proposed to be repealed by the Draft Bill, but it would certainly conduce to consistency and simplicity, if those words were expunged from the statute-book.

Having shown what is *not* the meaning of the reservation, let us try if we can discover what it *does* mean. The following passage from the pen of the Right Hon. T. Pemberton Leigh, which contains the quintessence of cartloads of State-literature, will assist us in the endeavour :—

"Many of the greater zemindars, within their respective zemindaries, were entrusted with rights, *which properly belonged to the Government.* They had authority to collect from the ryots a certain portion of the gross produce of the lands. They, in many cases, imposed tolls, and they increased their income by fees, perquisites, and similar exactions, not wholly unknown to more recent times and more civilised nations. On the other hand, they were bound to maintain peace and order, and administer justice within their zemindaries and, for that purpose, they had to keep up Courts of Civil and Criminal Justice, to employ kazees, canoongoes, and tannahdars, or a police force. But while as against the ryots and other inhabitants within their territories, many of these potentates exercised almost regal authority, they were, as against the Government, little more than stewards or administrators....... It was considered by the East India Company that *the first step* towards a better system of Government and the amelioration of the condition of their subjects, would be to convert the zemindars into landowners, and to fix a permanent annual jummah or assessment to the Government, according to the existing value, so as to leave to land proprietors the benefit of all subsequent improvements." *Raja Lelanund Sing* v. *The Bengal Government,* 6 Moore, pp. 108-110.

"The first step" was taken by the East India Company on the 22nd March 1793, when the Governor-General in Council notified to the zemindars to the effect following :—We found you stewards and administrators, we have made you landowners ; we have fixed the assessment for ever, according to the existing value of landed property, leaving you to enjoy the benefit of all subsequent improvements ; but you shall no longer be as kings and potentates over the ryots ; the Government permitted you to exercise functions which properly belonged to the Government ; the ryots have not fared well under your régime, and their persons and property have not been properly protected ; *it being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, and, more particularly, those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such Regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talookdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil ;* you shall not be allowed to claim any compensation for the loss of your questionable seignorial jurisdiction, privileges and perquisites,* *and no zemindar, inde-*

* *Jurisdiction, privileges, and perquisites.* In pursuance of the power reserved by the Proclamation Reg. VIII. of 1793 did away with the *abwaubs, mhatoot,* and other perquisites, and the civil and criminal jurisdiction exercised by the zemindars was taken away by Section 66 of that Regulation, which has not been repealed to this day.

pendent talookdar, or other actual proprietor of land shall be entitled, on this account, to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively agreed to pay.

The reservation in Article VII. of the Proclamation, which was, on the 1st May 1793, enacted into Clause 1, Section VIII. of Regulation I. of 1793, has been inserted in italics in the above paragraph, and the context shows what we believe it *does* mean. This meaning gives sense to the concluding sentence of the clause, whilst the meaning suggested by the Report is in direct conflict with the emphatic assurance given to the landholders in the preamble of Regulation II.—that no power will exist in the country by which the rights vested in them by the Regulations can be infringed, or the value of landed property affected. It would be absurd to suppose that the Governor-General in Council when he declared the zemindars to be proprietors of the soil, in the same breath told them that he kept in reserve a power, to be sprung upon them whenever he chose, by which their proprietary rights or the value of their landed property could be interfered with or affected, and nevertheless gave them distinctly to understand that they should not expect the remission of a single rupee in the assessment which was fixed at ten-elevenths of the then existing value of their zemindaries. It is idle to say that any provision of the Draft Bill, intended for the benefit of the ryot, which imposes upon the zemindar any restriction in the enjoyment of the use and profits of his lands, over and above the restrictions particularly enumerated in Regulation VIII. of 1793, is within the meaning of the reservation.

IV.—*Act X. of* 1859.

Mr. Mackenzie is very angry with the High Court judges as a rule. When he says, "I decline to waste time in discussing Mr. Steer's views of the law,—a judge who could say*......shows such blank ignorance of the revenue history of the country as to be unfit even to enter the arena of discussion," we feel no difficulty in understanding him. When he characterises Sir Barnes Peacock as the "sheet-anchor" of the "school" of the landholders, we imagine he sees in the name an emblem of hope to landholders. But when he says of Sir Richard Garth that he has "accepted the views of the zemindary propaganda," we really cannot guess to what "secret association for the spread

* *What* Mr. Justice Steer said 3 Weekly Reporter, Act X. Rulings, will be found reported at large in pp. 96-99.

of opinions and principles which are viewed by most Governments with horror and aversion" to which we find the name *propaganda* is applied in modern political language, Mr. Mackenzie alludes. (*Calcutta Gazette*, pp. 419, 116; and *Brande and Cox's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art.* New edition, vol. 3, p. 113.)

Mr. Justice Campbell, however, is the exception who proves the rule. Let Sir George Campbell relate the history of Act X. of 1859. After giving the substance of the first provisions of Act X. of 1859, which enact that ryots who have held from the time of the Permanent Settlement at fixed rates of rent which have never been changed, are entitled to hold at those rents for ever, and that if any ryot can prove that his rent has not been changed for twenty years, it shall be presumed that the land has been held at the same rate from the time of the Permanent Settlement, unless the zemindar shows to the contrary, Sir George Campbell proceeds to say—

The provision which has since led to *much discussion, and to a cry that the rights of landlords have been confiscated*, is the next, which declares a right of occupancy at a fair rent (subject to enhancement from time to time) to belong to every ryot who has held land for a period of twelve years and upwards, with two important exceptions. First, the law is not to affect the terms of any written contract, so that a man holding, on contract only, a terminable lease does not benefit by the provision.* And, second, it does not apply to the "seer" or demesne lands of the proprietors. Lands which have once borne that character, although let for the time can be resumed at any time.

Tenants having a right of occupancy are liable to enhancement of rent on the following grounds, and on these only :—

That the land is found by measurement to be in excess of the quantity paid for.

That the rate of rent is below the prevailing rates paid by the same class of ryots for similar lands in the places adjacent.

That the value of the produce on the productive powers of the land have been increased otherwise than by the agency or at the expense of the ryot.

He then narrates how the indigo planters sought to conquer the ryots, and to bring them to their own terms with respect to indigo, by demanding enhanced rents.

The case came before the Chief Justice, Sir Barnes Peacock, who decided that the ryots were bound to pay a fair rent in the sense of the

* This was Mr. Justice Campbell's view of the law as laid down in 5 W. R. Act X. 17; but since then a Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court has laid down that a holding for twelve years, whether under one or more terminable leases, *does* create a right of occupancy unless there is an *express* stipulation to the contrary. The mere fact that at the end of the term the zemindar may turn out the ryot does not amount to such *express* stipulation. 17 W. R., 62.

highest rent obtainable, and that, an increase of the value of product being shown, there was no limit to the increase demandable, but the net profit of the cultivator or rack-rent. Entering into a calculation of the value of produce and costs of production, and deducting the one from the other, he found that the difference left a profit greater than the rent claimed by the planter, and accordingly decreed the full claim.

The ryots, however, still declined either to grow indigo on the old terms or to pay the rents so greatly increased, and the case eventually came before the Full High Court of fifteen judges, who decided by fourteen to one (the Chief Justice still maintaining his opinion) that as the landlord could only enhance for a certain cause, he could only enhance in the same degree or in the same proportion in which that cause operated. It being shown that the value of agricultural produce has increased in a certain proportion since the last adjustment of rent, the rent will be increased in the same proportion, *e.g.*, if prices have risen fifty per cent., the rent will also be raised fifty per cent. That is the final decision in what is called the Great Rent Case."*

The dicussion and the cry about confiscation, mentioned by Sir George Campbell, evidently allude to† Sir Barnes Peacock's declarations from the bench in *Hills* v. *Isshur Ghose*, and the Minute soon after recorded by him in answer to a reference from the Government of India. In this Minute, which is dated 31st March 1864, Sir Barnes Peacock recommended the repeal of Section 6 of Act X. of 1859, which conferred a right of occupancy on ryots who had held or cultivated land for twelve years. He says :—

"It appears to be that Section 6 is objectionable, and, ought to be repealed.

1*st.*—Because it interferes with the just rights of the zemindars, at least in the permanently settled districts, by vesting rights of occupancy in the ryots which had no previous existence.

. . . .

3*rdly.*—Because, by creating new rights of occupancy which did not exist before, it imposes upon the Courts of Justice the necessity of settling, in case of dispute with the ryots who have acquired such rights, the rents which they are to pay, instead of leaving the parties to make their own arrangements, as they must have done if Section 6 had not been passed. If Section 6 had not been passed, Section 5‡ would have extended only to cases in which rights of occupancy existed according to the old law, and could be proved. It is not because some old rights may exist without the

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* Cobden Club Essays, 1870. See pp. 210, 213, 214.

† The *landholders of Bengal* did not raise any outcry about confiscation at the time, and this silence on their part is gravely adduced by Sir George Campbell as a proof that Section 6 of Act X. of 1859 was passed *with their tacit consent.* Cobden Club Essays, p. 211.

‡ Section 5 of Act X. of 1859 enacted that ryots having rights of occupancy, but not holding at fixed rates from the time of the Permanent Settlement, are entitled to receive pottahs at fair and equitable rates. According to the old law, Reg. VIII., 1793, Sec. 60, *khod kasht* ryots, we have seen, are entitled to pottahs at *pergunnah rates,* and Reg. VIII., 1793, Sec. 60, is to this day law.

means of proof that rights are to be created which never existed before, and in favour of ryots who never had any rights in the land at all, and that is what Section 6 has done."

The passages we have quoted from Sir George Campbell were written in 1870. Since then various decisions have been passed by the High Court, and the law relating to the right of occupancy, as it stands at present, is very accurately given in Articles 40 and 41 of the Digest.

Digest.—Article 40.

Every ryot who shall have cultivated or held land as a tenant for a period of twelve years, shall have a right of occupancy in the land so cultivated or held by him, whether it be held under pottah or not, so long as he pays the rent payable on account of the same; but this rule does not apply to *khamar*, *nij-jote*, or seer land belonging to the proprietor of the estate or tenure, and let by him on lease for a term, or year by year, nor (as respects the actual cultivator) *to lands sublet* for a term, or year by year, by a ryot having a right of occupancy. The holding of the father or other person from whom a ryot inherits, shall be deemed to be the holding of the ryot written the meaning of this article.

Nothing in this article shall be held to affect the terms of any written contract for the cultivation of land entered into between a landholder and a ryot, when it contains any *express* stipulation contrary thereto.

Digest.—Article 41.

A right of occupancy is the privilege of continuing to hold the land in which such right has been acquired, as long as the rent legally demandable for the same is paid.

A ryot's holding, not transferable by custom or otherwise, does not become transferable in consequence of the ryot acquiring a right of occupancy therein.

When a ryot having a right of occupancy transfers his holding without the consent of his landlord in any case in which such holding is not so transferable by custom or otherwise, he does not merely by such unauthorised transfer forfeit his right of occupancy, so long as he continues to pay the rent: but he is not discharged from liability to his landlord, and his transferee acquires no rights against such landlord, and may be treated by him as trespasser. In any case in which a ryot's holding is transferable, it is not necessary that the transfer should be registered in the sheristah of the landlord.

V.—*Right of Occupancy. Draft Bill, Chapter III.*

It is proposed to make the *privilege* particularly described in Article 41 of the Digest, transferable without the consent of the landlord; and if it is intended to convert the privilege into proprietorship, it must be admitted that "alienability is necessary to complete the idea of property." (Appendix to Digest, p. 182.) The Report says:—

"We have defined (Section 20) the legal incidents of a right of occupancy—and first of all we have declared it to be transferable by private sale or gift, and devisable by will; and we have enacted that the consent of the landlord shall not be necessary to the validity of any such transfer or devise. It is not necessary to recapitulate here the arguments for and against transferability which have been fully stated in the Appendix to the Digest. We think it sufficient to say that, having carefully considered these arguments, a majority of us are in favour of transferability. But although we allow the ryot to sell his holding, we prohibit him from mortgaging it. We think that this will most effectually prevent the ryot and his holding from falling into the hands of the *mahajan;* and that the danger, which some persons apprehend of *mahajans* becoming the owners of occupancy holdings, while the *quondam* ryots will remain on the land in a degraded condition of serfage, will thus to a considerable extent be obviated. We believe that a ryot, whom no persuasion will induce to sell his land, can very easily be led to borrow a few rupees upon the security of it for a wedding or a *sradh*, or for some purpose of emergency. A bad season, sickness, or not uncommonly his own improvidence prevents him from repaying the loan, which is rapidly swelled by interest. He thus gets more and more into the *mahajan's* hands; and the hope of extricating himself and recovering his position finally disappears altogether, the result being that the *mahajan* gets a decree, brings the holding to sale, and purchases it himself for much less than its real value. A *mahajan*, who will readily lend a little money on a ryot's holding in the hope of ultimately realising a very considerable profit by foreclosing his mortgage, will have no desire to purchase the same holding at anything like a reasonable price with the intention of becoming a capitalist farmer. In order to render effectual the prohibition against mortgaging, we have enacted that any such mortgage shall be void to all intents and purposes, and that no Court of Justice shall take cognizance thereof or give effect thereto in any judicial proceeding whatever (Section 20, Clause *(d)*); and we have further enacted that a right of occupancy, though saleable in execution of a decree for its own rent, shall not be saleable in execution of any other decree (section 20, clause *(a)*)" (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 21.)

Those who do not augur well of the change proposed will scarcely trust in the naif precaution inserted. The ryot, when he is not allowed to mortgage, will be only following an inveterate native practice if he should execute a deed of out-and-out sale, coupled with a *verbal* understanding that the deed will be returned, or a re-conveyance executed on re-payment of the loan. This will throw him from the frying-pan into the fire. In the Full Bench case of *Kashee Nath Chatterjee* (5. W. R., 68), Mr. Justice Norman observed:—

"The cases from the earliest date show that it is a common practice in this country, upon the occasion of a mortgage, for the borrower to convey

the estate to the lender, the latter engaging by a contemporaneous agreement which is sometimes in writing and sometimes merely *verbal*, that, on the re-payment of the money lent, he will re-convey the property to the borrower. The custom is as old as the days when the Mahomedans ruled in this country." And Mr. Justice Shumboo Nath Pundit said:—"As a question of fact, I can state from personal experience that I have seen and known of many deeds of conditional sales executed as of absolute sale not followed by any *written* agreement by the mortgagee to return the property.'

It was decided by a majority of the judges in the Full Bench case to which we have just referred, that no evidence can be given to show that a deed of absolute sale was intended to operate as a mortgage, and the same rule has since been enacted in the Indian Evidence Act. The ryot will, however, be probably held to be at liberty to give evidence to show that the document purporting to be a deed of out-and-out sale was really intended to be a deed of mortgage, and that, therefore, no effect whatever can be given to it under the Bengal Landlord and Tenant Act. But he will be often sore put to it to be in readiness with the needful evidence. And for one incidental effect of the change proposed, it is well worth while to compute the amount of hard swearing that will be frequently brought into requisition.

There are three arguments *for* transferability adduced in the Appendix to the Digest, to which we are referred by the report.* The *first* argument descants on the magic of property, which we found in operation in 1793, and which has ever since operated to good effect whenever a zemindary has been put up to auction for the realisation of Government revenue. The ruling idea of the Draft Bill is to create peasant proprietorship in Bengal. James Mill lamented, not long after the event, the loss of the grand opportunity which existed in India in 1793 to create a vast system of peasant proprietorship,—an opportunity "to which the history of the world presents not a parallel." James Mill is well known to have been no lover of the landowners or the rich in any country, but he did not indulge in the hope that peasant proprietorship might with justice be made to flourish side by side with the Permanent Settlement. And, after all, it is very remarkable that those who are best acquainted with the Belgian and French systems of peasant proprietorship, are slowest to predict great things from the transplantation of the systems into foreign countries, or the introduction of systems carved and contrived

* In the Appendix to the Digest, Mr. Field has merely set down the *pros* and *cons* on this question, without pledging himself to any opinion whatever. It cannot be said of *any* particular argument that it expresses Mr. Field's matured opinion, and the opinion of the majority of the Commissioners must be taken to be based on various permutations and combinations of the arguments set down in the Appendix.

after their pattern. Emile De Laveleye, speaking of the suitability or otherwise of the Flemish land system to Ireland, says :—

"In Flanders you do not find the land subdivided in the way it is in Ireland, according to Lord Dufferin, who has shown the evils of the kind of subdivision practised there; from his description it appears that in Ireland, at the death of any holder, and often even during his lifetime, the children divide the lands among themselves, each of them building a cottage on it; or, if the tenant has no children, he sublets his land to several small farmers, and allows them to settle on it, notwithstanding the stipulations of the lease. Such breaking up of the land must lead to the most wretched farming, and to pauperism on the part of the tenants. As long as the Irish farmer has no better understanding than that of his own interest and of the requirements of a sound economical system, no agricultural policy, neither fixity of tenure nor even ownership in fee-simple could improve his condition. Although the population of Flanders is twice as dense as that of Ireland, a Flemish peasant would never think of dividing the farm he cultivates among his children; and the idea of allowing a stranger to settle and build a house on it, and farm a portion of it, would appear altogether monstrous to him. On the contrary, he will submit to extraordinary sacrifices to give his farm the size and typical shape it should have.

"How is it that the Fleming and the Irishman hold such different points of view? I think it is partly due to the difference of race, and partly to circumstances. The Celt, being more sociable, thinks most of the requirements of members of his family, whilst the Teuton thinks more of the requirements of the soil and of good cultivation.........But supposing the Irishman to become the absolute owner of his farm, would he learn and comply with the requirements of the land? A Flemish farmer's son always wants to have a good farm of his own; he would not put up with a hovel improvised on a potato field. Could the Irishman but be brought to practise agriculture as an art, and not as a mere means of bringing a subsistence from the soil, he would soon abandon the miserable system of subdivision which he has adhered to so long. But how is this taste for agriculture as an art to be imparted to him? To extinguish the influence of instincts or tendencies, whether inherent in the race or the historical product of centuries, would it suffice to introduce an agrarian constitution in Ireland similar to that of Flanders, or, better still, Switzerland?' These are questions which I confess myself not in a position to answer; but they are questions which those who have the Irish land question to solve ought to face, when considering the land system of Flanders."*

Such, and other such, questions have to be faced by those who have the Bengal land question to solve. The ryot, in this respect no better than his landlord, has never been known to postpone the requirements of his family to the requirements of political economy. Over-population, subletting and subdividing, are the three most prominent features in the economical condition of the Bengal peasantry. The Commissioners do not propose to impose any checks on minute subdivision or under-letting; on the contrary they permit under-letting to the extent of allowing a right of occupancy to grow *within* a right of occupancy (Section 19, Ex-

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* Cobden Club Essays, 242-44.

planation 3, Clause *c*). Upon this subject the remarks of Babu Peary Mohan Mookerjea are eminently sensible. He says:—

"The creation of a sub-occupancy right would cause a radical change in the position of a large class of ryots, and lead to inextricable confusion in the determination of the respective rights of ryots and their sub-lessees. A ryot who has sublet a portion of the lands which comprise his holding will be a sort of middle man as regards that portion, and an occupancy ryot as regards the remainder. There is nothing to prevent the sub-lessee, when he finds that he has substantial rights in the land, from subletting it in his turn to a second grade of sub-lessees who, although the actual cultivators of the soil, and the men whom it is intended to benefit, will have no rights at all."

It appears that the Commissioners were favoured with a criticism of the Appendix to the Digest from the pen of Sir Richard Garth. Many enlightened friends of the ryot will agree with Sir Richard Garth, where he says:—

"I should have thought that the most effectual way of protecting such people (meaning the improvident ryots of Bengal), and preventing them from wasting their substance, would be to secure them a permanent interest in their property, by *prohibiting the alienation of it in any shape or way*. They might be allowed to underlet in the case of minors, lunatics, or others labouring under disability; and some means might be taken for protecting (for a time at least) present interests which have been created by way of under-lease. But I should have said that, with these exceptions, it would be more prudent to prevent underletting altogether."

Let *this* be done, and the slow but sure operation of primary schools and of time, will develop the taste for agriculture as an art, which is so much desiderated by Emile De Laveleye.

The *second* argument for transferability is based upon the *advantage to the landlord* of these holdings being saleable for arrears of their own rent. It is by no means easy to understand the meaning of this argument. The landlord already has the power of bringing these holdings to sale in execution of decrees for their own rent, and if a large number of such holdings be brought into the market, as the proposed change will infallibly bring, the effect will be a fall in their price and, *pro tanto*, a diminution of the landlord's security for rent.

The *third* and last argument for transferability is perhaps thrown in as a mere makeweight. It amounts to just this: if you decide to make occupancy holdings transferable, the Bengal Council will be saved the trouble of framing rules, and the Bengal High Court will be saved the trouble of looking after their proper application, *when* the question of tenants' improvements shall arise in Bengal, as it has arisen in other countries, where the tenants are wont to spend money and labour in the improvement of their holdings. The Commissioners withal

have themselves contrived to raise the question in Chapter IV. of the Draft Bill, which we shall examine by and by.

The arguments *against* transferability are very fairly stated in the Appendix to the Digest. Mr. Field enumerates no fewer than *fourteen* arguments on this side of the question, and professes to refute them one by one. We shall notice them in the briefest possible manner. The *first* argument is drawn from the political inexpediency of transferability, to which Mr. Field answers that it may safely be said to have no application to such humble folk as Bengali ryots; but though it must be admitted that *political* danger is utterly out of the question, it must be remembered that these humble folk have approved themselves in many districts, to be quite equal to the getting up of successful *agrarian* disturbances. The next four arguments relate to the danger of the ryot and his holding falling into the grip of the *mahajan*, and that danger is provided against in the Draft Bill in the way we have seen. The *sixth* argument is that zemindars will be unjustly deprived of *salamis* which are a source of income to them. Mr. Field argues in vain to redargue this argument. No amount of reasoning will ever convince people who are told to relinquish a source of income guaranteed by law and custom, that they ought not to be so unreasonable as to complain. The *seventh* argument is that ryots will become less careful to pay their rents, and we agree with Mr. Field in thinking that this argument is worthless, so far as ryots who are really ryots,* and mean to earn their subsistence from the soil are concerned. The *eighth* argument is, that it is not fair to the zemindar to give the surplus sale-proceeds to the ryot. To this it seems to be a very satisfactory answer, that the landlord may get the benefit of the improvements made by him, and, we may add, of a fair proportion of the unearned increment in the value of the land under the *existing law relating to enchancement of rents*. But we shall see hereafter how far this answer is competent to the framers of the Draft Bill, and at any rate something must be deducted from its force on account of the additional motives for enchancement of rents that will be necessarily brought into play. The *ninth* argument is that rival zemindars will purchase holdings for purposes of harassment. Mr. Field says that this argument supposes a state of things no longer in existence; that the days of *lattialism* are numbered, when, "to obtain such a position (meaning position in the enemy's zemindary), was in *zemindari* politics quite as important as the acquisition of Cyprus, or the

* There are the "men of straw," whose case is considered in the *tenth* argument.

command of the Straits of Gibralter is to the British Government." To this it has been weightily replied that, *lattialism* apart, "the variety of mischief which landowners will invent to harass a hostile neighbour is infinite." Mr. Field further suggests that the zemindar may prevent such intrusion by himself buying in the holdings put up for sale, which presupposes that he is richer than his rival, and can always keep money in hand to outbid his rival whenever such holdings are put up for public sale. But nothing is said of the permanent danger of any disaffected ryot privately selling his holding to the rival zemindar. The *tenth* argument is that "men of straw will purchase the holdings, and exhaust the land, and zemindars will look in vain for their rents." To this it is very forcibly answered in the Appendix to the Digest, that the landlord may distrain the crops, but the law of distraint is very conspicuous by its absence in the Draft Bill. The *eleventh* argument is that zemindars may wish to hold *khas* possession of some lands within their zemindary. The wish is censured as in opposition to the 'common law' of the country, but this part of the Appendix forgets the beginning, where it is fully admitted that *no ryots' holding* was transferable at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and that before Act X. of 1859 was passed, the only question on which some difference of opinion existed was whether a *khod kasht* ryot could be ejected even while he continued to pay his rent. The *twelfth* argument is that zemindars will be unable to choose their own ryots. The answer given in the Appendix is that—"if the Legislature would properly listen to this argument of freedom of choice, it would be bound, in order to be consistent, to alter the native marriage laws without delay." This is a downright *non sequitur*, for conjugal rights are not transferable under the native marriage laws, and the zemindar may certainly prevent any strange or improper female from becoming an *occupancy tenant of his* zenana. If it were otherwise, it would have been found long ago necessary to pass an Act for the relief of embarassed zemindars in Bengal. The *thirteenth* argument is that zemindars will be obliged, in self-defence, to take care that rights of occupancy are not acquired in future; the answer set down in the Appendix is, that if they show any such inclination, the Legislature will not be in the least incommoded,—"the Legislature is not likely to be much moved by the fear of that being done, which it has permitted to be done, and which it could prevent from being done by *a stroke of the pen.*" Sir Richard Garth may "sincerely hope that in the interests of justice the *stroke of the pen*, which is hinted at, may never be attemped," (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 387), but after all the Chief Justice will be bound to take judicial notice of it, (Act I, 1872, Section 57).

The *fourteenth* and last argument concerns Behar alone, and is to the effect that Behar ryots are too poor to buy holdings if offered for sale. *That* "certainly is a reason why something should be done to raise the Behar ryots from their present state of poverty and degradation." But we fail to see how the facilities provided for the saleability of holdings will conduce to that end. Besides, "transferability without purchasers" *is* "as useless as a coach without horses." The supply of holdings in the market will not create an effective demand for them.

Fourteen is an unlucky number,—so here goes a *fifteenth* argument against transferability. This argument concerns the North-Western Provinces alone, and is to the effect that the Supreme Council, when enacting Act XVIII. of 1873, did not deem it expedient to make the ryot's right of occupancy transferable. That certainly is a reason why the Bengal Council should pause before taking exactly the contrary course. It must be borne in mind that this right of occupancy, this result of twelve years' occupation, this *privilege* accurately described in Article 41 of the Digest, was created simultaneously in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces by Act X. of 1859, on the 29th day of April in that year. In fact, it was to suit the North-Western Provinces that the twelve years' rule was introduced into Bengal. Mr. Mackenzie, who professes to speak with authority upon all matters connected with "the inner history of the making of Act X." is our authority for this assertion. (See *Calcutta Gazette*, p. 116-7.)

Section 9 of the North-Western Provinces Rent Act runs as follows :—

> "The right of *tenants at fixed rates* shall be heritable and transferable.
>
> *No other right of occupancy shall be transferable by grant, will or otherwise, except as between persons who have become by inheritance co-sharers in such right.*
>
> When any person entitled to such last mentioned right dies, the right shall devolve as if it were land : provided that no collateral relative of the deceased who did not then share in the cultivation of his holding shall be entitled to inherit under this section."
>
> The *tenants at fixed rates* are thus defined in Section 5 :—
>
> "All tenants in districts or portions of districts permanently settled, who hold lands at fixed rates of rent which have not been changed since the Permanent Settlement, shall have a right of occupancy at those rates, and shall be called 'tenants at fixed rates.'"

The *twenty years' presumption* of Act X. is retained, and the consequence is that in the permanently settled districts of the North-Western Provinces, all ryots who have either, as a matter of fact, held at a fixed rate from the Permanent Settlement, or who, under favour of the *twenty years' presumption*, have been

declared by a Court of Justice to be "tenants at fixed rates," may transfer their holdings at pleasure. Free trade in holdings is permitted to this extent: but *no other right of occupancy is transferable, except as between persons who have become by inheritance co-sharers in such right.* This and the next provision relating to the exclusion of relatives who did not share in the cultivation, at the time the succession opens, are well fitted to prevent *mahajanny* serfage and *morcellement.* If it has become so absolutely necessary to strike a blow at the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, let not the blow be heavier than in the North-Western Provinces.

VI.—*The Alleged Tendency of Occupancy Holdings to become Transferable.*

The great argument of justice against making rights of occupancy transferable remains to be dwelt upon. The arguments we have hitherto considered are, most of them, less or more, arguments of convenience or sentiment. Mr. Field would not admit arguments of sentiment, but he forgets that sentiment holds the same place in the Ethics of the East, which custom does in its Political Economy. Custom and sentiment, competition and utility always go hand in hand. And this reminds us of an argument *for* transferability contained in the Appendix to the Digest, which we forgot to notice in its proper place,—an omission due to the circumstance that, unlike the rest, this argument is not formally set down under a separate title. The argument is thus forcibly stated by Mr. Field :—

"But though alienability is not an ordinary incident of landed property in its early stage, there can be no doubt that the tendency of development is in this direction, and that in most countries all kinds of property in land sooner or later become alienable. These provinces form no exception to the operation of this general rule. Once the Legislature had declared estates and then *patni* tenures to be transferable, the idea of alienability as an incident of property in land rapidly developed itself, and we soon find the Courts and the Legislature dealing with under-tenures which were *transferable by their title-deeds or by the established usage of the country.* That the idea should be extended to ryots' holdings was only a natural progress, and accordingly, in many parts of the country the ryots' holding became to be regarded as transferable. This result was no doubt brought about in some measure by the zemindars bringing these holdings to sale in execution of their own decrees for rent. Saleability for arrears of revenue or rent has usually been the first step towards alienability.

The sale of a holding at the request, and, therefore, with the consent, of the landlord is, of course, different from a sale without the landlord's consent or even in opposition to his wishes; but once the former kind of sale had become common and usual, the idea of transferability took root and gained round, and the holding came to be sold without the landlord's consent being asked. Instances of these sales multiplied, and at last a local custom

became tolerably well established. There can be little doubt but that the process was greatly facilitated by the want of any rules for entering such transfers in the landlord's sherishtah, and by the habit, alluded to in the note at page 10 of the Digest, of receiving the rent of a holding from any person who brought it, without enquiry as to whether such person, when not the known tenant, was the duly appointed agent of such tenant making the payment on his behalf.

"These local customs of transferability have been well established in some estates, and in some parts of the country, whilst in other parts they are in various stages of formation, and in many places they have not come into even an embryo existence. That *the right of occupancy, which is the creature of the statute*, is not tranferable *per se*, and apart from the holding as affected by local custom, has been decided by a Full Bench of the High Court. Such being the present state of things, and the tendency being for all interests in land (leasehold interests included) to become alienable, the question is, should the Legislature step in, anticipate the progress of this tendency, and declare that every holding in which a ryot has acquired or shall acquire a right of occupancy shall be transferable?" (Appendix to Digest, pp. 165-6.)

It will be seen that an argument *for* transferability is involved in this forcible introduction of the question. But whatever may be the case in other countries, the tendency for "all interests in land (leasehold interests included)" to become transferable, has never developed itself in these provinces with anything like the rapidity suggested in Mr. Field's statement. "Once the Legislature had declared estates and then *patni* tenures to be transferable, the idea of alienability as an incident of property in land rapidly developed itself, and we soon find the Courts and the Legislature dealing with under-tenures *transferable by their title-deeds or by the established usage of the* country." The *established usage* which we soon find the Courts and the Legislature dealing with, did not establish itself after the Legislature had declared estates and then *patni* tenures to be transferable. *It means an usage older than the Permanent Settlement itself.* It is mentioned in Clause 7, Section 15 of Regulation VII. of 1799, which provides that "if the defaulter be a *dependent talookdar or the holder of any other tenure which, by the title-deeds or established usage of the country, is transferable by sale or otherwise*, it may be brought to sale, by application to the Dewanny Adawlut, in satisfaction of the arrear of rent, and the purchaser will become the tenant for the new year." The idea of alienability completely realised in zemindaries and patni talooks, did not actively propagate itself, for anything that appears in the statute book. And it is worth noting, in the first place, that when, in 1819, the Legislature declared patni talooks to be transferable, they were careful to provide that the zemindar should not be bound to recognize any transfer, unless and until the transferee furnished substantial

security to the amount of half the yearly rent, and unless and until the transferee, except only when the zemindar had himself brought the talook to sale, likewise paid a *salami* at the rate of two per cent. on the yearly rent, until the *salami* amounted to one hundred rupees. (Reg. VIII. 1819, Section 7.) In the second place, it must be remarked that the patni talook is very different from a *leasehold interest*, and that the interval between a patni talook and an occupancy holding is immense; the patni is very like a conveyance of the estate or a portion of the estate, to the patnidar and his heirs for ever, with the reservation of a fixed rent to the zemindar, who reduces himself, by the grant, to the position of a mere annuitant upon his estate. The statutory declaration of the transferability of *patni talooks* was accompanied by important restrictions regarding substantial security and *salami;* but it is proposed to render *the right of occupancy which is the creature of Act X. of* 1859, transferable without any such restriction whatever.

The provision of Regulation VII. of 1799 to which we have referred, was repealed by Act X. of 1859, which enacted in its 105th section that, if the decree be for an arrear of rent due in respect of *an under-tenure which by the title-deeds, or the custom of the country, is transferable by sale,* the judgment-creditor may make application for the sale of the tenure. Those who are learned in "the inner history of the making of Act X." may say whether there was any deep meaning in this substitution of "custom of the country," in place of "established usage of the country" in Regulation VII. of 1799. But it is just possible that the phrase was varied designedly to meet the case of customs in which, by force of imitation, the idea of alienability had realised itself between 1793 and 1819, and still more between 1819 and 1859. It is, however, only *just possible;* for we have no data for ascertaining, with anything like approximate correctness, in what districts, to what extent, or in what descriptions of interests in land, the idea had realised itself. Furthermore, *the established usage* of Regulation VII. of 1799 cannot refer to *ryottee holdings,* for it is admitted that no such holdings were transferable in 1793, and *the custom* in Act X. of 1859 is a custom appertaining to *under-tenures* and not to the holdings of *ryots* whose right of occupancy was created by that Act. The records of land-suits may throw some light upon the subject, but from the vague statement that "these local customs" (meaning apparently customs appertaining to interests in land of miscellaneous descriptions) "of transferability have been well established in some estates and in some parts of the country," we are inclined to think that the commissioners had not before them the results of a proper search

into those records for any considerable number of years between 1793 and 1819, or between 1819 and 1859, or between 1859 and 1880. Unquestionably the true function of legislation is to step in and anticipate the progress of salutary economical and social tendencies. But unfortunately we have very insufficient materials indeed upon which to build any large conclusions respecting the character, the rate, or the effects for good or evil, of the propagation of the idea of alienability of interests in land in Bengal. From the reported decisions, it certainly does not appear that the idea has made such progress and with such results in realising itself in occupancy holdings, that the Legislature is called upon to take the step proposed. Wherever occupancy holdings have become transferable by local custom, the fact is a good proof that the custom is suited to the locality. If occupancy holdings are tending to become transferable in various parts of the country, depend upon it that the tendency will ripen into a custom wherever it is really suited to the locality, and the introduction of the rule of transferability in other places cannot but prove mischievous. The development of customs is in all countries regulated by the law of the survival of the most suitable. With the information, the facts and figures at their command, for the Legislature to declare occupancy holdings throughout the territories subject to the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to be transferable without substantial security, *salami*, or any other restriction whatever, would not be taking the timeous step in aid and anticipation of salutary social and economical tendencies, which we believe to be the true function of legislation, and which we sincerely rejoice to find implicitly postulated; but it would be simply taking a large leap in the dark. Moreover, free-trade in occupancy holdings, though it may be the thing wanted, and though it may be really desirable in countries where competition rules all economical relations, can hardly be the thing wanted or a really desirable thing in Bengal, the true political economy for which, as the report constantly insists, is the political economy of custom.

Again, wherever such local custom has established itself, it must have done so, and is admitted to have done so, under favour of the zemindar, for it cannot be remarked too often that not even a *khod kasht* ryot's holding was transferable at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and that "*the right of occupancy, which is the creature of the statute*" is a parvenu, ushered into existence on the 29th day of April in the year 1859. It would be a poor requital of the zemindar's indulgence to force them by Act of Council to recognise unrestricted transfers of occupancy holdings throughout the Bengal provinces, because they have

permitted such holdings to become transferable by custom in certain estates, or certain districts, to which such custom has been found by experience to be suitable.

Every argument of custom, convenience, sentiment, or even expediency converges to the conclusion, that it is not advisable to make occupancy holdings freely transferable. Let "the creature of the statute" abide in the peasant family in which it was born. Peasant families which, by good conduct for twelve years continuously, have been able to rear the creature, have in some degree approved themselves worthy of maintaining it, and will be found in the long run best able to improve it and to make it subservient to the happiness of the agricultural community.

VII.—*The Argument of Justice against Free-trade in Occupancy Holdings.*

But all arguments of custom, convenience, sentiment, or even expediency must yield to the great overruling argument of justice. The *raison d'etre* of all legislative bodies and all tribunals is the protection of the *just* proprietary and other rights of individuals. In that Minute which Sir Barnes Peacock wrote in reply to a reference from the Supreme Government, and in which he recommended the repeal of the *sixth* and *seventeenth* Sections of Act X. of 1859, which created the right of occupancy we are considering, and rigorously prescribed the limits of the rent demandable by the zemindar, he said :—

"In my opinion, as shown by my judgment (meaning judgment in Hills *vs.* Isshur Ghose), a ryot did not, prior to the passing of Act X. of 1859, acquire a right of occupancy merely by cultivating or holding for 12 years. Although I voted and protested against the third reading of the Act, I did so, not upon the ground of the introduction of Sections 6 and 17; and for my own part I must admit that the passing of those sections was a great mistake. I would willingly correct it, if I had the power, by repealing the sections."

This passage gives us an interesting glimpse into "the inner history of the making of Act X.," and we would fain hope that the encroachment upon the vested proprietary rights of zemindars, which was the effect of that measure, was not designed by Lord Canning and his Council. One member of that Council, at any rate, was not consciously a party to the injustice wrought, and when, soon after the passing of Act X., he saw his error, he hastened to strenuously endeavour to repair the wrong. Mr. Mackenzie, however, is bent upon proving that the injustice was intentionally wrought, and Mr. Mackenzie says he is well acquainted with the inner and inmost history of the making of Act X.

(*Calcutta Gazette*, pp. 116-7.) We can only say that because some injustice was done in 1859, it does not logically follow that the measure of it must be made full in 1880.

The reference from the Supreme Government to the Bengal High Court was made *after* the passing of Act X. of 1859, and the *then* Chief Justice earnestly pleaded for the just rights vested in zemindars under the Permanent Settlement. A reference from the Bengal Government has been made to the Bengal High Court before the passing of the Bengal Landlord and Tenant Act; the reply with which the present Chief Justice and his companions the Justices of that Court will favour the Bengal Government remains to be given, and it still remains to be seen what kind of reception will be accorded to it.

We intend to give the argument of justice against free-trade in occupancy holdings in the words of Sir Richard Garth. *Brande and Cox* may be all wrong; *propaganda* may mean an Association *simpliciter*, or it may after all turn out that Mr. Mackenzie did not accurately weigh his words when he penned that final Minute in which he reviews the Report of the Rent Law Commission. This last theory also accounts for his otherwise very irrelevant remarks regarding two of his native colleagues.

In a Minute, dated High Court, the 8th January 1880, (*Calcutta Gazette*, page 389), Sir Richard Garth says:—

"By the Permanent Settlement zemindars were (subject to certain restrictions which are immaterial to our present purpose) left free by the Legislature to let their unoccupied land to ryots upon whatever terms they thought proper. They had almost as much freedom in that respect as landlords have in England. The terms upon which they let the land were a matter of contract; and the principle of demand and supply (whether of ryots or land) usually regulated these terms.

Mr. Field expresses some doubt whether a *khod kasht* ryot, as long as he paid his rent, could be turned out of his holding by his landlord. But, however, this may be, it is certain that before the passing of the Rent Law in 1859, a landlord could, and did almost at pleasure, rid himself of objectionable tenants.

To obviate this apparent injustice, Act X. of 1859 protected a ryot from eviction after twelve years of occupancy, and prevented the landlord from enhancing his rent after that period, except under certain conditions.

Now, however wise and politic this provision might have been, it seems to me impossible to deny that it operated as an invasion of the landlord's rights as conferred upon him by the Permanent Settlement; and the only equitable ground upon which such an invasion could be justified would seem to be this, that if a ryot had approved himself as a good tenant by cultivating his land, and paying his rent satisfactorily for so long a period as twelve years, it was only fair to him, and no real injustice to the landlord, to continue him in his occupation, and prevent his being ejected, without some sufficient reason.

But assuming this to be the true view of the matter, what becomes of the justification for invading the landlord's rights, if the ryot is to be

allowed, as soon as he has acquired his right of occupancy, to get rid of it altogether? If the *equity* to the landlord consisted in his being permanently secured a good tenant, what becomes of the equity if you allow the ryot to transfer his interest ?"

VIII.—*The New Right of Occupancy proposed to be created. Draft Bill. Chapter IV.*

The innovation and the injustice involved in permitting free-trade in holdings in which a right of occupancy has been or shall be acquired by twelve years' occupation, are eclipsed by the innovation and the injustice involved in extending the same right of occupancy, in a modified form and in a circuitous manner, to *ryots who have held land for three or more, but less than twelve years.* The genesis and characteristics of this new "creature of the statute" are thus described and delineated in the Report :—

"Chapter IV treats of ryots who have held land for three or more, but less than twelve years. This Chapter is the result of a compromise between different views entertained by members of the Commission. Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy are in favour of reducing from twelve to three years the period necessary to acquire a right of occupancy. Messrs. Dampier and Field would in this respect make no change in the law of 1859, believing that the number of persons likely to be benefited is not so large, or the amount of benefit likely to be conferred so great, as to compensate for the unsettling of present ideas, the disturbance of existing rights, and the consequent litigation that would probably be the result of such a new provision. In the view that there is no necessity for any change in the direction indicated, the two last mentioned Members of the Commission would prefer to have Chapter IV struck out of the Bill altogether. We proceed to notice the provisions of the Chapter.

"It is provided (Section 26) that a ryot who, for a continuous period of three or more, but less than twelve years, has as a tenant occupied and cultivated, or has as a tenant held land other than *khamar nij-jote* or *sir* land let on lease for a term, or year by year, shall not be evicted from such land by the landlord thereof otherwise than (*a*) for non-payment of rent ; or (*b*) for a breach of some condition of his lease which expressly provides that eviction shall be the penalty of such breach ; or (*c*) for refusal to pay an increased rent demanded by his landlord. A demand for increased rent is not limited by any of the provisions of the Bill, but notice of such demand must be given to the ryot at least three months before the end of the year. If the ryot after receipt of such notice elects to continue in possession of the land, he will be liable for the higher rent demanded. If he is unwilling to keep the land at the higher rent demanded, he can give his landlord notice of his intention to relinquish it, and *he will be entitled to receive as compensation for disturbance one year's rent at the higher rate demanded by the landlord.* If the landlord fails to pay such compensation within the first month of the ensuing year, the ryot shall be entitled to hold on at the old rent.

"Any such ryot, who is evicted *on any of the three grounds* above mentioned, is also declared to be entitled to receive compensation for any improvements made by him upon the land at any time while he cultivated or held it."......(*Calcutta Gazette*, pp. 58-9.)

The result is, that a ryot who has held for *three* years is regularly entitled to hold on at the rent which he has been paying; if a higher rent is asked, he has only to tell the landlord that he does not mean to continue on the land; the tables are now turned, and it becomes the landlord's duty to *pay* to the ryot one years' rent at the higher rate. If the landlord fails to pay this sum within one month, the ryot shall be entitled to hold on at the old rent. But suppose the ryot neglects to pay even the old rent, he is not to be ejected unless the landlord is ready and willing to pay him full compensation for any hut that he may have put up, or any fruit trees that he may have planted, or anything else which he may have done on the land which the Munsiff of the place may regard as an agricultural "improvement."* Suppose, however, that the ryot has "scourged" the land, or wilfully allowed it to lapse into jungle, or otherwise helped to depreciate it, such a supposition is not permitted in Chapter IV. Again, such a ryot may claim *abatement* of the rent paid by him; if the landlord is unwilling to allow it, why the ryot may give up the land, and compel the landlord to pay him one year's *unabated* rent and compensation for "improvements" as before (Section 31). Then think of the litigation concerning *compensation for improvements* which the landlord, by asking for higher rent, may incur the obligation of giving, or the ryot by claiming abatement, may acquire the right of receiving. The question of compensation for improvements will arise in the following cases:—

1*st.*—If the ryot is turned out for refusing to pay the *old rent.*

2*nd.*—If the ryot is turned out for doing something which he had *expressly* agreed to do on pain of being turned out, when he entered upon the land.

3*rd.*—If the landlord asks for higher rent, and the ryot refuses to pay it.

4*th.*—If the ryot claims abatement, and the landlord refuses to allow it.

One of the native members of the Commission, Babu Peary Mohun Mookerjee, observes, with reference to these provisions of the Draft Bill, that the compensation for disturbance, *plus* the compensation for houses built or works done on the land, "perhaps without the landlord's knowledge or consent," will generally exceed the price at which existing occupancy holdings are sold, and consequently *these* ryots will in many cases enjoy a more valuable right than existing occupancy ryots. (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 103.)

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* Section 29 enumerates six kinds of "improvements" but does not profess to be exhaustive.

Another native Member of the Commission, Babu Mohiny Mohun Roy, remarks :—

"Chapter IV, Sections 26 to 31.—Investing three-year ryots with occupancy rights in a modified form. *This is a flagrant change, and requires no comment.*" (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 112.) This new "creature of the statute" is indeed a prodigy, and calls for no comment, but many notes—of admiration.

IX.—Ejectment for Breach of Express Contract. Draft Bill, Section 20, Clause (e).

Section 20, Clause (e) of the Draft Bill, runs as follows :—

No ryot may be ejected from land in which he has a right of occupancy, whether for non-payment of rent or other cause, *not being a breach of a stipulation in respect of which such ryot and his landlord have contracted in writing that the ryot shall be liable to ejectment for a breach thereof. Any such ryot who is ejected on account of a breach of any such stipulation shall be entitled to compensation for improvements under the provisions of Sections* 29 *and* 30.

And the Report says :—

"As an occupancy holding has been made transferable, and saleable in execution of a decree for its own rent, the necessary consequence is that a ryot ought no longer to be ejected from such a holding for non-payment of rent. We have accordingly enacted (section 20, clause e), that no ryot may be ejected from land in which he has a right of occupancy, whether for non-payment of rent, or other cause not being a breach of a stipulation in respect of which such ryot and his landlord have contracted in writing that the ryot shall be liable to ejectment for a breach thereof. When a ryot is ejected on account of a breach of any such stipulation, we have provided that he shall be entitled to compensation for improvements under certain provisions which will be noticed hereafter. Mr. O'Kinealy is strongly opposed to forfeiture for breach of the conditions of a lease, and would allow equitable relief in all cases in which the landlord is not actually endamaged, or the security for his rent impaired. Courts of Equity have always regarded conditions for forfeiture with disfavour, proceeding on the principle that they are intended to secure the payment of the rent, and to prevent injury to the landlord's reversion ; that while the landlord is entitled to avail himself of his legal right to effectuate these ends, he ought not to be permitted to go further, and use it for purposes of oppression or harsh or vindictive injury. Mr. Field so far agrees with Mr. O'Kinealy as to think that the point ought to be considered, if the bill comes before the Legislature in its present shape. (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 22.)

We remark, in the first place, that Courts of Equity do not appear to have always regarded with disfavour conditions for forfeiture even for non-payment of rent. In *Hill* versus *Barclay* (18 ves. 58), Lord Eldon, speaking of the relief given in cases of non-payment of rent, said :—"It was upon a principle long acknowledged in this Court, but *utterly without foundation*." The occupancy ryot, however, is not to be ejected in any case for

non-payment of rent. *That* being a logical consequence of the transferability of occupancy holdings, is expressly enacted in section 20, clause (e) of the Draft Bill. For reasons fully set forth before, we are of opinion that occupancy holdings ought not to be made transferable, and consequently that the landlord should be at liberty to re-enter upon the breach of a stipulation in the lease, that in the event of non-payment of rent, the lease shall be forfeited. The existing law (10 W. R. F. B. 12) gives the ryot a limited time—fifteen days—from the date of the ejectment decree, within which he may save his tenure by paying the rent, interest, and costs,—which is all that a Court of Equity ever does when it relieves against forfeiture for non-payment of rent.

In the second place, we remark that Courts of Equity are by no means in the habit of relieving against forfeiture for other causes than non-payment of rent. Story, in his Equity Jurisprudence, says:—

"Section 1324. Be this as it may, it is clearly established that Courts of Equity will not interfere, in cases of forfeiture for the breach of covenants and conditions, where there cannot be any just compensation for the breach. *Thus, for example, in the case of a forfeiture for the breach of a covenant, not to assign without license, or to keep leasehold premises insured, or to renew a lease within a given time, no relief will be given;* for they admit of no just compensation, or clear estimate of damages."

And in another standard work on English law we find it stated that—

"A Court of Equity will not relieve against the forfeiture occasioned by breach of a covenant not to assign, for it could not place the parties *in statu quo;* and besides, such a forfeiture must always be incurred by the wilful act of the lessee, and cannot be the result of *accident*, which seems to be the true foundation on which equity supports itself when relieving against forfeitures. It should seem, however, that even in cases of accidental neglect to fulfil a covenant to repair, such relief will not be given." (*Smith's Leading Cases*, vol. I., p. 44, 6th edition.)

In the third place, if we might presume to offer a suggestion, we would propose that the words "an express stipulation" be substituted for the words "a stipulation" in this clause. The ryot ought not to be ejected except for breach of an *express* condition. We find it stated in Bacon's Abridgment that "a condition for re-entry cannot be created but by *express* words." (Bac. Abr. Tit. Lease. T. 2.)

In the fourth place, we venture to submit that a ryot who has acquired a right of occupancy should be treated as a person who is *sui juris*, and he is in fact so treated in many other places in the Draft Bill. We do not believe that any danger is to be apprehended from the ryot not being in an independent condition, The danger is of course apprehended when he enters into

the stipulation, for when he breaks it, he does so, in most cases, wilfully, and if in any case the breach has been brought about by anything done by the landlord, no forfeiture will be incurred. The Indian Contract Act affords ample protection to ryots and other classes of persons who may be made to enter into an agreement by coercion, undue influence, fraud, or misrepresentation. (Act IX., 1872, Ss. 15—19.) If this protection is deemed insufficient, the ryot ought, above and before all other things, to be secured against the consequences of his agreements with the *mahajan*, and the usury laws re-enacted with modifications, in the ryot's favour. The ryot stands more in danger of the *mahajan* than of the zemindar.

In the fifth place, we submit that, if the concluding provision is to be retained in this clause, it is very necessary that it should be distinctly stated that the ryot is not to be compensated for any "improvements" effected *after* he has incurred forfeiture for breach of an express stipulation.

In the sixth and last place, the propriety of this concluding provision appears to us to be very questionable. The hypothesis is that the agreement has been fairly entered into, and that it is not vitiated by fraud, coercion, undue influence, or misrepresentation; for otherwise no Court of justice will enforce it. If having entered into such an agreement, the ryot *wilfully* breaks it, he has himself to blame, and cannot have any equitable claim to compensation. Cases may be conceived in which the ryot incurs forfeiture for breach of a condition which was not within his power to perform at the time. But where the stipulation is that the ryot shall forbear from doing a certain thing, it is impossible to conceive that forfeiture may be incurred otherwise than wilfully. The claim to compensation, if any compensation is to be allowed for re-entry upon breach of an express stipulation, should assuredly be confined to cases in which from accident or other similar cause the ryot could not fulfil a positive condition; the claim ought not to be entertained in the very large number of cases in which the ryot, having expressly agreed to *forbear* from doing something, wilfully does that thing.

Forfeiture of the ryot's right of occupancy for one cause, namely, changing the species of cultivation, is in accordance with the prescriptive law of the country. Mr. Harrison quotes a passage from a Minute written by Sir John Shore on 1st June 1789, from which it appears that *khod kasht* ryots incurred a forfeiture of their right of occupancy if they changed the species of cultivation. Sir John Shore writes:—"Pottahs to the khod kasht ryots, or those who cultivate the lands of the village in which they reside, are generally given without any

limitation of period, and express that they are to hold the lands paying the rents from year to year. *Hence the right of occupancy originates;** and it is equally understood *as a prescriptive law* that the ryots who hold by this tenure cannot relinquish any part of the lands in their possession, or *change the species of cultivation without a forfeiture of the right of occupancy,* which, however, is rarely insisted upon; and the zemindars demand and exact the difference." (*Calcutta Gazette,* p. 429.) Mr. O'Kinealy, without presuming "to blame him (meaning Mr. Harrison†), for that his time has not been devoted to a study of the Regulations," demurs to the authority of Sir John Shore on this point, and observes as follows:—

"Let me commence by saying that, since 1793 up to date, no case affirming any such power of forfeiture on the ground of a change in the species of cultivation can be found in the reported decisions. This of itself, I might fairly say, is decisive of Mr. Harrison's contention. But, further, the only case at all connected with forfeiture which I can find in the reports is inconsistent with the existence of any such right as that referred to by Sir John Shore. In 1820 the Rajah of Nuddea attempted to resume a tenure on the ground that his lessee had broken a condition which gave a power to the zemindar to resume if any crop other than indigo was cultivated, but the Sudder Dewanny held that the lease could not be construed to prevent the ryot's cultivating ordinary crops other than indigo. In this case the idea that change of crop created a forfeiture is not once hinted at, and it is the only case in the reports." (*Calcutta Gazette,* p. 471.)

Mr. O'Kinealy in his elaborate Minute is careful to give references to the "Weekly Reporter" and other modern reports, but very inconveniently omits to give any reference in this instance. He merely says that the suit was brought in 1820, but he apparently forgot the law's delay when writing the above passage. Searching the Sudder Dewanny reports from 1820 downwards, we at last discovered the case referred to by Mr. O'Kinealy, in the reports of cases in the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut for 1832. It is the case of *Raja Grishchandra Roy* vs. *Commissioner of the Sundarbans, Andrew Kelso and Anand Mai Biswas.* The case is not very fully reported, but enough appears to show that it does not at all shake Sir John Shore's authority. The reporter's marginal note, which gives the substance of the decision very correctly, is this:—"A lessee for life, by terms of lease, was restricted to cultivation of indigo. Held on a liberal construction

* This shows that the right of occupancy was even in those days considered to be the result of the landlord's sufferance.

† Mr. Harrison, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, was one of the Members of the Rent Law Commission. The Board of Revenue, we thought, was the great repository of Regulations and Regulation-learning.

that it was not vitiated by the growth of grain *necessary for the support of the cultivators*." The lessee was not a *khod kasht* or other ryot, but originally Mr. John Prinsep, and afterwards, by successive assignments, the defendant Anand Maí. The tenure was not a ryotty holding, but a "talukah," consisting of nearly 5,000 biggahs of land at a yearly rent of nearly 5,000 rupees. The question in the case was not between the zemindar and the ryots, but between the zemindar and the holder of the talukah, whom the former sought to eject for breach of a clause in the lease, by which the lessee engaged, "under penalty of resumption that he should only cultivate indigo on the land." The defendant made answer—"that there was no infringement of the original lease; for crops cultivated, other than indigo, were *merely grown* for *the support of the ryots*." The Provincial Court held that—"it was true, crops, other than indigo, were produced; but this was *necessary for the support of the ryots*, and did not vitiate the lease." The decision of the Sudder Dewanny is given in four lines: "Mr. Walpole remarked that the lease could not be construed as prohibiting the ryots of the taluk from cultivating crops, other than indigo; and *any proof* as *to the death of the lessee or to the culture of other crops by his assignee, was wanting*." "The idea that change of crop created a forfeiture" is not only "hinted at," but is assumed, as indisputable by the defendant Anand Maí himself, that if he had grown other crops than indigo, or had allowed the ryots to grow more of other crops than was necessary for their subsistence the zemindar would be entitled to re-enter. The ryots under the lessee were held upon a liberal construction of the lease, to be justified in growing crops for their subsistence, as otherwise the object of the lease, which was to grow indigo in the taluk by means of the ryots located therein, would be wholly defeated. How this decision is "inconsistent with the existence of any such right as that referred to by Sir John Shore," we are entirely at a loss to conceive. The paucity of cases in the reports bearing upon this particular point is amply accounted for by the fact that, on the one hand, the ryot never thinks of changing the species of cultivation, but tenaciously adheres to the few crops grown in the locality from time immemorial, and on the other hand, forfeiture for change of cultivation is rarely insisted upon, and, to use the words of Sir John Shore, "the zemindars demand and exact the difference," to which they are entitled under the "prescriptive law."

But apart from English equity or the prescriptive law of the country, we believe that forfeiture for breach of an express stipulation is a provision the utility of which in many cases cannot be

gainsaid. If underletting is the great bane of the Bengal peasantry, we do not know how else it may be in some degree checked than by allowing landlords to eject ryots who, in spite of an express agreement to the contrary on pain of ejectment, cannot overcome the bad habit of under-letting. Suppose, again, a landlord wishes to try the experiment of making his ryots grow, say, arrowroot exclusively, in a large tract of unoccupied land within his estate, which may be well suited to the growth of arrowroot. If once he has let out the lands to ryots, and they have cultivated for twelve years, and thus acquired a right of occupancy, he is to be debarred from restricting the ryots to the cultivation of arrowroot, he will never dream of trying the experiment. It may be found easier and less expensive to try such experiments by means of ryots who must of course be allowed to hold the lands at very low rents for the first few years than by means of hired labourers. The landlord's profits in the former case will consist of enhanced rents, and will no doubt be very much less than in the latter; but his risk will be proportionately smaller, and he may prove a highly useful instrument for the teaching of a valuable lesson in agriculture to the Bengal peasantry.

X.—Disclaimer. Draft Bill, Section 79.

In the interests of the ryot, we would suggest a considerable modification in the law of forfeiture for disclaimer, as embodied in the Draft Bill. Upon this subject the Report says:—

"We have carefully considered the question whether a tenant who disclaims and denies his landlord's title ought to be punished with forfeiture. Some of us are strongly opposed to forfeiture as a principle; but we are agreed in thinking that, when a tenant in a suit to which his landlord is a party, disclaims such landlord's title, and sets up an adverse title in himself or another by matter in writing or reduced to writing, the landlord should have the option of treating this disclaimer as a forfeiture of the tenancy, if he elects to do so within a reasonable time, and we have enacted accordingly, making six months the time within which the landlord must elect. In order to prevent any hardship in the application of this rule, we have further provided that there shall be no forfeiture in any case in which the tenant, having been let into possession by the person whose title he denied, can show that such person's title has expired, or been defeated and annulled at the time of the disclaimer being made; or, having been let into possession not by such person but by another, can show that he admitted the title of such person under a *bonâ fide* misapprehension or mistake. We are all agreed that forfeiture ought not to be the consequence, in this country especially, of mere words spoken under ordinary circumstances or of a tenant's claiming a greater interest than he is entitled to." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 78.)

And section 79, clause (8) of the Draft Bill enacts:—

Subject to the other provisions of this Act, a tenancy is determined as

between the parties thereto by *any* of the following occurrences in the following cases respectively, that is to say—

(8)—in the case of any tenant—by disclaimer when in a suit to which his landlord is a party, the tenant disclaims such landlord's title and sets up an adverse title in himself or another by matter in writing, or reduced to writing by the Court under the provisions of this Act or of *the Code of Civil Procedure*, and such landlord elects within six months to treat such disclaimer as a forfeiture of the tenancy, provided that no such forfeiture by disclaimer shall be allowed in any case in which such tenant, having been let into possession by such landlord, can show that such landlord's title had expired, or been defeated or annulled at the time at whith such disclaimer was made; or, not having been let into possession by such landlord, can show that he admitted his title as landlord under a *bonâ fide* misapprehension or mistake.

In the first place, one *unintentional* consequence of this provision is worth pointing out. *In a suit to which his landlord is a party, the tenant* happens to be a witness and, in answer to a question directed to show that he is not an independent witness, intending to advance his landlord's case, *disclaims such landlord's title and sets up an adverse title in another by matter,* which is *reduced to writing by the court under the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure.* If, the day after, he incurs his landlord's displeasure, such landlord ought by no means to be allowed to *elect, within six months, to treat such disclaimer as a forfeiture of the tenancy.*

In the second place, therefore, it should be very distinctly enacted that ferfeiture shall occur only in these cases in which, *in a suit brought by the landlord against the tenant for the purpose of enforcing any obligation incident to the relationship of landlord and tenant,* the tenant disclaims his landlord's title.

But in the third place, we believe that it is necessary to enact for the ryot's protection that *Section* 79, *clause* (8) *shall not have a retroactive operation.*

The cases bearing upon the subject are duly noted in the Digest. But they do not prove that the doctrine of forfeiture for disclaimer was, till quite recently, by any means settled law in this country. The earliest case in which it was laid down and applied is reported in 2 W. R. Act X., 2. That decision was pronounced by Norman and Pundit, J.J., on the 4th January 1865. We do not know of any earlier case in which the doctrine was affirmed and applied, though we do not pretend to say what may be the result of a search into the Reports at large from 1792 downwards. After the passing of that decision, we find in the Reports cases in which the doctrine is generally admitted when referred to, but we find one case which was decided on the 22nd January 1873 (19 W. R. 95,) in which the doctrine is distinctly questioned by the late Chief Justice, Sir Richard Couch. In that case the landlord

brought a suit for khas possession. *The defendants set up an adverse title claiming the land as their own.* The title so set up was in the lower Courts found against them. They were allowed to contend in the High Court that they had a right of occupancy in the land. It was held that they had not acquired a right of occupancy, and the decision rested upon that ground alone. Sir Richard Couch observed :—"It is not necessary to determine the other question,—under what circumstances a person, having a right of occupancy, may, by setting up an adverse title, forfeit it. If the question should ever arise, I should like to consider whether the case in the Second Weekly Reporter, page 2, Act X. rulings, is one which should be followed under all circumstances." Again, on the 18th August 1874, we find Mitter, J., observing—"that it is by no means a settled point of law in this country that the denial by the tenant of the landlord's title works a forfeiture of the tenancy." (22 W. R., 448.) In fact, between 4th January 1865 and 28th February 1878, we find in the Reports only a single case* in which the doctrine was actually applied so as to give effect to a forfeiture for disclaimer. Since the last-mentioned date, which is the date of the decision in the second Calcutta Law Reports, page 208, the law on the subject may be taken to have become settled in the sense in which the Draft Bill proposes to enact it, although the question cannot be treated as settled beyond all controversy till it has been decided by a Full Bench of the High Court.

Add to this that disclaimer in rent suits, like the *alibi* in criminal cases, is a very favourite line of defence with the ryot as well as the mooktear, who is his habitual adviser. An examination of the records of pending rent suits will disclose the fact that in more than one-half of these suits the landlord's title is denied in the tenant's written statement.

In conclusion, it must be recollected that the English doctrine of disclaimer is a relic of feudality. We extract the following passage from a standard work on English law :—

A third instance of forfeiture is from its infrequency rather within the domain of theory than that of practice. *It occurs upon the civil crime of disclaimer;* as, where a tenant who holds of any lord, neglects to render him the due services, and, upon an action brought to recover them, disclaims to hold of his lord. Which disclaimer of tenure in any Court of record is a forfeiture of the lands to the lord, *upon reasons most apparently feudal* (*Broom and Hadley's Commentaries*, vol. II., p. 449).

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* This case was decided on the 12th February 1867 (7 W. R., 145,), and the decision turned more upon rules of pleading than upon the doctrine of disclaimer.

For many causes, into which it is unnecessary to enquire in this place, the practice of recklessly denying the landlord's title has become excessively common in Bengal, and it has become highly expedient to put an end to the practice by a legislative enactment. Section 79, clause (8) of the Draft Bill ought to be passed into law, with the modification we have suggested; but for the foregoing reasons we are of opinion that it ought not to have a retrospective operation.

XI.—Use of land for building purposes. Draft Bill, Chapter VI (Sections 36—42).

But whilst in the interests of the ryot we would suggest a modification in the law of disclaimer as embodied in the Draft Bill, we are bound to characterise Chapter VI of the Bill as a machinery for legalised spoliation. Our detailed objections to this chapter, and the *modus operandi* of this machinery, will be most conveniently exhibited in the form of short notes upon Sections 36-42.

Chapter VI.—Of the use of land for building purposes.

36. When land used or let to be used for agriculture, horticulture, pasture, or any other similar purpose, is held by any *such ryot, as is mentioned in section* 16 *or in section* 26, such ryot shall not, without the permission of the landlord of such land, use any portion thereof for building or any other purpose inconsistent with that for which it was used or let to be used as aforesaid: *provided that a ryot may without such permission erect upon such land a brick-built or other dwelling-house suitable for the use and occupation of himself and his family, together with such out-houses and offices as may be necessary thereto.*

Such ryot as is mentioned in section 16 *or in Section* 26.—The ryot mentioned in Section 16 is one who holds at a fixed rate which has not been changed from the time of the permanent settlement. His holding is, we believe, generally transferable, and, so far as he is concerned, we think the provisions of this chapter are harmless enough. The ryot mentioned in Section 26 is one who has held for three or more, but less than twelve, years, who, if he continues to hold for the full period of twelve years, will become an occupancy ryot.

Provided that a ryot may without such permission erect, &c.—Note that the expression here is 'a ryot,' not such ryot as is mentioned in Section 16 or in Section 26. Therefore if a ryot takes an agricultural lease for *one year certain*, and enters under such lease, he is at liberty to erect upon the land a brick-built dwelling-house, with out-houses and offices.

Himself and his family.—The ryot's family is of course a joint Hindu family. Is it meant that he should be at liberty to erect

apartments for collateral kinsmen who do not actually share in the cultivation ?

The result of the proviso is that, if a landlord lets all the lands of his estate for agricultural purposes, under leases, say, for ten years, he cannot predicate of any particular biggah of dry land within his estate, whether it will be again his to let for agricultural purposes, or to let to a new ryot, at the end of the ten years.

Given a field in a zemindary consisting of 10,000 bigahs all under cultivation, of which A is the proprietor in 1881, will A be able to let the field for cultivation, or to let it at all to a new ryot in 1882 ? This will be found to be an indeterminate problem.

37. If any such ryot begins to use any such land without the permission of the landlord thereof for building or any other purpose inconsistent with that for which it was used or let to be used as aforesaid, such landlord may serve such ryot through the Civil Court with a notice requiring him to desist from such change of the use of the land, and to restore it to its former condition, if such condition has been altered.

If any such ryot, i.e., the ryot mentioned in Section 16 or in Section 26.

38. In any case in which such notice is served upon such ryot within a reasonable time after he began to change the use of the land, if such ryot fails to comply with the requirements of such notice, and if such landlord, having applied to the Civil Court under the provisions of *the Specific Relief Act*, 1877, obtains a *mandatory injunction* to restrain such ryot from changing the use of the land, and to direct him to restore it to its former condition, where such condition has been altered, then, if such ryot for one month after the date of the decree granting such injunction, or, where such decree has been made *ex parte*, after the date of service upon him of notice of such injunction, fails to obey the same, he shall be liable to be ejected by the Court from the land in respect of which the injunction was granted ; he shall also be liable to pay by way of damages such sum as the Court which granted the injunction may find to be necessary to restore the land to its former condition, where such condition has been altered ; and he shall not be entitled to compensation in respect of any buildings or works erected or executed upon such land.

Mandatory injunction.—The granting of mandatory injunctions is a matter which is entirely in the *discretion* of the Munsiff. (See Specific Relief Act, Section 55.) And no mandatory injunction can be granted, except in the course of a regular suit, which must be commenced by a plaint bearing the full stamp. It must not be supposed that a mandatory injunction may be obtained upon a mere application for the purpose. (See Specific Relief Act, Section 53.)

39. In any case in which such notice is not served upon such ryot within a *reasonable time after he began to change the use of the land*, if there is no evidence that the landlord was aware thereof for some considerable time before he took steps to have such notice served, and if the landlord obtains a mandatory injunction as aforesaid, such ryot may be compelled to obey

such injunction in any manner provided in that behalf by the *Code of Civil Procedure*, but he shall not be liable to ejectment, and he shall be entitled to receive from his landlord such compensation as the Court which granted the injunction may find to be a *reasonable equivalent for any loss sustained by him* in consequence of his having to remove any buildings or works erected by him before he received the notice mentioned in Section 37.

Reasonable time after he began to change the use of the land.—This must mean some time *shorter* than the time usually occupied in completing the works by which the use of the land is changed. Thatched houses are usually erected within two or three weeks. The Civil Courts in Bengal are closed for upwards of a month during the long vacation, and the notice must be served through the Civil Court within a reasonable time.

Reasonable equivalent for any loss sustained by him.—This must represent the value of the labour employed in the work, the diminution in the value of the materials on account of breakage, &c., and the cost of their removal. If the work was a greengrocer's shop, this must also include the value of the goodwill of the business. The lessor is bound to pay all this compensation, because the lessee changed the use of the land for which it was let, and understood to be let.

40. If the landlord, being aware that any such ryot has begun to use any such land for building or any other purpose inconsistent with that for which it was used, or let to be used as aforesaid, without objection allows such ryot to spend money on such building or other purpose ;

Or, if the landlord fails to serve the ryot with such notice as is mentioned in Section 37 *within two years* after such ryot so began to change the use of the land ;

Such landlord shall be estopped from afterwards objecting to such changed use, and such land shall be deemed to have been let for building or such other purpose to which its use has been altered.

Within two years.—The landlord must make careful biennial surveys of all the lands which he has let for *agricultural* purposes, in order that he may not be deemed to have let them for *any other* purpose, and *estopped* from averring the truth as to the actual purposes of the letting. If he neglect to do so, he may find at the end of any two years that many portions of his estate which were growing potatoes or sugar-cane from time immemorial, are permanently covered with shops or *bustees*.

41. (*a.*) When land used or let to be used for building or any purpose other than agriculture, horticulture, pasture, or the like, has been in the immediate possession of a tenant, whether *under or without a lease*, for the full period of twelve years after the commencement of this Act, such tenant shall, *in the absence of any contract to the contrary*, acquire a right of occupancy in such land, *and shall not be liable to be ejected.*

Explanation.—The possession of the father or other person from whom the tenant inherits shall be deemed to be the possession of the tenant, within the meaning of this rule, for the purpose of acquiring a right of occupancy.

(*b.*) Such interest to be heritable, transferable, and devisable.
(*c.*) In default of payment of rent, land with buildings, &c., may be sold.

In order to understand this and the next section aright, it is necessary to bear in mind what is said in a note at page 3 of the Digest :—" *It has been repeatedly decided, and it is now settled law, that the grounds of enhancement and the right of occupancy provisions contained in the present law have no application to land not used for agricultural or horticultural purposes.*"

Whether under or without a lease. Therefore, regularly every existing lessee of such land, the term of whose lease has to run for twelve years after the commencement of this Act, shall, at the end of the term, have acquired a right of occupancy, and shall not be liable to be ejected.

In the absence of any contract to the contrary.—No such lessee will acquire a right of occupancy, if there is a clause in his lease which provides that no right of occupancy shall be acquired by possession under the lease. Few existing leases of such land will be found which contain a clause to this effect, and in the few leases which may happen to contain such a clause, the expression 'right of occupancy' will, we apprehend, have to be construed with reference to the law as it stood at the time of the making of the lease, and will therefore be held as meaning *the right of occupancy* which alone was then known to the law of the land, and which the lessor, from abundant caution, did not deem it superfluous to guard against by a stipulation in the lease.

And shall not be liable to be ejected.—The landlord shall never be able to re-enter on the premises let to *such* lessees, his family shall not be entitled to use any portion of such land, which, under a will or other family arrangement, has been perhaps expressly set apart for the purpose, for building thereupon " a brick-built or other dwelling-house suitable for the use and occupation of *his family*, together with such out-houses and offices as may be necessary thereto." See Section 36, proviso.

42. When a tenant has acquired a right of occupancy in any land under the provisions of Section 41, if the rent of such land has not been enhanced during the previous ten years, the landlord thereof shall be entitled from time to time to enhance such rent, so that it may be equal to the rent paid by other tenants for land in the neighbourhood having similar advantages, and used for similar purposes, or so that it may be equal to five per centum per annum of the market value of such land.

The conjoint operation of Sections 41 and 42 is thus commented upon by Babu Mohiney Mohun Roy :—

Chapter VI, Sections 41 *and* 42.

This is a very dangerous "improvement" and one of a very wide range and comprehensive character. I do not object to extending the *principle*

of occupancy right to homestead lands in villages used for dwelling purposes by artzians, shop-keepers, and other non-agricultural people. But I object to the maximum rent being fixed at 5 per cent. of the market value, which I consider to be too low. Nine per cent. would, in my opinion, be fair. As to extending the *principle* of occupancy right to village lands not used for dwelling purposes, and to lands situated in towns (whether used for building or any other purpose), it seems to be entirely out of the question, unless wholesale confiscation of private property is intended. (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 112.)

The justification for Chapter VI is thus given in para. 108 of the Report :—

The majority of us are of opinion that it is expedient to legislate upon the subject of land used for building houses and similar purposes, as well in agricultural villages as in towns. We believe that the non-agricultural population has increased, and is increasing, and that, even away from towns and cities, there is, in rural villages, a considerable number of persons who, though holding no land used for agricultural purposes, occupy, and in many cases have for years occupied, a site for their dwelling-house. The trading class, whom it is desirable to encourage, the *mahajun*, the shop-keeper, require land for their houses, shops, and *golahs*, or granaries. The zemindar in some places receives a higher rent for the land, *bastu*, *udbastu*, used for these purposes; and the construction of a new village, or the extension of an old one, has usually been a recognised source of legitimate profit. We think it reasonable to protect the zemindar on the one hand in the enjoyment of this source of increased income where it exists, and the tenant on the other hand from the contingency of arbitrary eviction. A successful tradesman or handicraftsman has usually a great desire to erect a *pukka* or brick-built house, but the difficulty of getting a good title to the piece of land required for the site, deters him from expending his money, lest he should afterwards be ejected. In cases of ejectment leave is usually given to remove the materials; but in the case of a newly constructed brick-built house this is somewhat of a mockery. We believe that nothing contributes more to raise the standard of comfort amongst a community than the erection and use of comfortable dwellings, and we have accordingly endeavoured to afford facility and encouragement to this improvement as well amongst the agricultural as the non-agricultural class. (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 61.)

It is impossible to deny that nothing contributes more to raise the standard of comfort amongst a community than the erection and use of comfortable dwellings. But the general standard of comfort is not to be promoted at the expense of one particular class of the community; and Chapter VI relates not only to *dwellings*, but to brick-built buildings and other enduring structures of every description. No *mahajan*, or shop-keeper, finds any difficulty in erecting *golahs* or shops. He has to pay a rent for the site at the market rate; and if it is desirable to reduce the rent, the advantage will be shared by the consumer, *i.e.*, the general public, in the form of reduced prices. Next, as regards the successful tradesman or handicraftsman in towns, he seldom thinks of erecting a brick-built dwelling in the town which is only his place of business. It is stated that even when

he does not want either the will or the money, he is deterred from building a dwelling by the difficulty of getting a good title to the site. If by a good title be meant a good title in fee, the difficulty may be admitted to exist in some considerable extent; but the difficulty is due not so much to the existing law of landlord and tenant as to the anomalous estate of Hindu widows and other peculiarities of the Hindu law, and, in a lesser degree, to the practice of making wills. No practical difficulty is found in obtaining building leases. The leases have, of course, to be paid for at the market price, but the hypothesis is that there is money for the purpose. Such a lease affords a perpetual protection from "arbitrary eviction." It may be that the successful tradesman or handicraftsman occasionally takes a fancy to a particular piece of land as a suitable site for his dwelling, and the land-owner cannot be persuaded to allow this piece of land to go out of his hand for ever by granting a building lease, but the landowner, who is always the head of a vast joint Hindu family, may have the requirements of his own family in view, or may have other good reasons for his refusal. Then, as regards the non-agricultural population in general, we believe that it has increased, is increasing, and will continue to increase. We believe also that there is plenty of land in the mofussil suitable for dwelling purposes. But in the provinces subject to the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, property of every description is so effectually protected, that nothing whatever can be had without paying a fair price for it. The majority of the Commissioners say in para. 112 that the public judgment upon the provisions of Section 40 will not be unfavourable, "if the *ryot* be admitted to have certain rights in the land." But that judgment cannot be affected by this admission in the case of non-agricultural people.

Lastly, as regards resident ryots, they have undoubtedly a claim to a piece of land for a suitable dwelling. But when they erect a shop, and take to trade, they, *ipso facto*, cease to be *ryots*. The zemindar, unless he is free from greed of gain, which we have no reason for believing, is never unwilling to allow *bonâ fide* ryots to build dwellings on the estate. He may perhaps wait to see, in the case of a new ryot, what sort of a man he is; but, the "Native marriage-laws" remaining unchanged, we do not see the logical justification of forcing a strange ryot upon the zemindar. Such a ryot may prove a source of annoyance to the whole village. It is stated in para. 111 that, "owing to the uncertain state of the law, many ryots entertain a *bonâ fide* belief that they may build as they please upon their land." In our opinion, the law is only too certain; if a ryot converts, at his

pleasure, arable land into building land, the Court compels him to break the building and make the most of the materials. Upon this subject Babu Peary Mohun Mookerjee observes as follows:—

"The provisions with regard to the dwelling-houses of ryots are based on incorrect premises. It has been assumed that "owing to the uncertain state of the law, many ryots entertain a *bonâ fide* belief that they may build as they please upon their land." The fact, however, is quite the reverse. A ryot, who wants to build a dwelling-house, invariably goes to the zemindar or his agent and rents a plot of *bastu* land for the purpose. He has to pay no fee, unless he wishes to erect a brick-built house. He never meets with any difficulty in building his house, but he is well aware that he cannot, without the permission of the zemindar, build on his arable land, and thus convert it into *bastu*, which in several places yields less rent than arable land, and not always greater as has been assumed. Ryots always protect themselves by taking perpetual leases from their landlords whenever they wish to build a substantial house or to lay out a garden. The last Administration Report shows that in 1878-79 so many as 119,015 of such leases were registered in these provinces................ The Bill, it is true, gives the zemindar the power to eject a ryot who builds a factory or other structure not required for his dwelling, but even in such cases the ryot is declared entitled to compensation for the loss sustained by him, if, from his ignorance of the changed use of the land, the landlord fails to give notice to the ryot within a reasonable time. In dealing with these questions, it would be well to bear in mind the remarks made by Mr. Justice Ainslie in 3 I. L. R., 784 :—"The statutory *right of occupancy* cannot be extended, so as to make it include complete dominion over the land, subject only to the payment of a rent liable to be enhanced on certain conditions. The landlord is still entitled to insist that the land shall be used for the purposes for which it was granted, and although a liberal construction may be adopted, it cannot extend to a complete change in the mode of enjoyment." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 104.)

XII.—Enhancement of Rent. Draf Btill, Section 23, Clause (c).

A large portion of the Report is naturally taken up with the subject of enhancement of rent. The Commissioners, putting on one side, as inapplicable, the theories of rent propounded by the founders and disciples of "Western Political Economy," have elaborated for themselves the appropriate theory of rent for Bengal and Behar. They might have found a very satisfactory theory of Ryot-rent in the writings of Mr. Jones, who was for many years Professor of Political Economy at the East India College, Haileybury.

Mr. Jones has shown in two words that the Ricardo theory cannot apply elsewhere than in England. This theory pre-supposes capital, and mobility of capital. It pre-supposes capital and the facility of moving capital invested in the cultivation of land to some other employment. It does not hold good in a country of capitalists whose capital is immobile, like Ireland; nor in a country where no classes of capitalists are found as India.

In his treatise on rent, Mr. Jones divides rent into Peasant rent and Farmer rent. Peasant rent, again, he divides into four distinct

classes—Labour rent, Metayer rent, Ryot rent, and Cottier rent. Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his *Principles of Political Economy*, adopted in main this classification, but deviated from Mr. Jones' scheme in including the ryots of India in his chapter on Cottiers. Dr. Whewell has remarked that the differences between the two classes are so strong and broad, that Ryot rent may well be regarded as co-ordinate with the other kinds of Peasant rent.

Mr. Jones traces ryot rent in many parts of Asia, besides India, and makes the philosophical reflection that this economic phenomenon is the necessary result of the principle of Asiatic monarchies. The sovereign not only does not brook a brother near the throne, but his jealousy prevents the formation of any really independent body on the land. He is the sole proprietor of all land, and direct landlord over a vast population of peasants. The revenue, which consists principally of the sovereign's share in the produce of the land, is collected by his officers, who are paid by a certain percentage upon the collections. With regard to India in particular, Mr. Jones remarks that the proportion of the produce taken by the sovereign has on some ground or other perpetually varied ; that the Mogul emperors exacted their rents in proportions which varied with the quality of the land, more particularly with its command of *water*, but no definite rate of rent ever prevailed long in practice ; that the zemindar, whose office was hereditary, was seldom displaced, unless for gross misconduct ; and that the Government had no interest in disturbing the humble agents of production—the ryots, and a great interest in retaining them.

Mr. Jones thus sums up his economical conclusions regarding Ryot rent :—

"The existence and progress of rents under the ryot system is in no degree dependent upon the existence of *different qualities of soil* (which is the Ricardo theory) *or different returns to the stock and labor employed on each* (which is the theory of Malthus). The sovereign proprietor has the means of enabling a body of laborers to maintain themselves, who, without the machinery of the earth with which he supplies them, must starve. This would secure him a share in the produce of their labor, though all the lands were perfectly equal in fertility." (Jones on Rent, p. 140.)

He then points out that the *increase* of Ryot rents may arise either from an increase of the whole produce or from an increase of the sovereign landlord's proportion of the produce. In the second case, there is only a transfer of wealth from the ryot to the sovereign ; but in the first case, there is a real increase of the national wealth—if the tenth or sixth of the sovereign has doubled, the nine-tenths or five-sixths of the ryot have doubled also.

This is the account which political economy has to give of Ryot rent in Bengal and Behar before the permanent settlement, and this is also the account which political economy has still to give of Ryot rent in the *khas mehals* owned and

managed by the Bengal Government. The change effected by the Permanent Settlement is thus described by Mr. Jones :—

The English, when they became the representatives of the Mogul Emperor in Bengal, began by pushing to an extreme their rights *as proprietors of the soil* ; and neglected the subordinate claims of the zemindars and ryots, in a manner which was felt to be oppressive and tyrannical, although not perhaps illegal. A great reaction has taken place in their views and feelings ; perceiving the necessity of restoring confidence to the cultivators, and anxious to shake off the imputation of injustice and tyranny, they showed themselves quite willing to part with their character of owners of the soil and to retain simply that of its sovereign. An *agreement* was in consequence entered into (meaning the Permanent Settlement), by which the zemindars assumed a character which certainly never before belonged to them : that of the direct landlords of those ryots between whom and the Supreme Government they had before been only agents—agents, however, possessed of many imperfect but prescriptive rights to an hereditary interest in their office. The Government, instead of exacting rents, was content to receive a fixed and permanent tax, for which the new landlords were to be responsible." (*Jones on Rent*, p. 118.)

Para. 46 of the Report, the marginal heading of which is—"Theory of Rent Applicable to Bengal and Behar"—runs as follows :—

Whether then the question be examined in the light of the ancient constitutional law of the country, or with reference to the high duty and obligation devolving upon Government to promote the happiness and prosperity of the people, the conclusion is the same, namely, that the ruling power ought to determine the rents payable in these provinces by the ryots to the zemindars. In this view the appropriate theory of rent is, not that it is the surplus profit of capital applied to agriculture, or that it depends immediately upon, or is regulated by, the profits of capital, but that it is such a proportion of the produce of the soil, deliverable in kind, or payable in money, as the Government may from time to time determine, shall be delivered or paid by the cultivators to the zemindars or those to whom the zemindars have transferred their rights. If it be asked on what principle Government should determine this proportion—what share shall be considered fair and equitable—,our answer is—such a share as shall leave enough to the cultivator of the soil to enable him to carry on the cultivation, to live in reasonable comfort, and to participate to a reasonable extent in the progress and improving prosperity of his native land. (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 30.)

This is an excellent theory of rent, and there is no let or hindrance in the way of its immediate practical application in the Government khas mehals. It might have been applied still more extensively in Bengal and Behar, if it had not been found inconvenient to carry out the order which at one time the Court of Directors sent out, directing the Government to purchase all estates put up to sale for arrears of Government revenue. But in the actual position of affairs, we do not see how the theory can be applied in Bengal and Behar, without repudiating the *agreement* referred to by Mr. Jones. The Bengal Government must again assume the character of owners of the soil before they can,

with justice to the landholders, take upon themselves to determine authoritatively that the rent now payable by the ryots shall not exceed the amount which may leave them enough to maintain themselves and their families in reasonable comfort, that is to say, in a style which from time to time may, to the Bengal Government, seem meet. It is argued in para. 44 that the Government of 1793 never intended to abdicate the function of determining the proportion of the produce payable by the ryot,—a function cast upon the Government by the ancient law of the country. But by the ancient law of the country the proportion of the produce payable by the ryot was payable to the Government itself; it was not rent in the modern acceptation of the term, but *revenue*.

Section 23, Clause *(c)* enacts that in any case in which the rent of a ryot having a right of occupancy is enhanced upon the ground of the existing rent being below the prevailing rate, or upon the ground that the productive powers of the land have increased *otherwise than by the agency or at the expense of the ryot*, or, lastly, upon the ground of an increase in the price of the produce, the enhanced rent shall not be more than one-fourth of the average annual value of the gross produce of the land for which such rent is payable. No particular reason is assigned for fixing this precise maximum limit. It introduces an *arbitrary* rule to control the operation of the *equitable* rule laid down in the Great Rent Case. Its only justification is that it is a practical application of the novel theory of rent announced in the Report.

We have examined the true character and tendency of some of the fundamental changes in the substantive law proposed by the Commissioners; but the Draft Bill is susceptible of criticism upon an immense multitude of minor points, which will no doubt receive adequate criticism, if the Bill be introduced into the Bengal Council. In the interests of justice and in the true interests of the ryot, we are bound to declare that the Bill, in its presents shape, is the embodiment of theories which are alike novel and alarming. It was the pride and the boast of the authors of the Permanent Settlement that the agrarian polity which they established in Bengal was not founded upon abstract theories drawn from England or other foreign countries. But the legislation recommended by the Rent Law Commission is the practical fruit of a theory of the Permanent Settlement evolved from inedited State-literature; of a theory of peasant-proprietorship which is merely an empirical induction from a second-hand knowledge of foreign land-systems; of a theory of equitable relief which is equally unknown to our own Courts and to English chancery; of a theory of disclaimer which is the

historical product of feudality, and of a theory of rent applicable to modern Bengal which the Commissioners have improvised for themselves. Legislating for an agricultural population of sixty millions, and concerning landed property of the annual value of more than thirteen *crores*, the Commissioners had before them the scantiest information conceivable touching the actual condition and various requirements of the peasant population in the various districts of Bengal, and the practical operation, whether for good or for evil, of the existing law of landlord and tenant. Theory was very powerfully represented in the Commission, and swayed with a high hand all its deliberations; but practical acquaintance with the realities of peasant life in Bengal, and, above all, practical common-sense views of what was just in the actual circumstances, were much too inadequately represented. Babus Peary Mohun Mookerjea and Mohiny Mohun Roy represented, and we believe were, in the original constitution of the Commission, designed to represent, the interests of the landholders. Babu Peary Mohun Mookerjea, for one, made a firm stand against the meditated encroachments on the vested rights of the landholders; he was ably seconded by Babu Mohiny Mohun Roy, who was, however, unfortunately, but, we understand not unexpectedly, prevented by his professional engagements from devoting to the work of the Commission the time and attention which its importance demanded; but they both found themselves exactly in a minority of two, upon the many important questions affecting the interests of their body. We cannot help wishing that the co-operation of two or three additional landholders from different parts of Bengal had been secured, and their valuable local experience utilised, and placed in a position to exercise its due influence in the discussion of the immense questions dealt with by the Commission. There never was such a vast scheme of land-legislation planned and finished in so short a time, and upon such a slight ground-work of facts and figures,—upon such insufficient data regarding the actual condition and real tendencies of the land-system, into which it is proposed to introduce extensive and fundamental modifications. One looks in vain in the huge *Calcutta Gazette* Special for any considerable body of statistics regarding the rural economy of the various districts of Bengal, which everywhere presents well-remarked peculiarities that it cannot be wise to overlook. The great "uncertainty of agricultural experience" *(Calcutta Gazette,* p. 31) in this country is fully admitted in the report, but the due sense of the danger of reliance on theories that do not admit of being tested by the carefully gathered results of wide and long-continued observation, did not make itself felt in the decision of the Commission. To crown their achievements in the high à *priori* style of theorising, the

Commissioners have, with singular perspicuity, enunciated a theory of property, about which all established Governments maintain a discreet reticence. "As to the power of the Legislature to re-distribute property in land at any time when such a re-distribution is required in the interests of the entire community, there can be no doubt," says the Report. And the Commissioners add:—"If such a re-distribution has for its immediate result the impairment of existing interests, compensation is *usually* given by *civilised* Legislatures; and we are of opinion that this rule should prevail, if anything contained in the Draft Bill constituted such a case." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 100.) None but a fool or madman will deny the *power* of the Legislature to re-distribute property in land—and indeed private property of every other description; but the majority of the Commissioners having come to the clear conclusion that nothing contained in the Draft Bill constituted a case calling for the application of the rule of compensation, we should have thought that the Commissioners would have seen that it was superfluous on their part to qualify the statement of the rule by an implicit reference to the lamentable contrast exhibited in the suicidal practice of barbarous governments, and the highly exceptional cases in which the rule is departed from by civilised governments which find it to their advantage to adopt it for their habitual guide. Besides, the mere will and ability to award compensation, if necessary, are very far from justifying any sudden re-distribution of the landed property of the community, such sudden re-distribution being invariably followed by a profound disturbance in the social organism. The ancient bounds and divisions of the people's property ought to be respected, and legislation ought *in ordinary times* to adapt itself to them, accepting them, as unalterable, like the physical bounds and divisions of the country. The Permanent Settlement is a great accomplished fact in Bengal, and can already claim an antiquity of nearly a century; and it has only just recovered from the position of unstable equilibrium into which it was—we still cling to the belief *unintentionally*—thrown by Act X. of 1859. The elaborate Draft Bill in two parts is designed to upset it,—it does not propose this or that minor alteration in the multiform system of rights which has grown under the shadow of the Permanent Settlement, but it deliberately aims a decisive blow at its fundamental conditions:—

> But that two-handed engine at the door
> Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

ASHUTOSH MOOKERJEA.

ART. X.—"TRAVELS OF A HINDU."

CHAPTER I.

(Continued from the "Calcutta Review" for July 1880.)

AS Mozafarnagar is approached, the country is found to rise with a gentle swell and to be varied by slight undulations. The distant forehills of the Sivalik Range now first slowly emerge to the sight, like a vapoury outline, or fringe upon the horizon. But flatness is still the predominant character of the land. As far as the eye can reach to the right or the left, the country spreads a wide level plain. Here and there in the landscape stand up solitary bleak mounds, veiled in a profound mystery. Perhaps they are the surviving mute witnesses of the *Chalisa Kaut* famine, so called from its occurring in the Samva year 1840, or A. D. 1783,—a famine of the same desolating type to the Doab as that of 1770 was to Bengal.

Planted on the left bank of the Kali Nadi, amidst noble woods, the pretty town of Mozafarnagar is a relief, breaking the monotony of the prospect. The lofty mosque is a conspicuous object from afar. Of moderate size, the town has several groups of mud huts, with here and there a building of more solid materials. The Mahomedan name speaks of a Mahomedan founder—a Sayad of the time of Firoz Shah, in the 14th century. But more Hindus than Musulmans live here. This province was seized by the Mahrattas, but had to be given up to the British in 1803.

Due westward from Mozafarnagar, just beyond the Jumna which terminates the intervening plain, lies a region renowned through many ages as the great battle-ground of India. Missing that interesting region on his track, the tourist very much regrets that the Indian Railways, forming a part of the Indian military system, have been laid by all the military stations in the realm.* Up at Mozafarnagar, we are in the latitude of Panipat, where more than once has been decided the fate of India. They err, who identify Kurukshetra with Panipat;—the plain of the great

* "It will, I think, be found that all our principal military stations are on or close to the trunk lines of railways. From the first these were looked upon as strategical works, and so aligned throughout India as to bring all our chief military stations into communication one with the other, and with the arsenals, depôts, and manufacturing centres, on which they depend for warlike stores."—*Memorandum on the Army Commission*, by Sir F. P. Haines.

war of the Mahabarata, lies thirty miles further north. The battles of which Panipat has been the theatre, are those fought between Ibrahim Lodi and Baber in 1526, between Hemu and Akbar in 1556, and between the Mahrattas and Duranis in 1761. The last is one of those battles which has an especial celebrity in the annals of India. From a military point of view, there has seldom been such hard-fighting as in this battle. By politicians, it is singled out for its important political issues—for its decisively settling the great political question of the day. In it was played the high stake—India for the Hindus, or for the Mahomedans? Things had been converging for one hundred years to this momentous crisis—this final trial of conclusions between the two antagonistic populations of India. There had set in two contrary actions among them—resuscitation among the Hindus, and deterioration among the Mahomedans—, till "the correlation of forces" brought on the long expected day for the last grand and decisive effort between the two nations—on the one side for the purpose of recovering their old inheritance, on the other for that of retaining the prize won by their forefathers.

The contending parties were well matched. Equal bravery, talent, and resources, were arrayed on both sides. Equal traditions of glory inspired, and warmed the spirits of, them both. They were both armed with equal weapons of war. The challenge principally lay between two races of mountaineers—the Mahrattas of the Ghauts, and the Duranis of the Hindu Kush and Safed-Koh. The Mahrattas were small, but sturdy, hardy, and active men. The Duranis were of huge size, and immense muscular strength and weight. The principal arm of both the parties was cavalry. The Mahrattas rode upon little, light, fleet ponies. The Duranis were mounted upon high powerful steeds of the north. The Hindu army was composed of the most warlike elements in the Hindu nation. From the basins of the Kistna, the Godaveri, and the Tapti, had come to the field the pick of the people, who, brought up in a strong Hindu feeling, had re-asserted the Hindu dominion almost from the Himalayas to the extremity of the peninsula. Ever the land of chivalry, Rajputana had sent the warriors who were sprung from the most ancient races, and had never owned the foreigner's sway. Originally a Scythic tribe, but for centuries naturalized as Hindus, the Jâts, strongly influenced by a feeling of patriotism, had reinforced the national cause. The most novel element in the Hindu army was a small body of Deccani sepoys, trained on the European model by a Mahomedan deserter from the French service of Bussy. On the side of the Mahomedans were the troops of the Imperial regiments. With them were joined the forces of the Nabob of Oudh. The Rohilla

Pathans, who yet held intact the State won by them in the heart of Upper Hindustan, and were in the undiminished vigor of their Eusofzai blood, had come to fight under the green flag. But conspicuous above all were the foreign Durani auxiliaries, who were like an injection of vigorous blood into the enfeebled body of the Indian Mahomedans, and were animated by a fierce spirit to maintain their military prestige.

Representative of the first Hindu power, Viswas Rao, the youthful heir-apparent of the Peishwa, was ostensibly at the head of the Hindu confederacy. But there had come to fight under his banners all the eminent Hindu chiefs of the day. Most of them were veteran-generals and astute statesmen—military adventurers of the first order, and founders of mighty states. There was Suraji Mal, whose valor and genius had founded the Bharatpur Raj. Madaji Scindia, and Mulhar Rao Holkar, two personages whose career of glory culminated in the establishment of two illustrious dynasties, were there to cross swords in the great political tournament. There, too, was one who was the shrewdest politician of his times—Nana Farnavis, of Bismarckian sagacity.

Rarely had there been an occasion more critical to Mahomedan domination in India. Summoned by a common and most pressing danger, the Mahomedan chiefs and nobles of the imperial territories about Delhi, had all repaired to the Mahomedan camp. Foremost among them was Najib-ud-Doula, the Belisarius of the Mogul Empire. He was to that empire, in its decline, what Sir Salar Jung is now to the Nizam's State. It was his foresight that first realized the gravity of the danger to Mahomedan ascendancy—it was his patriotism that "consolidated the co-operation" to avert that danger. Mindless of all dissensions distracting his attention at home, the energetic Rohilla Chief, Hafiz Rahamat Khan, had hurried to the field of the great political battle. The wily Shah Shuja was there, in spite of his hereditary antipathy against the Duranis—in spite of his half-heartedness and inclination towards neutrality. Indissolubly united by common politics and a common Islamism, he dared not incur the risk of singular isolation, he could not in prudence choose to disintegrate his interests from those of his co-religionists.

Thus had the various Hindus combined for the revival of Hindu supremacy, and the various Mahomedans for the purpose of upholding the ascendancy of Islam. The eyes of every Indian were fixed upon the grand conflict between the Hindu and the Mahomedan half of India, and intense was the anxiety centred in its results.

Historians err in saying that the Mahratta army far outnumbered their enemy. The multitude of camp-followers, swelling their body to 300,000 men, was rather a disadvantage, to which the Hindu defeat may be largely traced. Leaving out the great bulk of the chaff, the real grain of the Mahratta phalanx was made up of 95,000 regulars. The opposing Musulman host numbered 91,000 men. In point of artillery, the Mahrattas had a preponderance in their favour. But in fighting-men, the two sides were most evenly balanced.

There was an equilibrium in all but the most vital respect. There was number for number, arm for arm. But there was not generalship for generalship. Nominally Viswas Rao was at the head of the Mahratta army. But the practical command lay with the man who is famous in history under the name of Bhao. The choice of this man was extremely unfortunate. Had it been Ragoba, the chances might have gone in favour of the Mahrattas. Had it been Baji Rao, the fate of India might have been otherwise decided. The Bhao did not lack common soldiership. His heroic conduct in the field, his felling down of tall warriors, and thinning of hostile ranks, amply vindicated his character for courage. But he possessed not military qualifications equal to his arduous task. He had not the latent genius which is called forth on a great occasion,—which improvises on the spur of the moment. He was not that politic leader who could win over his brethren in arms by a gracious deportment. On the contrary, he disgusted them by his overbearing conduct and overweening confidence. There was no man so well fitted by his experience and success for giving counsel as Suraji Mal. The Jât Chief recommended prudence. He advised the Bhao to leave behind his infantry, his guns, and his heavy baggage in the strong Jât forts, and take to the old desultory method of Mahratta warfare, till the Durani monarch was harassed out of the country. Most of the Mahratta chiefs were of the same mind, and the event bore out the soundness of their view. But the haughty Bhao pooh-poohed the suggestion of one on whom he always looked down, as "a petty zemindar incapable of judging politics on a large scale." To this unpopular and routine-commandant was opposed a man who was educated in Nadir's school of war, who was seasoned in many battles, and who, since his great master was gone, may not unjustly be said to have been the first soldier and captain of his age in Asia.

Besides this inequality, the Mahrattas laboured also under the disadvantage of an inferior strategical position. Encamped behind entrenchments at Panipat, with the Jumna on the right flank, the vast Mahratta camp spread touching the borders of the

Desert. The inhospitable region held out no promise of feeding nearly as many men and animals as there are now in Calcutta. It having been the Mahratta rule not to pay for a single *chatak* of grain, or for a single twig of firewood, the disadvantage of the situation was very much aggravated by the ill-will of the people who suffered from pillage and outrage. On the other hand, the Mahomedan camp, lying northwards, had its rear open to all the rich marts of the Upper Doab, Rohilcund, and the Panjab,—the great grain country of North-Western India. It was pitched at Kurnal, the battle-field of Nadir, which awakened many exciting recollections.

Neither party dared hazard an open battle. Standing on the defensive behind mounds and ditches, they lay in sight of each other for two months, merely skirmishing away the time. But as day wore on after day, the Mahrattas got into a narrowing strait. All that was at Panipat was eaten up. All that was in the surrounding country was eaten up. The cattle, numerous in an agricultural country, might have served as a resource. But the kine, sheep, goats, and camels of a country are safe from a vegetarian Hindu army; and they were particularly so from an army commanded by a high-born Brahmin General. Daily the pinch and pressure of want deepened. But it was borne with that peculiar Hindu fortitude, which is the wonder of foreigners. Negociations for a peace were set on foot. But Najib-ud-Doula was dead against all proposals which were to hold in abeyance the menace of danger from a Mahratta army left in its entirety. The "cup then became brim full, and could not hold a drop more." Hopeless of all relief, with death in near prospect, the Mahratta chiefs met in consultation at the tent of the Bhao. There they formed their decision to take the initiative—there, in right Grecian style, they went through the ceremony of "taking the betel leaf," and swearing to return either on or with the shield.

It was the morning of the 6th of January, 1861. The Mahrattas got under arms, and were in motion before dawn. By sunrise they announced themselves by the roar of cannon all along their line. But as they advanced, their artillery did little execution owing to the shot going over the heads of the enemy. They then took to close-fighting—the hand-to-hand fight with the sword and spear in which Asia is expert. Ibrahim Khan, with his sepoys, led the onset. He broke the Rohilla ranks in the front with terrible slaughter, and laid open the centre under Najib for attack. The Bhao and Viswas Rao charged it with a fury which sent off the Mahomedans in a stream of fugitives. In vain did Najib curse and call on his men to rally, and fight to the bitter end. The lukewarm Shuja was posted behind him. But he

took care not to commit himself. It seemed that all was over. The fortune of the day was about to declare itself for the Mahrattas. But the Durani monarch, now coming to the rescue, turned the tide of affairs. He came on with his fresh reserve like an avalanche, and, by one impetuous rush overpowering the spent energy of the Mahrattas, and taking them in flank, won the battle. It was won "as if by enchantment," says the Mahratta historian. The utmost confusion, uproar, and havoc now prevailed in the Mahratta army. Dropping their arms, the men turned their backs and fled. Viswas Rao was laid dead on the field. Madhaji Scindia received a wound which lamed him for life. Nana Furnavis narrowly escaped by flight. Jankoji Scindia was concealed by a Durani Sirdar, but had to be made away with to avoid detection. Ibrahim Khan was made a prisoner, reproached for his adhesion to the Kaffir cause, and then poisoned in confinement. The fate of the Bhao became a dark mystery. From a headless trunk, he was supposed to have fallen. Others thought him to have disappeared, and there arose many a pretender to the name of this "Oriental Don Sebastian." Two hundred thousand Mahrattas lay scattered on and about the field, before Mahomedan hatred was glutted, and Mahomedan dread was allayed.

Such was the battle in which the Hindu cause, first worsted at Tilouri, near Thaneswara, six hundred and eighty years before, was worsted a second time. This battle of Panipat, viewed in more than one light, is considered to have been a great racial fight between the two principal races of India. Those who insinuate that it was a conclusive test which set at rest the question of the racial inferiority of the Hindus, create indeed a very wrong impression. The true cause of Hindu defeat was not the inferior physical powers of the Hindus, not their inferior bravery and energy. It was a division in the camp from which they lost the battle. Disgusted by the Bhao, Suraji Mal had retired with his 30,000 Jâts without fighting at all. Malhar Rao Holkar deserted in the midst of the hot fray. Had these chiefs done their duty of co-operation, probably Hindu history would have taken another complexion and character. It is beyond question that there was a great Hindu defeat. It is beyond question that by that defeat the Mahomedan rule wás secured—the Mahomedan principalities and estates, the Mahomedan wives and daughters, were out of danger from Mahratta sack and outrage. But both belligerents came out of the conflict equally weakened by its shock. It is a strong proof of the exhaustion of the Durani monarch that he forthwith withdrew from the field to his native mountains, and never

afterwards took part in the affairs of India. Before many years elapsed, the Hindu asserted his ascendancy in the very capital of the Great Mogul. The great political game was played. But, in fact, it was played neither for the Hindu nor for the Mahomedan, but for another nation destined to rule alike over the two races.

The next famous battle-field in the region, is *Kurnal.* But between such unequals as Nadir, who, like Napoleon, was a Nature-made warrior, and Mahomed Shah, of whom the memory now chiefly lives in the songs of nautch-girls, there could scarcely have been the real "tug of war." The battle of Kurnal was associated with the memory of the largest *loot* under record, until it was cast into the shade by the war indemnity exacted from France by Germany.

From Mozafarnagar to Deobund.—The last is a name which imports it to be from some particular *Deo*, who resides here, and confers holiness on the spot. He was a myth, regarding whom nothing transpired to us from any body. But a Hindu deity plainly told of the Hindu origin of the place. Lying a little way from the station, Deobund appeared to cover a much larger area than any of the other wayside villages. The cluster of habitations was very thick.

The next place of note on our track was Saharanpur. The large station, a faithful index to the large size and importance of the town, presented a busy, diversified scene. The platform was a little bazar.

Saharanpur is pleasantly situated. Immediately by the town winds a little stream, called the Dumulao. At a distance of a mile, flows the Doab Canal. The environs are full of pleasing groves and gardens. Just at the entrance of the town, the traveller is greeted by a pretty Hindu temple, with the usual concomitants of a well and serai, all over-shaded by trees of stately growth. In the thick of the town rises a mosque of large size and fine proportions. The ruins of an ancient castle add a feature of interest to the topography. Saharanpur was, in the last century, the capital of the fief of Najib-ud-Doula and Zabita Khan.

The two objects by which Saharanpur now interests the traveller, are the Botanic Garden and the Stud. With a wide range of temperature, old mother Earth here has an especial botanical capability. Noting this fact, Dr. Royle founded the garden in 1817. It covers a large area, being 680 yards long, and 470 broad. In it have been collected the rare plants and choice fruit-trees of various climes, making a unique group, such as would be made by the Lapp and Esquimaux, the Arab and Hottentot, all meeting together. Here grow together the palm and plantain of the tropics, with the pear and pomegranate of the temperate

zone. The apricot and walnut flourish here side by side with the peepul and tamarind.

> "Foreigners from many lands
> They form one social shade, as if convened
> By the magic summons of the Orphean lyre." *Cowper.*

The orange was in all stages of bud, blossom, and bloom. The pomegranate, too, was in flower and fruit. The Naspati had just gone out of season. But the most noted fruit of Saharanpur is the mango. Of a large size, with a thick pulp and rich flavour, it rivals the famous Mazagong mango of Bombay. In pickle-form, the Saharanpur mango is eaten throughout the year in all Native households. In chutney-form, it is in use in all the hotels and dawk-bungalows of Upper India.

From the Botanic Garden to the Stud, or a rise from the study of vegetable life to that of animal life. The stud-ground is an extensive plot, fenced all round with earth thrown up five to six feet high, and planted with cactus. Just in the middle of the sward, are the stables, or two long-ranged, low-arched, and high slope-roofed buildings, with projecting eaves and gables. Touching this stud, there is on record the authoritative opinion of a Viceroy who was a famous rider, a keen sportsman and an expert in turf-matters:—"I thought the stallions very poor. A few of the fillies selected for breeding purposes were pretty good, although not nearly so perfect as they ought to have been, considering that they were the forty animals selected out of upwards of two hundred that come in every year."*

Due West of Saharanpur is Thaneshwara. Identical with the *Sthanathirtha* of the Mahabharata, with Ptolemy's *Batan-Kaisara*, with Hwen Thsang's *Sa-ta-ni-she-fa-lo*, Thaneswara, situated close upon the left bank of the Sarasvati, and forming the holiest point in the sacred region of Kurukshetra, was resorted to as the great pilgrimage of the Satya Yuga. The antiquity of Thaneswara reaches far into the depth of the Vedic ages. It is the spot where "Indra slew ninety times nine Vritras,"—where Kuru planted his standard of conquest towards the Jumna,—where Bhisma, the Nestor of Vyasa, the veteran Kaurava Generalissimo, fell, pierced with arrows, "like quills upon the porcupine," and was laid down to die upon an arrowy couch. Here was sown the seed of the earliest Aryan city in Brahmarishidesha, which Dilipa fortified. Here rose the first public Hindu shrine under the regime of the *Brahmana* theocracy. It had the precedence of all the Indian pilgrimages, as well by its priority as for its supreme sanctity.

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* Lord Mayo's Diary in his life by Dr. Hunter.

In Hwen Thsang's age, Thaneswara was 20 li., or 3⅜ miles, in circumference. Described from a Buddhistical point of view, it is said to have had then only three temples of the Buddhists, while their antagonistic religionists had raised a hundred temples in opposition, and crowded the place in large numbers. Two hundred feet high, and built of "large-sized," "reddish yellow colored," and "smooth glossy" bricks, the stupa of Asoka yet reared high its head.

By the eleventh century, Thaneswara, the great pilgrimage of Upper India, was in the meridian of its greatness and splendour. Hundreds of temples then adorned the place. The chief was the Chakra-tirath temple, in which was worshipped a large, life-sized image of Vishnu, or Lord of the Discus, called Chakra Swami, the same as Ferishta's *Jagsoma*. The image was so named from the Chakra, or Discus, hurled by Krishna at Bhisma, dropping on the spot. Generations of pilgrims had laid their offerings upon the several altars at Thaneswara. There all the rich sinners and rajahs of the land bought absolution with gold and diamonds. The place overflowed with precious metals and stones —a temple forming that depository of wealth in a hierarchical age which a bank does in a commercial age. The great richness of Thaneswara tempted Mahmud of Ghizni. In 1011 A. D., before any of the Indian princes could assemble, he pounced down upon the place, carried it, sacked it, razed its walls to the ground, destroyed its numerous temples, broke down its idols, put its men to the sword, and sold its women and children into captivity. The great image of Chakra Swami was carried away, to be trodden under Mohamedan heels at Ghizni. That which was a populous bee-hive, was left a desert. So much wealth and so many captives had been taken away, that the mountain capital of the marauder looked like a transplanted Indian city.

This was a crushing sledge-hammer blow from which Thaneswara was slowly recovering in the course of centuries, when it was again laid low by Aurungzeb. Little but the tokens of ruthless war now meet the eye there. Kurudwaja, or the flag-staff tower from which waved the standard of Kuru, is a scene of perfect desolation. The fort of Rajah Dilipa survives in a few crumbling towers. Asoka's stupa is a shapeless mound, scattered over with bricks. The temple of Chakra Swami has been blotted out of existence. A poor small town now perpetuates the name of Thaneswara. But consecrated as the place is by the holiest recollections, it fails not to draw crowds of pilgrims. More than one shrine has been restored. The place of Vishnu has been appropriated by Mahadeo. It is under the

ascendancy of the neighbouring Sikh chiefs that the present town has revived.

Thaneswara is the nucleus round which spreads the great plain famous throughout all India—the plain of *Kurukshetra*. The genius of a great Hindu poet has immortalised this plain, as the gathering-place of the throngs of kings and hosts of armies that assembled to fight for the throne of ancient Bharatavarsha. Few plains in the world are more interesting than this, which carries the mind back to the heroic ages,—to the times when history is read dimly in the twilight of fable and fact. To the Hindu, Kurukshetrá is as much endeared by the memory of ancient glory, as Marathon is to the Greek, Kerbela to the Mohamedan, Granada to the Spaniard, or Waterloo to the English. Through the lapse of ages, and the changes of fortune, survives his affection for the spot which has witnessed the great deeds of his forefathers. Each year do thousands upon thousands of his nation fondly turn their steps to this land consecrated by the respect of ages. There is no mistake about the localities; the details are transmitted from generation to generation, and every step over the field carries the mind backward to the days when the Hindu was strong, and noble, and illustrious.

In Manu's geography, Kurukshetra commences with, and from, the eastern bank of the Sarasvati. It was inhabited by a warlike population, which always formed "the van of an army." The Mahabharata describes Kurukshetra as all that *Dirga Kshetra*, or long plain, which is comprised between the Sarasvati and Jumna. So much alike, the name seems borrowed from that of Uttara-Kuru, Ptolemy's *Ottorkorro*,—the original Aryan home fondly remembered for many ages. The Puranas derive it from Raja Kuru—Kurukshetra literally signifying "the field of Kuru." The Mahabharata otherwise calls Kurukshetra *Dharma Kshetra*, or Holy Land, in which those who dwelt "dwelt in Paradise." Kalidas thus alludes to the plain:—

> "Hence to the land of Brahma's favored sons,
> O'er Kuru's fatal field thy journey runs;
> With deepest glooms hang o'er the deadly plain,
> Dewed with the blood of mighty warrior's slain;
> There Arjuna's wrath opposing armies felt,
> And countless arrows strong Gandiva dealt,
> Thick as the drops that in the pelting shower,
> Incessant hurtle round the shrinking flower." *Dr. Wilson.*

The actual, *bonâ fide* battle-field of the heroes of the Mahabharata, spreads immediately behind, and below, Thaneswara. According to one account this battle-field has a circuit of 40 miles, according to another of 80. To diversify the scenery of this broad expanse, Nature has set in its midst a small, lovely lake, lying south of

Thaneswara, and extending east and west three-quarters of a mile long, and half a mile broad. Fed by percolation from the neighbouring annually-flooded Sarasvati, this old lake yet exists, though much shrunken in size. In the placid sheet of waters, studded with the lotus, is an island of romantic beauty. Unknown by name, and unmarked on the map, this lake is not a little hallowed by associations extending from the remote Vedic period. Brahma performed sacrifices on its banks. Parasrama slaughtered the Kshatriyas by its side. Kuru sat here in ascetic devotion. The several battles of the Mahabharata were fought round about this lake. Invested by all these reminiscences, the little aqueous tract forms an object of that extraordinary interest which at last subsides into, and takes the character of, sanctity. Hindu piety has built up its banks with "a continuous flight of brick steps," and fringed its borders all round with groves and temples of every size and variety. The island has been bridged with two broad bridges,—one from the north, and the other from the south. These are the works of Raja Birbal, and they are now in a dilapidated condition. The water of this lake is deemed so holy, that the stream of pilgrims carrying it away "in gay-looking baskets crowned with red and white flags," is continuous for many a mile in all directions.

Touching the great merit attached to a bath in this sacred lake, Abul Fazil relates:—"On one of Akber's marches he found two great bodies of Hindu devotees prepared, according to custom, to contend sword in hand for the possession of a place for bathing during a great festival at Thaneswara. He endeavoured at first, by all means, to bring about an amicable settlement; but finding all was in vain, he determined to allow them to fight it out, and looked on at the conflict in which they immediately engaged. At length one party prevailed, and Akber, to prevent the slaughter that would have followed, ordered his guards to check the victors, and thus put an end to the battle."* How this conduct of Akber's contrasts with that of Aurungzeb, who had a castle built upon the island, and placed in it a garrison with orders to shoot any pilgrim who might venture to take a dip in the lake. The day of the Mogul is over, and the Hindu again celebrates his festival every year in the month of Baisakh, but not with any of those commemorative battles in imitation of his great ancestors.

But it is as the memorable landmark which points out, identifies, and confirms the scene of the greatest conflict in Hindu history, for which this lake is a spectacle of exceeding interest to the modern traveller. Round about its waters, as a centre, did all that fighting take place. The two hostile armies

* Elphinstone's *India*.

were encamped on its two opposite sides. The Kaurava camp was pitched on the eastern side. It was the site which an army marching west from Hastinapura was most likely to occupy. The Pandava camp was pitched on the west side. It was the site which an army marching north from Delhi was likely to occupy. Each party made his position strong by works planned on the entrenchment-system of that day. The Kauravas dug on their flank a deep trench, fortified with towers, on which were "placed pots full of snakes and scorpions, and pans of burning sand and boiling oil." The Pandavas "had the river Sarasvati on one side of them, and on the other, they dug a deep trench for security." The lake lay between the two hosts. The tired pilgrim, who sits by this lake, charmed with its calm, silvery surface, and fanned by pleasant breezes coming across its waters, sits there spell-bound, under the magic influence of associations called forth by the living object which has witnessed the most heroic deeds, the shock of armies, the meeting of war-chariots, the crashing of armour, the swift flight, the hot pursuit,—which has heard the beatings of drums, the blowings of trumpets and war-shells, the shouts of victors, the cries of the wounded, and the groans of the dying. Before him spread now fields rich with corn, but whereon in days of yore were marshalled large armies, headed by heroes in their fierce panoply of war; and "the plain was strewed with heaps of dead, and weapons of every description, and bodies without heads, and horses without riders, and the dust was laid with rivers of blood." Yonder did "the Pandavas draw up their army in the form of a half-moon, and make such a charge that they fell at once on the front and two flanks of the Kauravas, and the battle raged furiously, and there was a terrible conflict between Bhisma and Arjuna which lasted many hours, and all the warriors on either side ceased their combats, in order that they might look on, and Bhisma received a mortal wound, and fell from his chariot upon the ground." There, away to the south by east, distant some four or five miles, where lies that "large and lofty mound called Amin"—the contraction of Abhimanya, there is the spot where Drona spread "his army in the form of a spider's web"—or *Chakra Vyuha*, and Abhimanya, a lion's cub with the lion's valour, "ordered his charioteer to drive on thereunto, and he entered the ranks of his enemy, and challenged any warrior to battle, and the Kauravas caught him in their midst like a whirlwind, and Abhimanya fought manfully, and cut down all who came before him, but he was as a single man against all the Kauravas; * * * but he withstood them all, till at last his foot slipped, and just as he was recovering himself, the son of Duhshana struck him on the head with his mace

and dashed out his brains; and he died that same moment as pure as if he had never been born, and he was very young and very handsome, and he left the world with such a display of valour as no man has ever seen, and such sweetness and beauty appeared upon his dead body, that all who saw him were astonished at his comeliness, and they lamented him very sore." And there, south by west, that immense mound, covered with ancient bricks and pottery, is *Karna's Killa*—the valiant Karna, who fought the most famous battle in the great war, by whom Arjuna was "so wounded and stunned, that he would have been defeated," had not "Karna's chariot sunk deeply into the earth," and "it would not stir," and "Karna leaped from his chariot to relieve the wheel," when "Arjuna drew forth an arrow with a broad sharp blade at the end shaped like a crescent, and he discharged it with all his strength, and it struck the neck of Karna, and severed his head from his body."*

Hwen Thsang records that close by to the west of Thaneswara is a spot called *Ashtipur*, where he was shown the bones of the heroes of the Mahabharata—"bones of very large size," that is to say, bones not of ordinary, but of heroic, men. He records in right earnest and seriousness. But in this incredulous, prosaic age of ours, there is nobody by whom his statement is likely to be credited, or received without a laugh.

The English narrator of our day—Mr. Wheeler—does very great injustice to the memory of the heroes of the Mahabharata. He thinks their story to be founded upon a simple "Kshatriya tradition originally told in a series of war-ballads." The warriors, in his opinion, "were rude and savage combatants" who "fought with clubs, knives, and clenched fists." Their armies dwindle in his view "into mere companies of friends and retainers." The great war itself, which has inspired one of the first epics in the world, is said by him to have been a "war to the knife between near kinsmen for the sake of land, and it was but little redeemed by those ideas of right and justice which occasionally elevate warriors into heroes." This is not merely the prosaic account of a prosaic mind.† Deep prejudice underlies the language. The Greeks themselves bear testimony to Asiatic valour and energy. They have left on record that "in boldness and warlike spirit, the Persians were not a whit behind them, and that their defeat was wholly owing to the inferiority of their equipment and training. Without proper shields, with little defensive armour, wielding only short

* Wheeler's *Mahabharata*.

† Shakespeare's debasing of the heroes of Homer in *Troilus and Cressida* is ascribed to envy of Chapman.

swords and lances that were scarcely more than javelins, they dashed themselves upon the serried ranks of the Spartans, seizing the huge spear-shafts of the latter with their hands, striving to break them, and to force a passage in. * * * The Persians thoroughly deserved to be termed a 'valiant-minded people;' they had boldness, *elan*, dash, and considerable tenacity and stubbornness; no nation of Asia or Africa was able to stand against them; if they found their masters in the Greeks, it was owing, as the Greeks themselves tell us, to the superiority of Hellenic arms, equipment, and, above all, of Hellenic discipline, which together rendered the most desperate valour unavailing, when it lacked the support of scientific organization and united simultaneous movement." * In truth, then, the defeat of the Persians was from their insufficient training and equipment, and not from their insufficient combativeness.

There is similar evidence in favor of the Indians, whose "bravery is always spoken of as superior to that of other nations with whom the Greeks had contended in Asia."† The truth, kept back by Arrian, as in a modern diplomatic war-bulletin, has been hit by Heeren, who says that "it was fear of the military prowess of the Gangetic Indians, rather than mere weariness, which made Alexander's soldiers refuse to follow him to the Ganges." The bygone history of India is replete with examples of distinguished heroes and soldiers.

(To be continued.)

BHOLANATH CHUNDER.

* Rawlinson's "Five Great Monarchies of the ancient Eastern world."

† Elphinstone's Greek account of India.

THE QUARTER.

THE three months that have elapsed since our last chronicle was closed have been the most eventful of the war in Afghanistán. On the one hand, the negotiations with Abdul Rahman at Kabul have been carried to a friendly conclusion, resulting in his recognition by the British Government, as Amír of Northern Afghanistan, and the complete evacuation of his territories by the British army. On the other hand, in the neighbourhood of Kandahar, his rival, Ayub Khan, advancing from Herat, has, in fair fight, inflicted on a British force, sent out to meet him, the most signal defeat ever, perhaps, suffered by our arms in India. But the record of this brief interval does not end here. Kandahar itself, where General Primrose, with the remainder of the army of occupation, on hearing of the reverse, had shut themselves up, has been besieged by the victor, and the garrison, in the only sortie made by it, repulsed with heavy loss. To set against these extraordinary, and, so far, imperfectly explained, disasters, we have a brilliant and decisive victory, gained over the besiegers by ten thousand Bengal troops under General Roberts, after a march which, whether for the distance covered, the rapidity with which it was performed, the perfect order which characterised it, or the smallness of the loss incurred, has few parallels in history.

Before proceeding to notice the settlement effected with Abdul Rahman, the dashing cavalry affair at Padkao Shana, which may be said virtually to have brought the war in Northern Afghanistan to a close, calls for our attention. We noted above that, up to the 26th June, the force, despatched into the Logar Valley under General Hills, had met with no opposition, and the hostile gatherings in that part of the country, as well as in Kohistan, had apparently dispersed. On the 30th June, however, Major Euan Smith, the Political Officer with General Hills, received information that a large number of Zurmat men, under Muhammad Hassan Khan, a partisan of Yakub Khan, had occupied the village of Padkao Shana, some distance to the south of Zargun Shahr, where they expected to be joined in a few days by another armed body from Chakri, under Hassan Khan and

Abdullah Khan. General Hills accordingly ordered General Palliser to proceed with the cavalry brigade on the following morning, and, after reconnoitring the position, to engage the enemy, or heliograph to him for assistances, as the case might require. On the arrival of the brigade, consisting of the 1st and 2nd Panjab Cavalry, and the 19th Bengal Lancers, at Padkao, they found that the enemy, apprised of their approach, had abandoned the position, and were in full flight towards the hills. The cavalry accordingly started in pursuit, and, about three miles from Padkao Shana, came up with a body of the enemy some fifteen hundred strong, who made a stand there, but were driven off after some severe fighting over ground which, from the facilities afforded by it for shelter, was unfavourable for the movements of cavalry. The enemy were further pursued for a distance of five or six miles, till they gained the shelter of the hills, leaving two hundred dead, and wounded on the field. Our loss was four men killed, and one officer and twenty-four men wounded. The action was characterised by a great deal of hand-to-hand fighting, in the course of which conspicuous bravery was shown by Major Atkinson of the 1st Panjab Cavalry, and Captain Leslie, Bishop of the 2nd Panjab Cavalry, who were specially mentioned in the General's despatch. It is noteworthy that several deserters from our army were found among the enemy.

After the fight a meeting of the chief men, including Mahomed Jan and Hassan Khan, is said to have been held, at which much mutual recrimination took place. Considerable assemblies of armed men continued for some days longer at Charkh and Maidan, but eventually dispersed.

On the 2nd July, after long and, for the time being, unexplained, delay, Sardar Afzul Khan, our envoy to Abdul Rahman, who, it was rumoured, had been detained by the Sardar, arrived at Kabul, with letters from him. The delay turned out to have been caused by various misadventures on the road; Abdul Rahman's letters were cordial, and it was authoritatively announced that the negotiations were advancing as quickly as could reasonably be expected. At the same time it was thought necessary to send Abdul Rahman an ultimatum warning him that, unless he came to a final decision at once, the negotiations would be broken off. On the same day Abdul Rahman himself arrived at Kinjan, where he remained upwards of a week, apparently with the object of gaining over to his side as many of the chiefs as possible before approaching the capital. On the 9th a deputation of influential residents of Kabul went out to Charikar with the intention of meeting him, and on the 14th he himself arrived at Tutandarrah,

four miles from that place. His reception of the deputation was reported to have been most friendly, and he sent explanations of his reasons for delay to Sherpur.

The special correspondent of the *Pioneer* at Kabul in a telegram to that journal, dated the 19th, thus describes the Sardar's position at the time :—

Regarding his party, it is clear that the Andaris, one of the most important Southern tribes, are in his favour as well as the majority of the Tarakis of Northern Ghilzai. Asmatullah Khan, of Hassarak and Lughman, has expressed willingness to accept any Ameer favoured by the British. Another important Ghilzai chief, Khan Mahomed Khan of Tezeen, is with the deputation at Charikar, welcoming Abdur Rahman. Padshah Khan and Faiz Mahomed Khan are in opposition. Maizullah Khan will probably join him. On the whole, about half the Ghilzai tribes are in his favour, and others could be won over by conciliatory treatment. In Kohistan and Koh Daman at least two-thirds of the tribes are on his side. Mir Batcha and General Mir Saiad Khan of Istalif dare not visit Charikar, as they have been illegally collecting revenue, which they will have to disgorge. The Wardhaks are unfriendly, but may be won over. They probably will follow the lead of Mushki Alam and Mahomed Jan. The former has written to say that he, with other chiefs now assembled in Maidan, will accept the choice made by the British. The Sirdar Khayls of the ruling house of Shere Ali are naturally hostile, as are the adherents of Azim Khan, and Afzul Khan has long been banished or reduced by Shere Ali to impotence. A good many smaller Sirdars of the Sirdar Kheyls are well disposed to Abdur Rahman ; but men with money like Wali Mahomed, Hashim Khan, Ibrahim Khan, and Karim Khan are in opposition. Abdur Rahman's future rests a great deal with himself. If he takes a conciliatory course he may hold his own against a strong opposition ; but if in his need for money he harasses the people, his reign may be short and stormy. To alienate the trading classes means to aim a severe blow at the prosperity of the kingdom."

On the 19th Abdul Rahman, at the request of the British authorities, moved in from Tutandarrah to Charikar, where Afzul Khan was thereupon deputed to him with further communications ; and on the 22nd a satisfactory reply having been received from him, a grand darbar was held by General Stewart at Kabul, at which the principal local sardars attended, and Abdul Rahman was publicly recognised as Amir.

The following speech was made by Mr. Lepel Griffin on the occasion :—

"Sirdars, Chiefs, and Gentlemen,—It is little more than three

months ago that by command of His Excellency the Viceroy of India, I explained to you in Durbar the intentions of the British Government with regard to the future of Afghanistan. I then told you that it was not intended to annex the country; but that the armies of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress would be withdrawn so soon as the prospect of a settled administration had been assured, and a chief acknowledged as Ameer who should not only be animated by friendly sentiments towards the English Government, but have the cordial support of his own countrymen. Since that time General Sir Donald Stewart, General Sir Frederick Roberts, and myself, have endeavoured to carry into effect the wishes of the Government, and you are summoned here to-day to hear that our efforts have been successful. The course of events having placed Sirdar Abdur Rahman Khan in a position which fulfils the wishes and expectations of the Government, the Viceroy of India, and the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, are pleased to announce that they publicly recognize Sirdar Abdur Rahman Khan, grandson of the illustrious Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, as Ameer of Kabul.

It is to the Government a source of satisfaction that the tribes and chiefs have preferred a distinguished member of the Barakzai family, who is a renowned soldier, wise, and experienced. His sentiments towards the British Government are most friendly; and so long as his rule shows that he is animated by these sentiments he cannot fail to receive the support of the British Government. He will best show his friendship for the Government by treating those of his subjects who have done us service as *his* friends.

Chiefs and Gentlemen,—In accordance with assurances already conveyed to you, the armies of the Queen-Empress will shortly withdraw within those frontiers which were decided by treaty with the ex-Ameer, Mahomed Yakub Khan. We trust and firmly believe that your remembrance of the English will not be unkindly. We have fought you in the field whenever you opposed us; but your religion has in no way been interfered with; the honour of your women has been respected, and everyone has been secure in possession of his property. Whatever has been necessary for the support of the army has been liberally paid for. Since I came to Kabul, I have been in daily intercourse with you; but I have never heard an Afghan make a complaint of the conduct of any soldier, English or Native, belonging to Her Majesty's army.

The British Government has always been well disposed towards Afghanistan. You all know how it supported and assisted the former rulers of the country. It has no other wish than your

happiness and prosperity; and it is with this object alone that to-day it recognizes Sirdar Abdur Rahman Khan as Ameer of Kabul."

Some days later in the House of Commons, the Secretary of State, referring to the event and to the conditions arrived at between the British Government and the new Amir, said:—

That "the negotiations which had been opened with Abdur Rahman by Lord Lytton had been continued by Lord Ripon, because that Sirdar was the most powerful who laid claim to the Ameership. The negotiations had been once nearly broken off, but, Lord Ripon being firmly courteous, they had been continued until the present result had been reached. Abdur Rahman had been apparently cordially received by the Sirdars and people of Charikar, and proclaimed at Cabul. Negotiations of a conciliatory nature continued with the other Sirdars." His Lordship further said that "he hoped our troops would shortly withdraw from Cabul, first to a healthy position, where the progress of events could be watched and the tribes which had been faithful to us protected, and afterwards in the autumn our forces would return to India." Lord Hartington added that no formal engagement had yet been made with Abdur Rahman as the new Ameer, and he had been informed that no negotiations were yet possible relative to Kandahar and Gandamak. He had also been informed that no foreign minister or foreign interference, except British, would be allowed at Kabul. Temporary pecuniary assistance had been promised the Amir, and the restoration of the guns taken at Kabul. He would not be asked to receive a British Resident, but probably a Mahomedan envoy. He had been informed that if he conformed to our advice the British Government were prepared to assist him against unprovoked foreign aggression, and that the negotiation of a regular treaty would depend upon his conduct. The present assistance promised was only pecuniary.

On the 31st the new Amir, being then encamped at Ak Serai, came into Zimma, and held an interview with Mr. Lepel Griffin; and on the following day a second interview was held at the same place, when everything that could be arranged at the time is said to have been satisfactorily disposed of, and the Amir expressed himself ready to abide by the advice of the British Government, and remain on friendly terms with it.

It had been arranged that the Amir should attend a public darbar at Sherpur on the 2nd August; but, owing to the mistrust exhibited by his followers, and the strong objections raised by them to his coming into our camp, the intention was abandoned, and it was arranged that his entry into Sherpur should be preceded by

its evacuation on the part of our troops. At the same time, in consequence of the earnest solicitations of the Amir, it was decided to forego the intention of destroying the fortifications erected by us for the defence of the capital and to make them over to him, along with the buildings, all intact.

Strong apprehensions were at first felt that the news of the disaster suffered by General Burrows at Kushki Nahkud—to be noticed presently—would exercise a prejudicial effect on the understanding with Abdul Rahman, and that, at any rate, it would lead to hostile combinations on the part of the chiefs and tribes; but, whether owing to a want of sympathy with Ayub on the part of the people, or to the fact that their desire to get rid of the British occupation was paramount to all other feelings, these fears were not realised, and but little excitement seems to have been created in Northern Afghanistan by the untoward event in question.

Towards the end of June it was rumoured in the city of Kandahar that Ayub Khan, after more than one false start, had at last set out from Herat with a force consisting of eleven regiments of infantry and a large number of cavalry, and with thirty-six guns, with the avowed intention of driving the English out of Southern Afghanistan. A day or two later the authorities at Kandahar appear to have received information which placed the truth of this rumour beyond doubt, and a force consisting of five Companies of the 66th Foot, the 1st Grenadiers, Jacob's Rifles, the 3rd Bombay Cavalry, and the 3rd Sind Horse with some Sappers and Miners and a battery of Royal Horse artillery, under General Burrows, was told off to proceed to Girishk, for the purpose of cooperating with Shere Ali in defending the line of the Helmund.

On the 4th and 5th July this force left Kandahar, reaching the Helmund on the 11th, the 15th Foot and 1st Madras Cavalry, with a battery of artillery, being at the same time ordered up to Kandahar from the Reserve Division, and the 9th and 24th B. N. I. to the line of communications.

It was subsequently ascertained that Ayub Khan had reached Farrah with his entire force on the 30th June. On the 14th, three days after the arrival of General Burrows' force at Girishk, and while it was occupied in changing its camping ground, the infantry portion of Shere Ali's army, which was stationed in the neighbourhood, were discovered to have mutinied and to be marching off in a body towards Girishk, taking with them six guns and all their ammunition and camels. After they had proceeded about four miles, the battery of artillery, 300 cavalry, five companies of the 66th and three companies of Jacob's Rifles were sent in pursuit. The mutineers, finding themselves press-

ed, formed line in a strong position, and awaited the attack of the force, but were dispersed with heavy loss after two hours fighting, and their guns captured.

On the 17th Ayub's cavalry reconnoitred Girishk, and General Burrows, in view of the defection of the Wali's troops, retired to Kushk-i-Nakhud and took up a favourable position there.

On the 23rd it was ascertained that Ayub's main body had crossed the Helmund, and were encamped at Haidarabad, 400 hundred of his cavalry having been met by General Burrows' cavalry reconnaissance the previous day and compelled to retreat.

On the morning of the 27th, hearing that Ayub's advance guard had occupied Mehwand, some three miles distant, General Burrows left his strong position at Kushk-i-Nakhud, and marched out to attack them. At about half-past nine, Ayub's cavalry were sighted, marching from the direction of Haidarabad towards Mehwand, and were engaged by our cavalry and artillery, and presently General Burrows unexpectedly found himself in face of the entire force of the enemy, about 12,000 strong, well posted on undulating ground; seven regiments of regulars in the centre, three others in reserve, about 2,000 cavalry on the right, 400 mounted men and 2,000 Ghazis and irregular infantry on the left, with other cavalry and irregulars in reserve, and six batteries of guns, including one of breach-loaders distributed at intervals. For four hours the action which ensued was confined to an artillery duel, in which the single British battery was completely overpowered by the superior number of the enemy's guns. A furious charge was then made by the enemy's cavalry and Ghazi's on our left, and the Native infantry, after attempting to form square, broke and fell back in confusion on the 66th, abandoning two guns, which were captured by the enemy. A general rout ensued, the cavalry and artillery getting separated from the rest of the force, and, after some severe fighting between the 66th and the enemy in enclosed ground, the remnant of the brigade, completely disorganized, was in full retreat by the Kandahar road.

The following account of the battle, given by an officer of the Beluchistan agency who was present on the field, is the most complete that has been received up to the time of writing, no despatches from either General Burrows or General Primrose having yet reached the Government :—

"On the 26th of July definite intelligence was received at Kushki-Nakhud that Ayub's advance guard had left the Helmund and occupied Maiwand, ten miles north of us, apparently with the view of passing round our flank to Kandahar. General Burrows thereon lecided to march to Maiwand and occupy it, if possible,

before Ayub's main force should arrive. At 7 A. M. on the 27th, we marched, 2,800 men all told, with a very heavy baggage train of over 2,000 animals. As the troops kept with the baggage, our march was slow, but at 11 A.M., or earlier, we simultaneously sighted Maiwand and a considerable body of cavalry on our left. Two guns and a troop of cavalry went out to reconnoitre, and opened fire on the enemy's cavalry. Shortly afterwards the enemy's line developed itself, and it became evident that we were in presence of Ayub's whole force, like ourselves, making for Maiwand. The rest of our guns now came into action, and after half an hour were answered by the enemy's, whose formation was as follows :—

"In our front and their centre a line of infantry with five batteries at intervals. On their right, a numerous body of irregular cavalry with strong supports in rear. On their left, a miscellaneous body of horse and foot streaming out of Maiwand villages. The force may have numbered 4 to 5,000 infantry, 2 to 3,000 cavalry, and 2,500 to 3,500 irregular infantry, say 10 to 12,000 in all. At this time they were 2,000 yards distant ; ground nearly level, but with slight undulations. For some little time the artillery fire on both sides was almost a farce from the great range. An advance was then made for about 500 yards, and shortly afterwards the enemy also advanced till we were not more than 1,000 yards apart." Our infantry were now up and disposed as follows :—On right and inclined to the flank, five companies 66th ; next them to the proper front, five companies Jacob's rifles ; then the guns ; then the 1st Grenadiers ; and on the left two companies Jacob's rifles. The action now began to get hot, and a very heavy cannonade went on for an hour ; our guns held their own, but could not silence the enemy's. A good many horses were knocked over and a few men, but the loss was not serious. Suddenly, at a point some 300 yards on our right front, the enemy brought up two guns, partially enfilading our line, and at the same time brought up a lot of infantry behind their guns, completely hidden by a dip in the ground ; and, bringing on his main line, at the same time opened rifle fire. This was bad for the mounted men and artillery, but the infantry, lying down, suffered little. Before this two brisk attacks made by irregular cavalry and infantry on our baggage had been repulsed with loss by the guard of one company of each regiment. The enemy was now closing in on all sides, and our rifle fire, previously little used, began to open out with apparently admirable effect, till a sudden rush of Ghazis in front of their regular infantry pushed back Jacob's rifles. Two guns were left unprotected and were carried.

"The 1st Grenadiers formed square and then broke, and Jacob's rifles fell back in confusion, charging into the rear of the 66th. The 66th were carried away by the Rifles and retreated eastward to their own proper front, a mixed mass without any formation. A very heavy fire was brought on them, killing many officers and men, and they gradually became separated from the rest of the force and followed the Ghazis, who had been attacking them into some walled gardens. The enemy's cavalry had now cut them off from the rest of the force, and, though an attempt was made to bring up help, nothing could be done. Everybody and everything, except the artillery, was in hopeless confusion, and the enemy were still pitching into us hot. A general retreat followed; only the artillery and part of the cavalry keeping any sort of organization. And, to make matters worse, nothing could turn the crowd of fugitives from the direct road to Kandahar, on which there is now no water for forty miles. At Kokaran, 6 miles from Kandahar, we found a small relieving force. Our losses were as follows:—Killed or missing,—R. H. A., Major Blackwood, Lieutenants Maclaine and Osborne, and 18 men; R.E., Lieutenant Henn and 23 men; Sind Horse, 10 men; 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, Lieutenant Owen and 20 men; 66th, Colonel Galbraith, Captains Garrett, Cullen, McMath, Roberts, Lieutenants Ogilvy, Rayner, Honeywood, Barr, Chute—both colours and 282 men; 1st Grenadiers, Lieutenants Hinde and Whitby, both colours and 365 men; Jacob's rifles, Captain Smith, Lieutenants Justice and Coles, and about 250 men; Staff, Captain Heath, Brigade-Major. Total loss 21 officers and about 1,000 men out of 2,800. Wounded —Colonel Anderson, Captain Grant, 1st Grenadiers; Lieutenant Lynch and Dr. Preston, 66th; Lieutenant Fowell, R.H.A.; Captain Harris, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master-General; and Major Iredell, Jacob's Rifles,—the latter dangerously. Nothing could have been more gallant than Burrows' behaviour; he had two horses shot under him. Heath, his Brigade-Major, was killed. Harris, his other staff officer, wounded, while Leach, R.E., who was doing galloper, had his horse wounded."

According to the first official accounts the enemy pursued the remnant of the force for a distance of thirty miles. Closer enquiry has, however, elicited the fact, that the pursuit was not kept up for more than four miles, Ayub's Ghazis and Regulars having staid behind to plunder the treasure chest and the dead. The heavy casualties, suffered by the fugitives on the road, appear to have been either the result of exhaustion or the work of the country people, who, taking advantage of their disorganised and helpless condition, attacked and slaughtered them with impunity.

It was not until the 6th August that the enemy's advance

guard appeared in the neighbourhood of Kandahar, or till the 14th that they began to take any serious measures for the siege of the place.

Immediately on the arrival of the news of the disaster General Primrose despatched a brigade under General Brooke along the Girishk road to bring in stragglers, but with strict orders not to proceed further than Sinjiri, though there was no enemy near, though hundreds of our men were lying exhausted on the road beyond that place, most of whom might have been saved, and though five guns had been abandoned during the retreat, at a point only seven miles distant from Kandahar. With the remainder of his force General Primrose appears to have shut himself up in the citadel of Kandahar, where he was shortly joined by two more corps, on their way up to reinforce the garrison when the disaster happened. The history of events at Kandahar between this date and the abandonment of the siege is obscure. Beyond the statement that he had cleared a rayon round the citadel, an operation which, as appeared from subsequent events, must have been very imperfectly performed, and that he had completed all the necessary preparations for the defence of the place, little or nothing has transpired regarding General Primrose's movements from the 28th July to the 16th August. In the meantime the enemy had completely invested the city, occupying the adjacent villages, including that of Dehikhoja, in force. Ayub himself first took up his position in the cantonments lately occupied by our troops, but, being shelled out of this, subsequently established himself between Mir Bazar and the Argandab river, across the Herat road.

On the 16th, the garrison in the citadel being annoyed by the fire of the enemy from the village of Dehikhoja, which had been loop-holed for musketry, the General in command determined to make an attempt to blow down the walls facing the Kabul gate. For this purpose 800 infantry, with 300 cavalry and some Sappers, under General Brooke, were detailed. The original intention is stated to have been to rush the place and endeavour to surprise the enemy, but at the last moment it was determined to cannonade it. The cannonade, while owing to the shelter afforded them by the underground cellars of which the place is full, it did the enemy little harm, put them on the alert, and the result was that when the sortie party got into the village, a heavy fire was poured into them from the house-tops and loop-holed walls, and they were compelled to retire. Two sections retired with little loss, but the third was cut up almost to a man. In this unfortunate affair eight officers were killed and five wounded, and two hundred men killed and wounded.

Among the officers killed, was General Brooke himself, who, seeing Captain Cruickshank wounded and on the point of being abandoned on the ground, refused to leave him, and fell in the attempt to bring him away.

On the 23rd August, on news reaching him of the arrival of General Roberts at Kelat-i-Ghilzai, the enemy began to withdraw from the city, the villages on the south and east being abandoned that night, and Ayub striking his camp the following morning and marching to a position on the Argandab river near Baba Wali, due north of the city.

On receipt of the news of General Burrow's defeat, the Government of India immediately ordered the concentration of all the troops on the Sibi railway line and on the line of communications between the Khojak and Kandahar, while measures were taken to push on the reserve and the additional troops already on their way to Kandahar. These consisted of the 2-11th Foot, the 2-15th Foot, D.B. Royal Horse Artillery, 2nd Royal Artillery, 5-8th Royal Artillery, No. 2 Mountain Battery, the 2nd Bombay Cavalry, 2nd Sind Horse, 1st Madras Cavalry, six regiments of Bombay Infantry and three companies of Sappers, which were all placed under the Command of General Phayre, leaving two regiments of Bombay infantry, a regiment of Sind cavalry and a Battery of Artillery at Quetta. Subsequently other regiments were ordered up from Bombay and Bengal, and some changes were made in the above list.

Great delay occurred in the transport arrangements for the advance of the force, and it was not until the 31st August that General Phayre was able to march from Chaman, or till the 6th instant that he reached Kandahar. In the meantime numerous risings of the tribes in various parts of the country between Chaman and Kandahar occurred, and posts and convoys were attacked, notably a large convoy of railway stores and treasure moving from Harnai to Sibi, which was overwhelmed by Marris, losing many men, the officer in command, four railway subordinates and more than a lakh of treasure. Beyond Chaman a detachment holding one of our posts was cut off, and Takhti Pul was occupied by a small force of infantry and cavalry despatched by Ayub.

It appears to have been at first intended to entrust the relief of Kandahar entirely to the above forces, with such further reinforcements as could be pushed forward in time, *viâ* the Bolan Pass, from Karachi. But not many days had elapsed from the issue of the first orders, before it was found that the possibility of a rapid advance by this route was too uncertain to be depended on; and perhaps it may also have been considered unadvisable, in

the face of late experience, to rely upon a force consisting mainly of Bombay troops for the execution of so critical a task. At all events, on the 3rd August orders were very wisely issued for the despatch of a picked force, consisting of three strong brigades of infantry, four regiments of cavalry, and three batteries, under the command of Sir Frederick Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar, *vid* Ghazni and Kelat-i-Ghilzai. The following regiments and batteries were accordingly told off for this arduous service :—92nd Highlanders ; 2nd Ghurkas ; 23rd Pioneers ; 24th Panjab infantry, forming the 1st brigade. The 72nd Highlanders ; 5th Ghurkas, 2nd and 3rd Sikhs, 2nd brigade. The 60th Rifles ; 15th Sikhs ; 4th Ghurkas ; 25th Panjab Infantry, 3rd brigade :—all under Major-General Ross. The 9th Lancers ; 3rd Bengal cavalry ; 3rd Panjab cavalry and Central India Horse, forming the cavalry brigade, under Brigadier-General Hugh Gough, with the screw guns and two mountain batteries of artillery.

By the 8th August the entire force had left Kabul, the Amir rendering every assistance in the shape of transport, and despatching his officers in advance to arrange for supplies.

The admiration of military critics at the boldness of the plan and the promptitude with which it was put into execution, was converted into surprise, not unmixed with apprehension, when it was learnt that notwithstanding the despatch of this army, with its eight thousand camp-followers and nearly as many baggage animals, with only five days' provisions, and with a very moderate stock of ammunition, through three hundred and fifteen miles of rugged, bleak and hostile country, the Government of India had decided to persist in its resolution to withdraw the remainder of the army of occupation within its own frontiers.

In a manner which will be ever memorable in history the relieving force not only triumphed over every obstacle, and achieved its task comparatively unscathed, but covered the distance in three or four days less time than the most sanguine had ventured to hope, and in at least a fortnight less than appears to have been expected in England. On the 23rd August it reached Khelat-i-Ghilzai, having marched 136 miles, from Ghazni, in eight days, in virtually perfect order. There it rested a day, and, performing the remainder of the journey by easy stages, encamped under the walls of Kandahar on the 31st. While the infantry rested after their toilsome march, the cavalry reconnoitred the enemy's position on and about the Baba Wali Kotal, where he had entrenched himself, and, the information obtained showing that it might be turned, General Roberts determined to deliver his attack the next day.

The action that ensued resulted in the complete dispersion of Ayub's army and the capture of his camp and twenty-seven

guns, with comparatively slight loss. The following telegram from General Roberts briefly describes the main features of the engagement:—"The report of the reconnaissance carried out by General Hugh Gough and Colonel Chapman on 31st August afforded all necessary information regarding the army's position. I found it was quite practicable to turn his right, and thus place myself to the rear of the Baba Wali range, where Ayub Khan's main camp was. I decided on doing so, and commenced to attack shortly after 9 o'clock yesterday morning. To cover my design, I made preparations for a direct attack upon the Baba Wali Kotal. This feint was entrusted to the troops of the Kandahár garrison under Lieutenant-General Primrose, who also arranged to occupy my advanced positions of the previous day. At the same time the Cavalry Brigade under Brigadier-General Hugh Gough advanced upon our left, and without difficulty reached Arghandab, where it was well placed for pursuit should the enemy break either towards Girishk or Khakrez. The attack was made by the 1st and 2nd brigades under Brigadier-Generals Macpherson and Baker respectively, with the 3rd brigade under Brigadier-General Macgregor in support, the whole of the infantry being under the command of Major-General J. Ross. An elevated village within twelve hundred yards of our position was strongly held by the enemy, and had first to be taken. This was done in the most gallant manner by the 92nd Highlanders and the 2nd Gurkhas covered by the fire of C/2 R. A., and the new screw gun battery. The two brigades then advanced through orchards and enclosures, fighting steadily, the left of the 2nd brigade being brought gradually round until the village of Pir Paimal was reached. At this point the enemy were in great force, and fought most resolutely; but nothing could resist the determined advance of the British troops. Shortly after this the reverse slope of the Baba Wali Kotal was reached, and the standing camp of Ayub at Mazra became visible. All the enemy's attempts to stem the torrent were fruitless. By twelve, noon, the camp was in our possession with twenty-seven pieces of ordnance, which include our own guns, lost on the 27th July. The casualties, in addition to those yesterday reported, include Major Willock of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry; Lieutenant Baker, 3rd P. C.; and Lieutenant Neville Chamberlain, Centeral India Horse, all slightly wounded. The 92nd Highlanders had fifty-one wounded, three of whom have since died. The 72nd had seventeen wounded, one of whom has died. Amongst the native troops, eleven were killed and seventy-two wounded. Total wounded of casualties about 210."

The subjoined narrative for which we are indebted to the *Pioneer* gives a very clear and complete account of the fight :—

General Gough's reconnaissance of the 31st showed the enemy to be in great strength beyond Baba Wali Kotal and the Pir Paimal ridge, which extends about one mile south-west from Baba Wali Kotal. Ayub placed three guns, one of our nine-pounders and two Armstrong breechloaders, in position on Baba Wali Kotal. Spies magnified the fortifications of this Kotal, assuring us that embrasures had been made, whereas only platforms had been made for guns which were fixed over the natural barrier of rock, the open spaces being filled with earthworks. The Kotal once in our hands, Ayub's position was looked upon as forced, unless there was a second line of defence. Here again the reports furnished by spies sent by Col. St. John misled us. Ayub was said to have formed an entrenched camp on Mazra, and to have many guns in position there. From what has been seen since, he relied solely on the strength of Baba Wali Kotal and on our attacking him only in that direction. His camp was itself defenceless, but, as it was clear a direct attack upon Baba Wali Kotal would have caused us a heavy loss, and perhaps ended in actual repulse, General Roberts sent out a cavalry reconnaissance to examine the possibilities of the Pir Paimal route to Mazra. The Pir Paimal ridge ends abruptly on its south-western side, and on the open plain below are many walled enclosures and orchards with several villages scattered in the direction of the Kokran and Herat roads. Innumerable water cuts and irrigation channels from the Argandab canal usually serve to fertilize these and also to supply Kandahar with water, but the supply was cut off during the siege. These channels were dry. This was all in our favour, although it was clearly seen that our troops would have some severe fighting in clearing the enclosures of the enemy. If, however, the south-west point of the ridge could be turned, and the village of Pir Paimal on the lower slope secured, Baba Wali Kotal would become quite untenable as it would be taken in reverse. Looked at from the city of Kandahar or from General Roberts' position near our cantonments, Pir Paimal ridge presented nothing but a rocky barrier, the crest being lined with men ; but beyond it was an open basin, bounded on the further side by another high hill with precipitous sides facing Pir Paimal, and with a long sloping descent to the north towards the Argandab valley. To gain this open basin would involve the forcing of the village of Gandigan, with all the walled enclosures previously mentioned, and also the capture of Pir Paimal village itself. Ayub's right rested on Gandigan and Pir Paimal, near which he had five

guns in position and his men filled all the enclosures, which were loopholed for musketry fire. About the water cuts were orchards and gardens in which the undergrowth had sprung up most luxuriantly during the past months from neglect. In spite of these obstacles, it was resolved to force Ayub's right and to take Baba Wali Kotal in reverse, and then to advance upon the camp, entrenched or otherwise, of Mazra. General Roberts' position on the evening of the 31st was in the rear of the pickets and Karez hill west of the cantonments. The former face Baba Wali Kotal and the latter run parallel to Pir Paimal ridge, for about half a mile. There, orchards and enclosures stretch from it to the Gandigan and Herat roads. The position was within the range of the enemy's guns on Baba Wali Kotal, but, as their shells had to be pitched over the protecting hills, no mischief was done by the few directed against the position. They were about of as much importance as stray bullets. General Roberts' plan of attack was to shell and threaten an attack upon Baba Wali Kotal, while two brigades forced Ayub's right by way of the Gandigan and Pir Paimal villages. At the same time General Gough's cavalry brigade was crossing the Argandab river, and was to cut off the fugitives as they retreated westwards towards Herat or north-westward towards the Khakrez valley.

Accordingly yesterday morning the troops breakfasted at 7 A.M., and were formed up an hour later in the following order:—In the old cavalry lines at Kalacha-i-Haidar, facing Baba Wali Kotal, were placed four 40-pounder breechloaders of 5-11th battery under an escort of four companies of the 66th Foot and two native regiments, together with the Kandahar cavalry brigade under General Nuttall. This was part of the contingent furnished by the Kandahar garrison, General Burrows commanding. Their duty was to threaten Baba Wali Kotal and watch Murcha Kotal if the enemy tried to escape in that direction. Six guns, R.H.A., were also placed near the heavy battery. Generals Macpherson's and Baker's brigade fell in behind Karez and Picket hills respectively, while General Macgregor's brigade was held in reserve on its camping ground. General Gough, with the cavalry brigade consisting of the 9th Lancers, 3rd Panjab Cavalry, 3rd Bengal Cavalry, and Central India Horse was joined by four guns E. B. Battery, R.H.A., under Major Tillard, and moved towards Gandigan village, but could not reach the Argandab river as originally intended, Gandigan having been occupied during the night by the enemy in force. Our cavalry was to have moved simultaneously with the infantry, but had to wait until Gandigan was cleared. The Horse Artillery was escorted by two companies of the 7th Fusiliers and four companies of the native infantry from Kandahar. General Roberts, whose head-

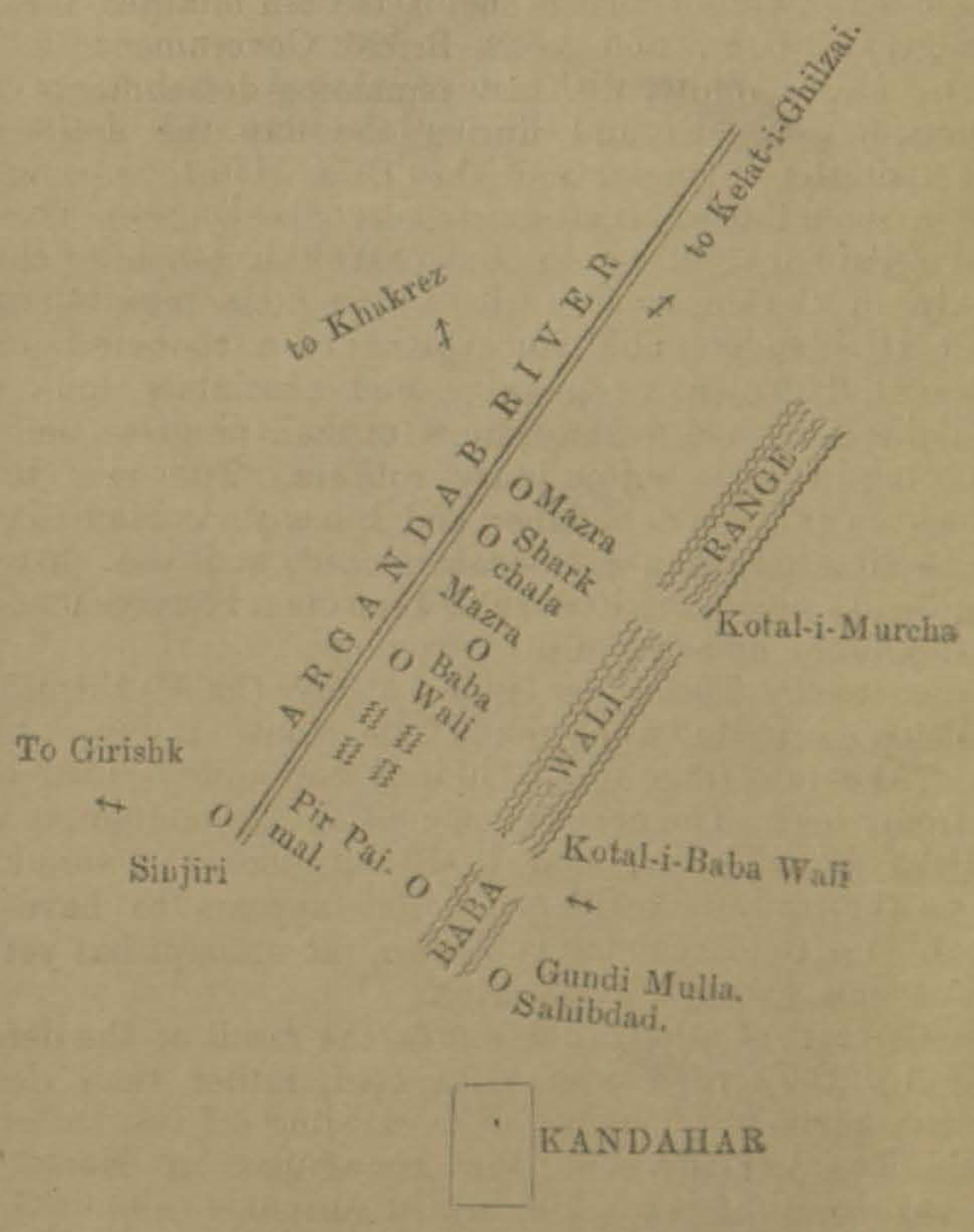
quarters the previous day had been a large house formerly used by the Royal Engineers, moved to Karez Hill, General Primrose making the house his head-quarters. General Ross had the immediate direction of the infantry attack, moving with his troops as they advanced and keeping General Roberts constantly informed of the progress he made. The infantry were admirably handled throughout the action. Shortly after nine o'clock a demonstration was made against Baba Wali Kotal, the 40-pounders shelling the enemy's position there with great vigour. The enemy returned shot for shot, his fire, which had been before directed over the Picket hill, now being concentrated on our heavy artillery. It is needless to say that his guns were no match for ours, and his fire soon slackened. General Macpherson's brigade, consisting of the 92nd Highlanders, 2nd Gurkhas, 23rd Pioneers, and 25th Panjábis worked out into the gardens between Karez hill and the Pir Paimal ridge, the village of Mullah Sahibdad at the foot of the southern slope of the ridge being held by a large body of Afghans, who would have galled General Baker's right in his advance upon Gandigan. At 9-15, two guns, C-2, Royal Artillery, began shelling Sahibdad, the rest of the battery soon after coming into action, as well as the screw guns placed north of Karez hill. The enemy responded with rifle fire, while the 92nd and 2nd Gurkhas skirmished towards the village from the right, the 23rd regiment working to the left with the 24th in support. The village was taken by the 92nd Highlanders and Gurkhas with a rush at ½ past 10, many Ghazis fighting desperately and inflicting severe loss on our troops. Even when the village had been stormed the fanatics shut themselves up in rooms, whence some were not dislodged until nightfall. Lieutenants Menzies and Stewart were wounded in this first attack. Lieutenant Menzies was placed in a doolie and carried into a room out of the sun.

A Ghazi hidden in a room made a rush, cut down one of the guard, and slashed Menzies over the head and on the back. The fanatic was bayonetted before he could do further mischief. Meantime General Baker, with the 72nd Highlanders, 5th Gurkhas, 2nd and 3rd Sikhs, and 2nd Biluchis had begun to clear Gandigan and the enclosures protecting Ayub's right. Here a most desperate resistence was made, every orchard and enclosure being full of the enemy. The 72nd Highlanders and 2nd Sikhs formed General Baker's first line, with the 5th Gurkhas and 3rd Sikhs in immediate support, together with the 2nd Biluchis again in the left rear. Our troops advanced steadily, clearing all before them, the 72nd Highlanders and 2nd Sikhs having to meet several charges made by Ghazis, who, however, were swept away by volleys, sometimes at a few paces distance. The right wing of the

72nd Highlanders had the hardest work in the nullahs and water cuts. In one of these two leading companies found themselves enfiladed from loopholed walls on the left. Captain Frome and two or three men were shot, while their companies lay down to return the fire. The 2nd Sikhs were in the rear of the loopholed wall, clearing the enclosure for entry. Before this was quite done Colonel Brownlow came up, and seeing how his men were placed ordered them to push on further. He had scarcely given the order when a bullet struck him in the neck, and he died in a few minutes. The enemy were driven out by this advance, leaving the walled enclosures strewed with dead. The left wing of the 72nd Highlanders, with the 3rd Sikhs, 5th Gurkhas, and 2nd Biluchis made a wide sweep to the left while this was going on, and were shelled by five guns which the enemy had in position at the entrance of the Pir Paimal basin. Meantime the 92nd Highlanders under Colonel Parker, and two companies of the 2nd Gurkhas under Captain Becher had reached the slope of the Pir Paimal ridge, C-2 R.A., and the screw battery coming into action in support. Major White, with the advanced line of the 92nd Highlanders, now swept round the south-western end of the ridge and came upon the main body of Ayub's force in the open. The enemy were some thousands strong, scattered along the northern slope of Pír Paimal right up to Baba Wali Kotal, also clustering thickly in the small camp where there guns were in position. The 92nd Highlanders and 2nd Gurkhas were then perfectly secure on both flanks, a steep ridge protecting their right, while General Baker's brigade was working up on the left, the 23rd Pioneers being just able to join hands with the advanced regiments of Macpherson's brigade. Major White and Captain Becher therefore went straight at the mass of men in front. After a sharp fight in which both regiments were severely punished, Ayub's army broke and fled in utter confusion, leaving the guns where they stood. The screw gun battery shelled them, while General Baker's brigade swung round and went straight up the basin over the low ridge which hid Mazra and Ayub's head-quarters from view. The enemy made no second stand, but evacuated Baba Wali Kotal, and left their guns and ammunition waggons on the road, the artillery men mounting the horses and riding hard up the Argandab valley. By 1 o'clock Ayub's camp was in our hands, and with it 32 guns. Our success was marred by the discovery of the cruel murder of Lieutenant Maclaine. Five men of Jacob's rifles who were recovered—they had probably been taken prisoners by Ayub at Khushk-i-Nakhud—said, that Ayub fled at 11-30, and that soon after the officer was brought out by the guard and his throat cut in the most deliberate way. Poor Maclaine was weak from illness, and submitted

quietly to his fate without a struggle. While our infantry were forcing Pir Paimal, General Gough's cavalry brigade had made a wide detour to the left. Finding it impossible to get through Gandigan, they crossed the Argandab river. There they came upon detached bodies of fugitives. For 15 miles the pursuit was kept up, over 300 of the enemy being killed in repeated charges. Their return was only ordered when some fugitives had escaped to the hills. It was 10 at night before the last cavalry regiment reached camp. General Nuttall took two Cavalry regiments of his brigade, passed through Ayub's camp, and followed the enemy up the Argandab valley, killing about 100. Casualties 240, *viz.*, 33 killed, 196 wounded. The 92nd Highlanders have lost 14 killed and 66 wounded."

The accompanying rough plan will give some idea of the ground. It indicates the position of the village of Gandi Mulla Sahibdad, of Pir Paimal, and of the ridge to the west of the Baba Wali Kotal



Ayub Khan himself, with a portion of the Herati troops, made good his retreat to Khakrez, the remainder of the Heratis making for the Helmund, while the Kabuli portion of the force retired up the valley of the Argandab, pursued by the cavalry under Generals Gough and Nuttall, who succeeded in cutting up about three hundred of them.

It having been determined to treat the complication at Kandahar as a matter outside the sphere of Kabul politics, and to carry out the original programme of withdrawal as speedily as possible, General Stewart's entire remaining troops were held in readiness to commence their homeward march immediately after the departure of the relieving force.

On the 11th August the new Amir arrived at Deh Gopak, three miles from Sherpur, and on the following morning he came into Sherpur, where he was received by General Stewart, Mr. Lepel Griffin, and a number of the principal military officers. The interview, which was a purely formal one, lasted ten minutes, the Amir expressing his deep gratitude to the British Government.

Early in the morning the last remaining detachments of the British force left Sherpur, and during the day the entire force reached Butkhak. Sherpur and the Bala Hissar were at once occupied by the Amir's troops, as well as Asmai, Sher Darwaza, and the Siah Sang. Large numbers of the people of the city went to visit the Amir, and in the evening the new Governor, Yusuf Khan, gave a dinner to upwards of a thousand persons. The march of the troops to India proved absolutely uneventful, no opposition being offered anywhere to their progress, and not a shot being fired except by ordinary robbers. The rear brigade left Dakka on the 5th September, and it has since been announced that the Khaibar posts will be abandoned, and the charge of the pass made over to the tribes to keep open in consideration of an annual subsidy, as under the Afghan rule.

No native envoy having yet been appointed at Kabul, all news from the city since the departure of the force is from Afghan sources. The accounts received of the subsequent course of events are somewhat conflicting, but, on the whole, beyond some rough treatment of Hindu shop-keepers and of persons who were known to have befriended the British, the city appears to have been fairly quiet, and, as far as is known, no attempt has yet been made to dispute the Amir's authority.

It remains to be seen what will be the result of the defeat of Ayub Khan. His army has been dispersed, rather than destroyed; he has apparently succeeded in carrying off two batteries of artillery, and he probably has still plenty of guns at Herat. The Kabuli regiments of the force, which retreated towards Ghazni, are already beyond his influence, and are perhaps unlikely to

rejoin him, though, should they find competent leaders, they may still give trouble to Abdul Rahman. But he may still be able to collect the Herat regiments, and, unless followed up, re-establish his influence in that district. The ultimate policy of the Government regarding the retention of Kandahar is still uncertain, but it may be assumed that, under existing circumstances, its evacuation is indefinitely postponed. In the meantime the further advance of General Phayre's force has been stopped, and it will probably be to a great extent broken up, a portion returning to India and the rest being utilised in holding the communications.

We referred in our last quarterly retrospect to the serious error, calculated at the time to amount to about four millions sterling, which had been discovered in the estimate of the cost of the war, and which was then explained to have arisen from the Military Department having taken the expenditure of the past, as the measure of that of the present, year, incurred under totally different circumstances. Since then the error has assumed far more formidable dimensions. In putting down the under-estimate at four millions, the Government of India had proceeded on the assumption, based on the "confident expectation" of the Military Department, that the total cost of the war could not exceed ten millions sterling, It is due, in justice to them, however, to say, that in making this calculation they declined to pledge themselves to its accuracy. They have since found reason to put down the total cost of the war at fifteen, instead of ten, millions, exclusive of the frontier railways, thus raising the error from four to nine millions; and it is still extremely doubtful whether, owing to the operations in Kandahar, even this latter sum, will not be exceeded.

A second source of error has also been discovered. Not only it now appears, did the Military Department base their estimate on the assumption that the expenditure of one year was a safe basis for the calculation of that of another, but they committed the further blunder of taking the audited for the actual expenditure of the first year. The necessity of comparing the figures of the Military Accountant General with the outgoings from the treasuries, does not seem to have occurred to any one until after the submission of the Budget. Had such a comparision, however rough, been made, the blunder could never have occurred.

The Government has pledged itself to a full enquiry into the responsibility for the gross negligence that has led to the scandal, and the last news in connexion with the matter is, that Sir Edwin Johnson has resigned his apointment.

In the meantime the Home Government has pledged itself that England will bear a substantial share of the cost of the war, though the precise amount or proportion has not yet been determined.

September 12, 1880.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE battle of Mazra was followed after some days by the despatch of a Brigade under General Daubeny to Maiwand for the purpose of interring the remains of the killed, rescuing any prisoners that might be detained by the inhabitants of the country, and recovering the five smooth-bore guns of Wali Sher Ali which were said to have been abandoned near Kokeran. On the arrival of the force at Maiwand, it was found that most of the dead had been already buried by the enemy. The rest were interred, and funeral services held over the graves.

An examination of the battle-field disclosed the disposition of the contending forces and furnished unmistakable indications of more than one determined stand having been made by men of the 66th. Their bodies lay close together, and the way in which the discharged Martini cartridges were scattered about, showed that they must have fought to the last. This conclusion is confirmed by the statement of an Afghan Colonel who was present at the battle, and who says that a hundred of the regiment rallied round the colours, and fought, surrounded by the entire Afghan army, till all were slain. The enemy's loss was ascertained to have been enormous. In the meantime the 3rd Bengal Bridgade under General Macgregor had been sent to Kila Abdullah, ostensibly to secure supplies, but really, as appeared from the sequel, *en route* to Quetta and India. It was at Kuch on the 27th. The 2nd Bridgade, under General Baker, also started for Pishin, on their way home on the 15th, and reached Quetta on the 28th, leaving at Kandahar, besides the Bombay troops, only the 1st Infantry Bridgade under General Macpherson, and part of the Cavalry Brigade with General Gough, the latter of which marched for Pishin on the 21st, and the former, with the 18th Hussars, on the 28th, when the force remaining in and about Kandahar was about 13,000 men.

A Court of Enquiry has been held regarding the defeat at Maiwand, and the despatches of Generals Burrows and Primrose have been published, together with the comments of the Commander-in-Chief. These documents show that, owing to Lieutenant Maclaine advancing with two guns and opening fire on the enemy without orders, General Burrows was committed to an action on ground which he would not otherwise have chosen, and which was not reconnoitred; that a cavalry charge ordered by the General-in-command was not made, and that on the line of retreat the guns were left with only a few sowars as escort, while four or five hundred of the 3rd Light Cavalry and the 3rd Sind Horse were available for the purpose. Two officers, Major Currie and Colonel Malcolmson, have been suspended in connexion with this failure.

The Commander-in-Chief severely criticises the operations and expresses his belief that, if the native infantry had stood their ground, the battle would have been saved.

The conduct of the artillery and Her Majesty's 66th Regiment are highly commended by both the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General in Council.

In Northern Kabul the policy of the Government has disclosed itself as one of complete renunciation, not only of the treaty rights, but of the territorial results acquired at Gandamak.

The abandonment of the scientific frontier is an accomplished fact, Lundi Kotal and the Kuram having been both formally made over to the new Amir, and the red line retired to Jamrud and Thal. Thus for the first time in British Indian history have we retreated from territory once definitively annexed, and that under circumstances which must inevitably impress the native mind with the belief that the retreat is a confession of failure, if not of actual defeat. The policy of the Government, in respect of Kandahar, is as yet a matter of inference only; but the general impression appears to be, that it has been determined to retire behind the Kojuk Amran range, and restore Kandahar to the Amirate as soon as Abdul Rahman feels himself strong enough to take charge of it.

During the last few days all India has been startled by the news of a terrible catastrophe at the beautiful Hill station of Naini Tal, the summer seat of Government of the North-Western Provinces. On Saturday, the 18th, after twenty-four hours' torrential rain, a portion of the hill behind the centre of the station, and immediately below old Government House, which had long been regarded by experts as unsafe, gave way, crushing in the out-houses of the Victoria Hotel at its foot, and burying some thirty native servants and a European child beneath the *debris*.

Mr. Taylor, the Assistant Commissioner, and Mr. Noad of the Police, with a party of policemen, immediately repaired to the spot for the purpose of extricating the victims. They were shortly followed by a detachment of European soldiers with their officers from the depôt, and, as the work went on, other officials and residents of the station assembled on the spot, to assist or watch the operations. The worst, however, was to come; for at half-past one, while the work was still in progress, the entire hill side from below old Government House gave way with a tremendous crash. The avalanche of earth and stones first overwhelming the working party and those with them, swept on over the Victoria Hotel, which it completely annihilated and buried. Rushing still onwards with undiminished violence, it next struck Mr. Bell's shop, and, lifting it up bodily, carried it forward and dashed it against the Assembly

Rooms, which, in their turn, were demolished and projected into the lake. Of ten persons who were in Mr. Bell's shop, six perished, including Mr. Bell, the son of the proprietor, all but one of the assistants, and Captain Haynes, who had taken refuge there from the hotel, Mr. Drew, and the three shopwomen most miraculously escaping. All who were in the Assembly Rooms, including Colonel Taylor, Major and Mrs. Morphy, and Mrs. Turnbull, were swept away and killed, while, of a party consisting of Sir Henry Ramsay, four European soldiers, and a number of natives who were standing on a narrow bridge at the outlet of the lake, one European and three natives were carried away by the wave which followed the fall of the landslip into its waters, and drowned.

Altogether thirty-nine Europeans, and it is believed, at least two hundred natives, have perished, while the central portion of the station has been utterly obliterated. "There," says a correspondent of the *Pioneer*, "within a stone's throw of each other were the cricket, polo, and tennis grounds; close by the band-stand—a pleasant lounge on sunny afternoons—faced the Assembly Rooms and Library. The mall, our favorite resort for riding and walking, skirted the temple and its grove of weeping willows; while within easy hail of all these places was the boating platform, from which started on fair evenings many a craft, from the stately four oar to the frail canoe, the light sculling boat and the safe but lumbering tub. But, now, how changed is the scene! Unsightly heaps of rubbish alone mark the spots where sport flourished and beauty congregated. The deserted mall, cut into clefts and fissures, and disfigured by heaps of earth and stones, is dangerous alike for man and beast. Every boat on the lake is gone, dashed to pieces by the fierce wave which rose over the ruins and strewed the lake with wreckage."

September 30, 1880.

ART. IV.—BRAHMANISM AND CHRISTIANITY AS THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE.

(Independent Section.)

THE philosophy of Edward Von Hartmann, is to some extent, known to English readers through articles in reviews, and more especially through Mr. James Sully's work on Pessimism, where it is criticised from the standpoint of English Agnosticism. Whether, or not, we agree with that writer in regarding it as devoid of any real scientific basis, we cannot but admit the importance of a system which has gained such numerous adherents among educated Germans. Many who have lost faith in the old creed of Christendom. have found in these speculations that spiritual consolation, without which they are unable to rest content. Von Hartmann has undoubtedly grasped the philosophical ideas of the age, put them in a form comprehensible to the ordinary man of education, and succeeded in producing a system which seems capable, to some extent, of supplying the place vacated by Christianity.

We do not propose to give any general account of his philosophy, nor to enter into the controversy between the Agnostics and the metaphysicians.

There is, however, one of his smaller works, which has a special interest for us in India,—that entitled "The Spontaneous Dissolution of Christianity and the Religion of the Future."* Recognising men's need for some religion to be absolute, he inquires whether any modification of Christianity can supply it. A negative answer is the result of this inquiry; he therefore proceeds to examine the historical development of religion, to discover whence we may expect a religion to arise, suited to the condition of modern times. This he finds in a synthesis of the Christian and Brahmanical systems.

We propose, therefore, to give a short account of that part of his book which is devoted to the fusion of these two antagonistic systems, adding such remarks as seem required to show the relative position occupied by these speculations.

The prospects of religion in Europe must cause grave anxiety to those who realise at the same time the urgent need there is of some religion and the impossibility of abandoning science. The result of the Protestant principle has been to undermine

* "Die Selbstzersetzung des Christenthums und die Religion der Zukunft," 2nd Edition: Berlin. 1874.

every part of the fabric of the Christian faith, and the time cannot be far distant when Protestantism, as a religion must disappear. Moreover, Protestant science has not only nothing to offer in the place of the old creed, but even denies the existence of the very foundation on which a creed must be constructed. On the other hand, the Roman Church, realising more clearly than ever that any reconciliation between itself and science is impossible, places itself in an attitude of the strongest antagonism to modern thought. It must, then, seem to many religious minds in Europe, that there is no alternative between the entire abandonment of religion, and the shackling of our cherished freedom of research in the chains of Roman authority.

A little consideration will, however, show that the essential elements of religion need not succumb before the progress of science, though Christianity itself may.

Mr. Herbert Spencer has, in his First Principles, attempted to effect a reconciliation between religion and science. I do not, however, think the result is adapted to afford comfort to the religious mind, however satisfactory it may be to the man of science. Mr. Spencer insists strongly on the indestructibility of our belief in the unknowable reality behind phenomena, showing it to be the most firmly rooted of all our beliefs. But he equally insists that our knowledge is necessarily confined to the phenomenal, and, therefore, we can know nothing whatever of the very things with which religion is occupied. He shows, moreover, that any knowledge of the metaphysical reality is, as a matter of fact, not needed by us, for in so far as we are *affected* by it, we are capable of attaining all the knowledge we require ; in other words, where the unknowable concerns us, we can know it as phenomena, and where it is not phenomenal, it does not concern us. Hence, obviously, no sensible person should occupy himself with anything beyond the world of phenomena: any thought for religious matters is entirely superfluous.

The result is, thus, the negation of the root-idea of religion. This does not consist in the simple recognition of the reality of metaphysical existence, but in the conception of that existence, as to some extent knowable, and related to us otherwise than as it appears in phenomena. Hence, the agnostic system is practically as destructive of religion as the materialistic. Thus, at bottom, the antagonism of religion and science lies in the antagonism between the metaphysical and the materialistic, or agnostic, systems. Whether, or not, the root-conception of religion is justifiable, must of course be decided by scientific methods ; and to assume that science is destructive of religion, is really nothing else than to assume that the controversy has been closed in favour of

the agnostics, or materialists—an assumption which none but the latter themselves would admit.

In the work now under review, Hartmann does not enter into this controversy, to which, indeed, his principal works on the fundamental questions of metaphysics are devoted. Assuming the existence of metaphysical reality, and that we are able to obtain some knowledge of its nature, he finds the need men have of religion to be a fact, and inquires how far the present forms of religion are fitted to supply this need, and how it may be supplied.

He agrees with his predecessor, Schopenhauer, in regarding religion as metaphysical knowledge in a form adapted to the comprehension of the people; it is a popular exposition of the nature of the spiritual world, with directions for conduct in relation thereto. Since the spiritual world exists and affects us, we are much concerned to acquire correct knowledge of it to guide us. Now, but few are capable of estimating the weight of scientific reasons, and hence, authority must, even in phenomenal science, always remain the ground the majority have for accepting the results of scientific inquiry, where these results are incapable of being practically tested. That the earth, in its course round the sun, describes an ellipse, and that the axis of its rotation is oblique to the plane of the ecliptic, are facts received entirely on authority, except by comparatively few. If the results, then, of physical science are necessarily accepted on authority, still more must those of metaphysics, in which the problems themselves and the conditions of their solution are so extremely difficult to grasp, be so accepted. Hence, whatever metaphysical knowledge the people need, must be accepted by them simply on authority. But the abstract form in which the results of philosophy are presented, is especially unsuited to impress the ordinary understanding and to influence action, and any attempt to bring philosophical truths home to the people in scientific shape must necessarily end in failure.

The need man feels for spiritual teaching is, however, urgent. The problem of life oppresses him; he cannot avoid, in some lucid intervals, asking whence he came, and whither he is bound. Is death the end of all things for him, or is there not a continuance of his personality after death? Is there no help for him amidst the iron wheels of natural law, which crush him, and tear away that which alone gives value to life? Is there no spirit behind Nature which will aid him in his helplessness and misery?

Moreover, according to Hartmann, this need for spiritual knowledge must increase as civilisation advances. Its source lies in the very nature of life, "in the need felt by mankind to explain the existence of evil and sin, and if possible, overcome them. It

is discontent with this world, arising from a recognition of evils to be suffered and a nature prone to sin, which leads to religion" (p. 87). This recognition of evil, as a necessary concomitant of life, must become more vivid in proportion to that higher development of consciousness, to which evolution is unmistakeably tending. "The more completely men adapt to their wants the forces of nature, the more fully they will realise the impossibility of overcoming thereby the evils of life and attaining happiness, or even contentment. Optimism may be the prevailing sentiment during a period of material progress, so long as men can cherish the idea of attaining happiness on reaching some wished-for goal; but this goal reached, they find themselves no happier than before, and their gnawing wants more keen than ever. Optimism is a mere interlude occurring in a nation during a stage of material progress. Whenever men are able to rest and contemplate their condition, the fundamental conviction of pessimism emerges, and with greater strength after each stage of material progress. Hence, when mankind has obtained all that civilisation can afford, and realises the complete vanity of the highest attainable worldly good, then the religious question must become the one burning question of all." (p. 96.)

But there is also a practical need for religious teaching, insomuch as there can be no system of genuine morality, except on a metaphysical basis. "The prudential system founded on egoism is but a false morality, which, indeed, is hardly put forward otherwise than as a substitute for the reality regarded as impossible." (p. 117.) "Without a basis in metaphysics, rules of conduct may be indeed laid down, but no real objection can be made to any one who does not find them to his taste. We may construct a natural history of human inclinations and motives with reference to their consequences to society; but no sanction to morality is possible, which may not be disputed by the boundless selfishness of the individual. Genuine ethics, that is the science of conduct as requiring correction, cannot dispense with a metaphysical foundation." (p. 84.)

Lastly, religion is indispensable to keep alive in the people a sense of the reality of the spiritual world. "Its rites and ceremonies are required to excite and maintain the religious emotions arising from spiritual ideas, and to hold up before the people an ideal. Art reaches them in a form too crude to excite an artistic ideal. It is religion alone that impresses upon them that there is something higher than eating drinking, and breeding; that this world of sense is not everything, but in very deed a mere appearance, the shadow, as it were, of the eternal, spiritual and ideal, seen through the mist. To keep alive the consciousness of this, is the

aim of all religions which have risen above primitive nature worship." (p. 71.)

It is clear, then, that under no circumstances can religion be dispensed with, nay, more,—the need for it must increase with the progress of civilisation. The question, then, is whether any modification of Christianity is suited to supply this need, and if not, in what direction we must look for the religion of the future. In treating of this, Hartmann does not address himself to the polemics of religion, that is, to an examination of the evidences for its truth. The discussion is only addressed to those who have left behind them the criticism of these evidences.

He starts with the assumption that no religion can be accepted unless its teachings are congruous with the results of modern science. The first condition, then, is that its metaphysical postulates shall harmonise with the doctrines of modern metaphysics. These doctrines, it need scarcely be said, Hartmann considers to be essentially those set forth in his own system, the latest result of German metaphysical inquiry. The central idea is that of pantheism, or as he prefers to call it, spiritual monism. The world of phenomena is regarded as the manifestation of one spiritual substance. Under all the variety of phenomena, under the innumerable individuals, is the *one* impersonal spirit, whence they all take their rise, and which is *immanent* in them.

The second condition for a permanent religion is, that its ethical system must be free from any egoistic element; the will must be determined to moral action purely by the laws of its own nature.

Now if we turn to Christianity, we find it alien to modern thought in these two essential points,—in its theism and its morality resulting therefrom. "The anthropomorphism inseparable from all theism renders it unacceptable; and from this anthropomorphism Christianity cannot free itself so long as it retains the dogma of the personality of God. A transcendent God, standing outside of, and governing the world, is a conception which it has become impossible for modern thought to entertain; the belief in an immanent God alone can find acceptance. From the theistic conception, there results, in the sphere of ethics, a completely heteronomous moral law, wherein morality is reduced to blind obedience to the will of God. It has, however, become quite clear to the modern conscience that actions performed only from obedience to commands of an extraneous will, can have in the strict sense, no moral worth whatever." (p. 28). "All genuine morality must be founded on self-abnegation; and modern thought demands the complete elimination from morals of every egoistic element, however subtile." (p. 115.)

Hartmann examines in some detail the principal of the recent modifications of Christianity, which Protestantism has put forward as adapted to modern times, and devotes a large part of his book to the latest development, that known in Germany as the school of liberal Protestantism. He shows how each of these contains essential elements antagonistic to modern thought. Into these details, however, we need not here follow him. The above suffices to show generally the position he occupies in relation to Christianity. He finds it impossible that any form which Christianity can assume, should be in harmony with our present scientific culture, and proceeds to inquire whence the required religion may probably be derived. The following is the substance of his speculations.

As already noted,he considers that the basis of a true religion must consist in the belief that there is one spiritual entity immanent in the world, which, in all its variety, is but its manifestation. This involves three assertions: (1) that in Nature we have many distinct individuals; (2) that these are the forms of an immanent spirit; and (3) that this spirit is one.

Hartmann considers that in primitive religion the object of worship was immanent: it was one or more of the forces of nature, not separated from their manifestations, as a man is separated from the object he moves, but in nature itself. Men, however, attempted to explain theses forces by assimilating them to human action upon nature; and though these anthropomorphic explanations were doubtless originally only symbolical, they gradually crystallised into realities, taking the forms of a number of different personalities, each with a distinct sphere of action upon nature. The objects of worship then ceased to be *immanent* in nature, and became beings *external* to it. A variegated polytheism arose, and with it were lost the idea of the immanence, and the unity also, which the primitive worshipper had probably felt vaguely in times of religious exaltation. This corruption of the purer primitive belief arose from the persistent tendency of the sensuous element in the mind to humanise the divine. Religious progress consists mainly in the checking of this tendency and bringing into clearer light the elements of true religion above indicated.

There are two main courses of religious evolution: that arising from a Jewish, and that arising from a Hindu source. The problem for each has been the same, *viz.*, the purification of religion from polytheism; but each has adopted a different procedure, and has failed in arriving at truth from neglect of the side which has been the strength of the other.

Hinduism learnt to regard its numerous gods as the modes

under which the one impersonal Brahm revealed itself, and thus restored the immanence and the unity amidst the multiplicity of individuals. Unfortunately, however, popular fancy attached itself exclusively to the *many* manifestations, and though the doctrine of *one* impersonal God was theoretically acknowledged, it remained without influence on the people, who consequently continued to be practically polytheists. Buddhism was an attempt to eradicate this polytheism by a popularisation of the doctrines of the Vedānta and Sānkya philosophy. It, however, not only rejected the gods, but the conception of the divine substance itself, underlying them and all things. Founded on an erroneous theory of cognition, it overlooked the necessity of inferring reality under phenomena, and reduced the world to nothing but a web of fancy. Such an abstraction naturally resulted in a revival of polytheism, commencing with the deification of the Buddha and the conversion of Nirvāna into a paradise of positive delight.

The Jews, on the other hand, chose one of a numerous pantheon to be the God of their race; but they regarded him only as stronger, not as more real, than the gods of other tribes. As, however, their consciousness of national dignity increased, so did their pride in their God; and they raised him to the rank of creator of all things, depreciating his rivals to the position of mere demons and false gods. The unity of God thus became a central dogma in a form so well adapted to the understanding of the people, that it was capable of being the object of religious fanaticism for whole nations. But though the unity of the divinity was thus vividly realised, it was in a form which could not be combined with the attribute of the immanence; for that cannot be united to the conception of a personal God.

Thus Hinduism raised itself from polytheism by the conception of a single power of which nature is the ceaseless manifestation; while Judaism attained the same end by the conception of a personal God, standing apart from the world he had created. But Hinduism was unable to realise the attribute of the unity in a form comprehensible to the laity; and Judaism could only attain the dogma of the unity at the expense of the attribute of immanence. Popular Hinduism, while maintaining the continual connexion between the one immanent power and its manifold revelation in nature, lost itself in a maze of polytheism, arising from the deification of each separate form in the manifold. Judaism on the other hand, could only maintain the unity by severing the connexion of its Divinity and the world after the one creative act. Hence, we see, that each is weak in that element in which the other is strong; and that a true religion must

consist in a synthesis of these two great streams of religious evolution.

Properly regarded, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is an attempt at such a fusion.

When first Christianity spread among the nations of the Mediterranean basin, the Christian God seemed to them but one among the many gods imported from the East. When, however; they realised the inflexible character of Jewish monotheism, a reaction followed, which resulted in the destruction of monotheism by means of the doctrine of the Trinity. The problem for Christian theology then became, to reconcile this with the dogma of the unity. A similar problem had been solved by the Hindus by the recognition of the three persons of their Trinity as merely different forms of the one impersonal Brahm. But such a solution as this was impossible for the Christians, in whose creed the personal God of the Jews, who had made man in his own image, was too deeply rooted. Neither of the three *persons*, nor a fourth *person*, could effect the identification of the three: this could only be done through one *impersonal* Being of which the three persons are modes; a procedure which deprives the three of the attribute of divinity by transferring it to the impersonal reality. The attempt at a reconciliation therefore necessarily failed, but the doctrine of the Incarnation, by bringing *into* nature the personal God placed outside, showed at least how men ought to be united to God.

"There is a deep metaphysical meaning in the doctrine of the Trinity, which our rationalistic Protestants have overlooked. In striking out two persons from the Trinity, they have simply returned to the crude Jewish conception of a God, existing far from the sphere of humanity, to which the Christian doctrine had at least approximated him. They should have held fast by the idea that man should be united to God as the three persons of the Trinity are united in one essence. They would have then found themselves compelled to abandon their anthropomorphic personification of the Deity, and recognised the immanence of the one impersonal Godhead throughout the whole world of phenomena. Thus might have been realised a God no longer severed from humanity by his personality, and a pantheism undefiled by any trace of polytheism." (p. 108.) In the tendency of the Trinitarian controversy is indicated the course to be pursued by religious evolution. "Our idea of the Divinity must be purified from every trace of human attributes and personality. The unity must be as strongly insisted on as by the Jews and Mahomedans; but this unity must be conceived, as it is by the Brahmanical religion, as the unity of the one immanent power revealing

itself under all the varied shapes of the phenomenal world." (p. 109.)

The influence of Asian thought upon Semitic Christianity has tended to bring about this synthesis. The medium through which it has acted, has been philosophy; first the Grecian philosophy, as modified in Egypt, and recently the philosophy of Germany. To the first we owe the doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos, and the attempt to find the unity underlying the three persons of the Trinity. In our times has appeared the philosophy of Hegel, "wherein the postulate of the divine immanence is developed into a sublime system. The incarnate logos of St. John is regarded as determining man in proportion as he has become conscious of the Divine immanence. Schopenhauer, on the other hand, has restored the dreamy subjective idealism of the Vedānta and Buddhist teaching, and above all, the deep reaching pessimism of the latter, its ethical system and doctrine of Nirvāna. Thus has philosophy, preceding religious evolution, brought home to modern thought the more or less serviceable elements of the Indian religions, and prepared the way for its fusion with Christianity. The future task of German philosophy is the completion of this synthesis. The disconnected ideas from the Indian religions, partially realised by Hegel, Schelling and Schopenhauer, have to be combined into a systematic whole with the results of modern thought, and so much of Christianity as may eventually remain tenable. Metaphysical ideas will be thus realised, which, filtering into the deeper strata of national consciousness, will prepare the ground for the development of new religious life. It has been the error of all previous philosophy to assume the absolute truth of one particular religion and to undertake its demonstration. It was thus Hegel treated of Christianity and Schopenhauer of 'the venerable religion of Asia, the primitive religion of mankind.' A more advanced criticism shows the perversity of this procedure, and demands that a philosophy of religion should indicate the elements of all religions which are tenable, and capable of producing further religious evolution." (p. 110)

The tendency to pantheism among the Germans is unmistakeable, and Heinrich Heine has declared it to be already their concealed religion. But, in assimilating it, they have added an element from the Semitic beliefs which distinguishes it widely from Indian pantheism. In common with the Jews, Christians and Mahomedans, they accept as *real* the facts of history and evolution. Indian pantheism is joined to a belief in subjective idealism, which reduces the objectively real appearance of the absolute to a mere mental image,—the whole course of history and evolution to a mere web spun by the brain. The necessary result has been the inculcation

of apathetic quietism, a system, indeed, adapted to the dreamy character of the Hindu race. From this we are preserved by our belief in the *reality* of evolution. Though we agree with the Buddhist religion in regarding existence as necessarily miserable, yet we perceive that there is a real process of evolution continuing, of which we are ourselves a part, and that all our activities are required for the rapid furtherance of this process, which has for its goal our deliverance through the higher development of consciousness.

Contemporary thought finds the basis for ethics in concessions more allied to the Indian than the Christian systems.

Christianity, though decidedly pessimist in its view of the present life, assumes individual immortality in another sphere, where existence is to be completetly desirable. "Thus its pessimist attitude is maintained merely for a relatively transient moment, while it regards as positive individual felicity for eternity" (p. 115). "It thus gives to egoism a metaphysical support, so delicate as to be especially dangerous to genuine morality." We have already noted the incompatibility of Theism and morality. "Christianity further commits the mistake of regarding individual sin as inherited, and supposing purification can be obtained by the act of another, *viz*, salvation through Christ. But sin in the individual can result from his own acts alone, and purification can be obtained only by progressive moral improvement resulting from personal efforts, and not by any desert of another or Pauline new birth (p. 120)."

Pantheism, on the other hand, furnishes the strongest basis for morals. "It shows to the individual his identity with all others in the universal substance, and that to hurt another is to hurt himself. It gives the real foundation of sympathy and charity and the instinctive morality based on these feelings. Hence we have to look to the Buddhist system, rather than the Christian, for the moral elements of the religion of the future.

Modern thought is, moreover, essentially antagonistic to the Christian doctrine of individual immortality, on account of its optimism, for it concurs with Buddhism in regarding existence under any possible condition as necessarily miserable. We can recognise, "but one longing for the individual,—to be liberated from the heavy duty of working in the process of evolution and to sink into Brahm as a bubble in the ocean, to be extinguished as a light in the wind, and to be born no more. Such is the expression of the yearning of the pure religious spirit: it seeks, not happiness, but peace, but is ready to fulfil its duty as an individual until the hour of union with the universal spirit arrives. In place of the pernicious belief in individual immor

tality, Pantheism offers to the religious soul the consolation of seeing all things as the manifestation of the divinity in which they will be again united (p. 115)."

Hartmann closes his little book with a few remaks regarding the ceremonial observances of the future religion. He remarks that when a religion has become incapable of exciting emotions by its ideas, it seeks to recover its lost power by the impressiveness of its ceremonies. It has been the object of every religious reformer to impress upon mankind the worthlessness of these ceremonies, and to inculcate the religion of the heart. Thus Jesus reduced all essential religious rites to the single one of prayer, and, indeed, of solitary prayer. The course of evolution will, Hartmann thinks, probably continue in the same direction, and the religious ceremonies of the future consist in emotional exercises without any external formalities. It is here that Pantheism will show its capacity of exciting the religious emotion down to the greatest depth. "The Pantheist feels himself one with his God, and eternally inseparable from him. It was this insight which the mystics sought; but they were debarred from it by their conception of a personal transcendent God, between whom and themselves was a gulf which no personal mediator could bridge over. Pantheism renders superfluous that dialogue with God, which in Theism gives a mournful succour to an incomplete unity; it transforms the duality of persons in prayer into a unity transcending the conditions of dialogue and affording a far deeper satisfaction to the heart.(p.116)."

We may conclude with the following quotation with which Hartmann sums up his survey: — "Looking to the course of history, we find that the religion of the future must be realised through a synthesis of the Hindu and Judæo-Christian phases of religious thought. It must combine the advantages of both, and thereby become capable of replacing both as a universal religion. Such a pan-monotheistic system would be most in conformity to reason and the best adapted to excite and satisfy the religious sentiments. It would afford the strongest metaphysical support to ethics, and approach nearest to giving that which men seek as truth in religion (p.121)."

EDMUND WHITE.

ART. V.—THE CITY OF CALCUTTA AND ITS MUNICIPAL CONSTITUTION.

THE history of the origin, growth and municipal constitution of every city must afford matter for interesting and profitable study, not only to its own citizens, but to those of other cities also. It must be interesting, because the records of progress, whether moral, material or intellectual, are of the greatest value to all earnest students of history; and it must be profitable on account of the practical lessons which thoughtful and intelligent minds may deduce from its pages. The history of Calcutta, the Metropolis, as well as the chief Emporium of Trade of the British Empire in the East, in view of the fact that in less than two centuries this city has risen to its present eminence from absolute insignificance, is one of the most remarkable on record.

A brief review of the circumstances under which the city of Calcutta was founded and gradually rose to its present position, may not be here out of place. On the site of the present town, there were originally only three villages, Calcutta, Gobindpore, and Sootalooty.* The first is supposed to have been situated somewhere near the present Custom House, the second on the southern glacis of the Fort, and the third a little beyond the Mint. The last-named of the three villages, it is believed, was the point at which the very first local British settlement was made, in the year 1686, by Governor Job Charnock, who, at that time, withdrew the English Factory from Hooghly and transferred it to Sootalooty. About ten or twelve years later, these villages were purchased by the English under the permission of the Nawab of the Province, to whom the annual tribute hitherto paid by them, was continued. In the year 1717 the jurisdiction and influence of the British began to extend, and they were about that time empowered to purchase thirty-eight other towns and villages, along both banks of the River Hooghly. But British rule and influence had yet to undergo a fiery trial before they were firmly established. In the year 1756 was enacted the memorable tragedy of the Black-Hole, when Calcutta was captured from the English by Suraj-ud-Dowlah. Its fate, for some time, trembled in the balance, but Clive promptly avenged the insult and the temporary injury done to British interests, and from the time of the re-capture of Calcutta, and the subsequent battle of Plassey, English supremacy was again

* *Alias* Sootanutti and sometimes Chuttanuti.

in the ascendant, and the prosperity of the new capital assured. Municipal and other local improvements began to be inaugurated and continued rapidly to develop, until, at the present day, Calcutta may claim to take rank with the first cities in the world. The area of the city, inclusive of the Fort and the Esplanade, is about 15,000 bighas, equivalent to nearly 5,037 acres. But if the suburban limits of the town, including Howrah, were taken into account, both the area and the population would probably be more than doubled. It is difficult to determine with precision how much ground was actually covered by the first local English settlement. But the portion which belonged to the Hon'ble the East India Company, a hundred years ago, seems to have been less than half the area of the town at the present day. According to the census of 1876 the population was estimated at 429,535 souls, subdivided according to nationalities as in the following statement, in juxtaposition with which, for the purpose of comparison, we place the returns of the census of 1850 :—

	Census of 1876.	Census of 1850.
Hindoos ...	278,224	274,506
Mahomedans ...	123,556	111,170
Christians ...	23,885	13,086
Others ...	3,870	16,301
Total	429,535	415,063

In an analysis of the race-ratios of the local population, Mr. Beverley states that in regard to *race*, the inhabitants have been arranged in three great classes: Non-Asiatics, Mixed Races, and Asiatics. The Asiatics naturally compose 95 per cent. of the total population ; the Mixed Races are nearly 3 per cent. and Non-Asiatics 2 per cent. Of the Non-Asiatics 9,003 are Europeans, 177 Americans, 56 Africans (chiefly from Zanzibar or Mauritius) and Australasians. Of the Europeans, 7,832 are British ; 370 French ; 216 Germans ; 110 Greeks ; other Continental nations being represented by smaller numbers. Of Spaniards and Portuguese, only those who were born out of India have been classed as Europeans, the rest being included under mixed races, as Indo-Portuguese. The mixed races number 11,373, including 707 Indo-Portuguese. The census returns of 1876, compared with those of 1850, shew an increase of hardly 15,000 souls after the lapse of a quarter of a century. Intermediately, two other censuses were taken, one in 1866 and the other in 1872. Of the latter, Mr. Beverley, however, remarks, that "for all practical purposes the census of 1872 was absolutely useless, and might as well never have been taken." The earliest record of the population is that

of 1,710, when it was approximately estimated at from 10 to 12,000 souls. From that time up to the taking of the first census, various estimates have been hazarded, but they are all apparently more or less conjectural and are consequently unreliable.

A glance at the general character of the dwelling houses, as well as the more important public and other buildings, helps us to form some conception of the material progress and prosperity of cities. Thornton writing of the number of residences in Calcutta in 1850, remarks that they amounted "to 62,565, consisting of 5,950, one-storeyed houses, 6,438 of two-storeys, 721 of three, 10 of four and 1 of five-storeys and 49,445 huts." Mr. Beverley's returns, a quarter of a century later, show what progress has been made. He says that "of the pucka houses 7,037 are one-storeyed; 8,636, two-storeyed; 1,187 three-storeyed; 34 four-storeyed; and 2 five-storeyed." That a very decided progress has been made in this direction, will be seen from a comparison of the foregoing returns. The houses, even in the most fashionable quarters, have generally but little pretension to architectural beauty, and it is therefore difficult to conceive how the appellation of 'City of Palaces' came to be conferred on the town. Some of the principal public buildings, however, may perhaps compare not unfavourably with those of other leading cities. Among the most important may be enumerated the palatial residence of the Viceroy of India. This building was erected in 1804, by the Marquis Wellesley, at a cost of 13 lakhs of rupees, or about £130,000; and probably as much, if not a larger sum of money, has since been expended in improving it. The other public buildings which call for special mention, are the new Imperial Museum; the High and Small Cause Courts; the Post and Telegraph Offices; the Town and Metcalfe Halls; the Medical College and the Municipal Market. To the curious in such matters it will be interesting to compare the progress of the city by collating the maps and plans of the town which have been published from time to time, and are now extant. A plan of Calcutta, prepared in 1756, shews only seventy houses in the entire town; the site of the present fort was at that time a jungle, and the ground now occupied by the fashionable and imposing line of buildings along Chowringhee Road, was then covered with bamboo bush jungle, or paddy field swamps. A plan published thirty years later shews only four houses south of Park Street. The total number of brick built houses alone at the last census (1876) was estimated at 16,896.

The present municipal constitution of Calcutta passed like that of most other cities, through the usual preliminary phases and conditions of an embryonic existence. To trace its growth from

infancy upwards, would be interesting; but to deal with the subject exhaustively, would be impossible in a short paper like this. Something may, however, be done, even within these limits, to elucidate the past history of local municipal institutions, and to place before the public at least its salient and most important features.

About the year 1794, the necessity for framing some kind of a municipal constitution seems to have been recognized for the first time, and an Act of Parliament was then passed, empowering the Governor-General in Council to raise a municipal fund, and to appoint Justices of the Peace. But whether anything further than the passing of this Act was done, is not clear. In 1803, however, the first Municipal Board of which there appears to be any record, was erected by a Resolution, dated 16th June of that year, by Lord Wellesley, who was then Governor-General. Thirty members were appointed to carry out the provisions of this Resolution, which purported to provide for "the health, safety, and convenience of the inhabitants." A few years later, another body, termed the Lottery Committee, was appointed and charged with the specific duty of raising funds which were to be spent on the improvement of the town. Owing to the exertions of this Committee large sums were annually raised by public lotteries. Among other works, the Town Hall, it is said, was "entirely constructed out of the proceeds of such lotteries." In the first year of the inauguration of these lotteries, the sum of Rs. 5,00,000 was raised by the issue of 5,000 tickets of Rs. 1,000 each. Of this number, 4,000 tickets were blanks and 1,000 were prizes. However, in the year 1833, a reactionary tide of feeling against the propriety of raising money by public lotteries seems to have set in, and in that year the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta suggested to Government a scheme for a representative Municipal Board. The great Reform Act had been passed in England the year before, and it is more than probable that its influence was beginning to be felt in India, and suggested the desire for some radical reforms in the Municipal constitution of the Capital. But it was not till 1840 that any practical attempt was made to establish a definite form of Municipal Government, and it was only then that the first local Municipal Act was passed, to regulate the lighting, watering, and cleaning of streets and drains. Subsequently, various other Acts were framed, and the constitution of the Municipality, as well as the laws which governed it, gradually underwent change, until in 1856 the entire management and control of the municipal affairs of the city were vested in a new Board, composed only of three stipendiary members, who were designated, Municipal Com-

missioners. That these gentlemen accomplished a great deal for the material advancement and progress of the town, will be admitted. But it fell to their successors to develop and to perfect many schemes which probably had been suggested, if not already anticipated, by this local triumvirate. After the lapse of seven years from their appointment, that is, in the year 1863, further changes were effected, and a new Municipal Act was passed, creating a public body corporate, composed of all the Justices of the Peace for the town, as well as all other Justices of the Peace for Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, who might be resident in Calcutta. The number of members then composing the Corporation of this city, was over one hundred and fifty, or more than double that of the present Corporation. After the existence of nearly a decade and a half. and after, on the whole, a most useful career, they gave place to the Corporation as now constituted. In 1876, the whole Municipal Law was revised and consolidated into a single Act with effect from the 1st of July of that year; and this was followed on the 1st of September by the creation of a new Corporation, whose personnel has, however, recently been changed, as the members hold office only for three years at a time.

Without attempting to follow, step by step, the history of local municipal legislation, through all its stages of incubation and improvement, it will be edifying to notice the general scope and tendency of the law of the present day, and to point out some peculiarities and anomalies which suggest themselves on reflection, and which, under some future legislative revision of the Act, it may be possible to remedy. A general idea of the present state of Municipal law may be gleaned from the opening pages of the published report of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation for 1877. The writer of the Report says: —"In many respects Act IV (B. C.) of 1876 has introduced no material change in the *modus operandi* of the Municipality, but there are some important exceptions. As under the old law, so under the new law the executive staff remains unaltered. As before, so now, it consists of Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Engineer, Health Officer, Collector, Assessor, &c. As before, so now, certain matters are required to be laid before the Commissioners in meeting, and the Chairman is vested with the powers of the Commissioners in other matters which he can, and does, dispose of, without reference to them. As before, so now, the Chairman is appointed and is removeable by Government. But under the old law the appointment and allowances of Secretary, Engineer, Health Officer, Collector, and Assessor were left to the discretion of the Justices, whereas, under the new law the resolutions of the Commissioners in these

matters are subject to the approval of the local Government. Under the old law the Justices were competent to expend the Municipal revenue on any object coming within the scope of the Municipal Act without any interference from Government, that is to say, they could make any grant for any municipal object at their discretion, with this limitation, that no work or series of works which exceeded Rs. 50,000 should be undertaken by them without the sanction of Government. The same limitation is retained under the new law. But further restrictions have been placed upon the Commissioners. They are precluded from altering or amending the Police Budget; they are required to spend annually a sum of not less than rupees one lakh and a half for the extension of drainage, and to make adequate and suitable provision for the conservancy of the town. If it should appear to the local Government that the Commissioners have failed to make adequate and suitable provision for the cleaning and conservancy of the town, to an extent likely to be prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants of the town or of any part thereof, the local Government may appoint a commission of enquiry, and on the report of such commission, may order further provision to be made for conservancy, and, should the Commissioners decline to carry out the recommendations made, the local Government may require the Chairman to carry out the orders of Government, notwithstanding any powers conferred upon the Commissioners under the Act. It will be thus seen that the new law, although it introduced a partial elective system in the Constitution of the Corporation, has materially circumscribed the powers of the Commissioners. The local Government has more direct power over the proceedings of the Corporation, than it had before. Should the Commissioners fail in the discharge of the duties imposed upon them by the law, and should their neglect prove prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants of the town, it would be always open to the local Government to intervene and exercise the powers vested in it by Section 28 of Act IV of 1876."*

In order, more conveniently, to review its leading features, the Act may be divided under the following general heads, although these divisions are not in strict accordance with the arrangement of the text or the regular sequence of its clauses and sections. The principal heads, then, are as follows:—

I.—The constitution, functions, and powers of the Corporation and of its officers.

II.—The imposition and levying of municipal rates.

* Administration Report of the Calcutta Municipality for 1877, pages 1 & 2.

III.—The provision of water-supply, improvement of buildings, streets and drains, and their conservancy.

IV. Sanitation.

The Municipal Corporation of the city of Calcutta, as now constituted, is created chiefly by election, by the suffrages of those citizens who are qualified under the municipal franchise, and partly by selection by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Excluding the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman, it is composed of seventy-two members, of whom two-thirds, or forty-eight, are elected by the rate-payers, and one-third, or twenty-four, are appointed by the local Government. As already stated, the powers of the Commissioners have been circumscribed, perhaps wisely. While the elective principle was still experimental, and its ultimate success unassured, there was *prima facie* good reason for such a course. But when once the principle has been fairly established, there can be no reason why these powers should not be considerably amplified.

A word or two on the supreme control which the local Government reserves to itself, through the Chairman of the Corporation, over the municipal affairs of the city, appears to be called for. The Chairman is selected and appointed by the Government, and may be looked upon as its representative and the custodian of Government interests. But there appears to be a pretty general feeling abroad, chiefly in non-official circles, that not only the chief officers, but the President of the Corporation should be elected by the Corporation. Possibly local municipal institutions are not yet ripe for such a change, and naturally the Government, which considers itself primarily responsible for the heavy financial liabilities of the city, cannot be altogether indifferent to the exercise of some kind of a general control over these matters.

The duties of the Corporation are multifarious. Its chief business is to provide by taxation the funds requisite for the maintenance of a local police, for the extension and ultimate completion of the underground drainage and the provision of a suitable supply of water, and for the conservancy of the town. The Corporation is required under the law to hold, for the transaction of its public business, at least sixteen meetings every year—four quarterly and twelve monthly, besides other special, or special general meetings, as may be necessary. At the last quarterly meeting of each year, held in October, the Chairman lays before the Commissioners for sanction the budget of estimated income and expenditure for the ensuing year. At the passing of such budget the various rates for the year are fixed :—A house-rate not exceeding 10 per cent. a water-rate not exceeding 6 per cent. for houses situated in streets supplied with filtered water, and 5 per

cent. for houses situated near such streets; a police-rate not exceeding 3 per cent. and a lighting-rate not exceeding $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The house and drainage rates are paid by house-owners (landlords), who are also bound to contribute a fourth share of the water-rate, of which the remaining three-fourths, besides the police and lighting rates, are paid by house-occupiers (tenants). In addition to the foregoing rates, there are taxes for keeping carriages and horses in the town, as well as for various conservancy requirements and other municipal wants. The general incidence of taxation, as represented by owners' and occupiers' rates does not seem to be fairly and equitably apportioned between the two classes, as will be seen from the following comparative statement:—

Maximum Rates payable by House-owners.		Maximum Rates payable by House-occupiers.	
House rate	10 per centum,	Lighting rate	2 per centum.
Drainage "	$2\frac{1}{2}$ " "	Police "	3 " "
Water " ($\frac{1}{4}$th)	$1\frac{1}{2}$ " "	Water ($\frac{3}{4}$ ths)	$4\frac{1}{2}$ " "
Total	14 " "	Total	$9\frac{1}{2}$ " "

Thus it will be observed that while house-owners may have to contribute an aggregate of 14 per cent, house-occupiers are not required to pay more than $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. From the Annual Report of the Calcutta Municipality for 1877 it appears that:—"The house-rate has been the main stay of the General Fund, and whenever there has been a strain upon it, that rate has been raised to the maximum;" and, again:—"the expenditure of the Municipality has lately exceeded its General Budget income and the General Fund has been, both by the practice of the office and by the wording of the Act, so heavily handicapped as to put in a very sorry appearance at the grand annual audit of accounts. The whole burden of stores, advances, payment of invoices, profit and loss, and unforeseen miscellaneous expenditure of every kind is debited against the General Fund which is bankrupt, while the Water, Lighting and Police rate Funds are solvent." To understand more clearly the character of the General Fund, the sources of its income and the objects of its expenditure, an inspection of the following general statement will be useful:—

General Fund.

Revenue.	Rs.	As.	P.	*Expenditure.*	Rs.	As.	P.
House-rate ...	8,57,724	1	7	Interest & Sinking Fund	4,22,130	9	1
Licenses ...	2,54,226	15	1	Establishment charges	2,04,134	7	5
Carriage & Horse Tax	1,13,768	10	9	Road Repairs ...	3,42,270	2	2
Carts	68,745	6	8	Conservancy ...	1,96,692	11	6
Miscellaneous ...	4,27,269	3	7	Miscellaneous ...	4,96,504	13	10
Total ...	17,21,734	4	8	Total ...	16,61,333	6	0

From these figures, which are for the year 1877, it will be seen that

during that year the House-rate, although imposed at only 7 per cent, yielded more than half the entire revenue in the General Fund; and during the current year, with this rate fixed at the maximum of 10 per cent., the receipts will amount to upwards of 12 lakhs of rupees, and will probably represent even more than two-thirds of this branch of the revenue, or two-fifths of the gross revenue of the city. The aggregate taxation for the current year is 18 per centum and is apportioned as follows:—

House-owners.				House-occupiers.			
House-rate	...	10	per centum	Police-rate	...	2·25	per cent.
Water ,,	...	0·94	,,	Water ,,	...	2·82	,,
				Lighting ,,	...	2·00	,,
Total	...	10 94	,,	Total	...	7·07	,,

From the above it will be seen that, while house-owners contribute 11 per cent. of these taxes, house-occupiers are required to provide only 7 per cent.

The total revenue of the city during the year 1877 was more than twenty-eight lakhs of rupees or about £280,000. In the General Fund, as already shewn, the receipts amounted to about 17¼ lakhs of rupees, and to this should be added about 10 lakhs of rupees, on account of the police, water, and lighting rates, to obtain the gross annual municipal revenue. Athough this amount seems to be a considerable one to raise by taxation, it is hardly sufficient to meet all the pressing financial requirements of the city. First and foremost, there are the periodical payments on account of the funded debt of the city, which already exceeds one hundred and fifty lakhs of rupees, or about £1,500,000, and to which additions are being steadily made year by year. The question of the reduction of the present heavy financial liabilities of the city has naturally been the subject of much anxious consideration in many quarters, and at the present time, it is believed, a scheme is being matured by the local and Imperial Governments, by which it is intended to consolidate the Government portion of the debt, amounting to very nearly two-thirds, or about one crore of rupees, and to liquidate this amount in thirty years by half-yearly payments of about two-and-a-quarter lakhs of rupees. If this scheme can be carried out, as there is every reason to suppose it will, a great boon will be conferred on the rate-paying community, and taxation and expenditure may, *pari-passu*, be correspondingly reduced.

The annexed extract conveys a fair idea of the financial position of the city:—"The Municipality has incurred loans to the extent of Rs. 1,50,55,935 to the end of 1877, *viz.*, Rs. 5,499, 600 from the public at 6 per cent. interest, Rs. 52,000,000

from the Secretary of State for India for water-works at 4 per cent. interest, and Rs. 43,56,335 from Government for drainage, markets, &c., at 4½ per cent. interest. The total interest the Municipality has to pay every year is Rs. 7, 34,011, *viz.*, Rs. 3,29,976 on loans from the public, Rs. 208,000 on loans of 52 lakhs from the Secretary of State and Rs. 1,96,035 from Government for drainage, markets, &c. Besides these sums the Municipality has to pay every year Rs. 3,000,344 towards liquidation of loans, *viz.*, Rs. 1,10,000 for loans from the public, Rs. 1,04,000 for the loans of 52 lakhs and Rs. 86,344 for drainage, markets, &c. This latter payment will increase every half-year, but there will be a corresponding decrease in payment of interest." *

Thus it appears that the annual liability on account of interest and sinking fund contributions at the end of the year 1877 amounted to no less than Rs. 10,34,355. In other words, more than two-fifths of the gross revenue is annually appropriated to meet charges which it is possible, by well devised schemes, to extinguish in the course of a few years, with the result of very materially reducing the burden of local municipal taxation, and thus affording substantial relief to the rate-paying community. That the financial liabilities of the city have attained such vast proportions, and are still increasing year by year, is matter for the gravest anxiety and calls for the application of thorough remedial measures. The scheme proposed, and now under the consideration of Government, deals only with two-thirds of the standing debt; but an auxiliary scheme may also with advantage be simultaneously provided, to embrace the remaining portion of the funded debt of the city. The imposition of every additional one per centum of taxation is said to yield an increase of municipal revenue to the extent of Rs. 125,000. The rates paid by house-owners and house-occupiers, if levied at the maximum, would just amount to 21 per cent.; that is to say, three per cent. more than the aggregate rates during the current year. A further increase of revenue of Rs. 375,000 per annum would thus be obtained, and the present hardship of increased taxation would be more than compensated by the very material and substantial reduction of taxation which would necessarily result in the future. Under the existing law, unexpended balances of the other funds cannot be appropriated to meet the charges on account of interest or sinking fund. But this disability might, if necessary, be removed by the Legislature by a short Act, based on the principle that all unexpended balances of the water-rate fund, for instance, might be diverted

* Administration Report, Calcutta Municipality, for 1877, pp. 13 & 14.

legitimately and equitably towards the liquidation of the debt incurred for the cost of the construction of water works, and so on with the other funds, which might similarly be placed under contribution for the liquidation of the debts incurred on their respective accounts, instead of throwing the whole burden of debt on the general fund, in other words, on house-owners only. The immense prospective advantages to be gained by the final extinction of the entire debt of the city, the reduction of expenditure and the abatement of taxation, with consequent relief to the local rate-payer, are considerations which make the question one of vital importance, to be looked at and dealt with not so much in view of present convenience as of future and permanent benefit.

The Municipal law further requires that suitable provision should be made by the Commissioners for the supply of water and other municipal improvements as regards buildings, streets, and drains. But closely connected with the existing state of the financial liabilities of this city is the cost of the extension of the present water-supply, which is now under consideration, and which, according to the estimates submitted, is likely to add from fifty to sixty lakhs of rupees to the present financial burdens of the Municipality. It is to be hoped, desirable as this project is, that the scheme will be thoroughly considered in all its financial bearings also. If any further debt is to be incurred, taxation must be correspondingly raised to meet the additional strain. Any scheme, therefore, however well conceived or elaborated, for the extinction of the present liabilities of the city, would be endangered, if not rendered nugatory, by further heavy loan operations, which would not be justifiable except on the ground of the most dire necessity.

The existing water-supply will compare favourably in quality with that of most other cities. It is said in the official reports to be "far purer" than some samples of London water with which analytical comparisons had been made. But London water is notoriously bad. At the close of the year 1876 it was reported that there were 112½ miles of filtered water ducts, or pipes, and 26 miles of unfiltered water pipes in the city. The daily local consumption of filtered water is over 6½ millions of gallons, allowing an average of about 14 gallons per head. The debt on account of the water-supply works amounts to Rs. 57,56,000 or £575,600.

The system of underground drainage has been considerably expanded. At the end of the year 1876 it was reported:—"Of the total estimated cost of the drainage works amounting to about 89 lakhs of rupees, about 74 lakhs have been expended. Of the 40·17 miles of brick sewers provided for, 39·21

miles have been completed, and of the 135·17 miles of pipe sewers, 47·34 miles have been completed. There remain, therefore, yet to be constructed 0·96* miles of brick and 87·84 miles of pipe sewers." Thus it will be seen that, at least, fifteen lakhs of rupees are still required to complete the drainage scheme, besides a similar sum for the completion of the town sewage, and as the money required will have to be borrowed from time to time, the standing municipal debt must also be proportionately increased. There appears to be considerable difference of opinion even among sanitary authorities, on the subject of the utility of underground drainage, but in a brief review like this, it is hardly possible to consider all the arguments for, and against, the system. That it has its advantages as well as its disadvantages, no one can deny, and all things considered, the former appear to preponderate in favor of the system when properly applied to large cities. The disadvantages, however, may be reduced to a minimum with proper gradients and a convenient outfall to sewerage. It is not every city which, situated like Edinburgh for example, on an elevation, can always secure the best possible conditions as regards gradients, but Engineering science can doubtless reduce such natural difficulties. Closely connected with every scheme of drainage is that of cess-pools and open drains, which, however, will be more particularly noticed under the subject of sanitation.

The aggregate length of roads in the city in 1876 was said to be 132 miles and the cost of their repairs that year was Rs. 3,20,380, which may be considered the annual average cost. This seems a large expenditure, and ought, if judiciously laid out, to keep the roads in a better state than they are often to be found in. Then, again, in addition to the above sum, there is disbursed annually about a lakh and a half of rupees for the scavengering of streets and drains and the maintenance of sewers. These charges are debited under the general head of conservancy. In connection with local road-ways, it is worthy of mention, that a system of tramways is about to be introduced throughout the city, along some of the most important thoroughfares. As the scheme will be developed with private capital and enterprise, it may reasonably be expected to prove more successful than that which, under the auspices of the local Municipal authorities, a few years ago proved such a miserable failure. When the scheme is in complete working order it will doubtless be a real boon to the public.

The illumination of the city with gas has recently been considerably extended, and many portions of the town which for years previously had to put up with the primitive oil lamps that only

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* Administration Report, Calcutta Municipality, for 1876, p. 61.

"served to make darkness visible," now blaze out in all the glory of gas. But the fate of gas is sealed, as electricity, being a much more powerful illuminant, and probably also more economical, is certain to become the light of the future. Till the end of the present century, however, electric lighting cannot be introduced into the Calcutta Municipality, as the contract with the Gas Company does not expire till then. The number of gas lamps at the end of the year 1877 was 2,794. But during the last and present years this number has been considerably increased, including the total illumination of the Esplanade with gas, the cost of which is not, however, borne by the local Municipality, as the Esplanade, or *maidan*, as it is commonly termed, is outside the municipal jurisdiction.

The last and most important consideration in connexion with civil interests and wants is that of the public health of the inhabitants of cities. A city which is all that can be desired from an æsthetic point of view, adorned with handsome public buildings and other works of art; laid out with beautifully designed gardens, squares and parks and magnificently illuminated by night, may, notwithstanding all these advantages, owing to defective sanitation and the neglect of ordinary sanitary measures and precautions, be a veritable charnel-house. The sanitary condition of Calcutta has engaged public attention, and been the subject of much anxious consideration, from the beginning of the present century and even earlier. In a comprehensive article on the subject, the question was dealt with at some length in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* more than thirty years ago. A valuable report, entitled the "Medical Topography of Calcutta," was prepared at that time and printed, under the orders of Government, by Doctor (afterwards Sir) J. R. Martin. That gentleman, in his report, assigns many causes for the unhealthiness of the city, especially of the native portions. As these reasons, in the main, hold true, even at the present time, they may, with much advantage, be still studied, and are therefore reproduced here :—

1.—The overcrowded population, the crowded and ill-ventilated state of the houses; the great number of decayed habitations.

2.—Their ill-construction and being built on the ground instead of being raised off it, as habitations ought always to be, in countries subject to inundation, like Bengal.

3.—The close, narrow and ill-ventilated state of the streets; their want of water-courses and pavements; their dustiness and general want of cleanliness; their want of proper direction, in reference to prevailing winds.

4.—The imperfection of drainage and sewerage; this is a great source of unhealthiness.

5.—The deficiency of good tanks and the general want of a supply of good water; the number of decayed and half-dried tanks, affording unwholesome water and yielding noxious exhalations.

6.—Crowded, filthy, ill-ventilated and unpaved state of public markets.

7.—Neglected and ill-arranged condition of public tatties (latrines.)

8.—Bad state of the native burying grounds and their vicinity to the town.

9.—The very neglected state of all surrounding suburbs. The number of salines and marshes.

10.—The construction of canals, and the heaping of their banks, so as to prevant the drainage eastward, along the natural inclination of the soil.

11.—The vicinity of rice cultivation.

12.—The quantity of low jungle trees, obstructing ventilation, and the great extent of irregularity of ground admitting of the lodgment of impure water, &c., giving off natural exhalation. These are chiefly to be found in the suburbs.

13.—Great immorality of the natives—Polygamy.

14.—The institution of caste is of itself an enormous injury to public health, because prejudicial to public happiness.

15.—The sedentary and indolent habits of the natives; their irregular hours of rest; their long fasts; their improvidence and common practice of borrowing; their exposure and irregularities at fails and festivals of religion.

16.—Their defective diet, bedding, clothing and fuel.

17.—The knavery and ignorance of the native practitioner in medicine and surgery.

18.—The misuse of the cold bath under circumstances of impaired health, and especially during the cold season.

19.—Neglect of vaccination.

20.—The want of hospitals.

21.—Defective education and physical management of children."*

Such, then, is an abstract of the causes, active and latent, which were considered to influence the public health more than a quarter of a century ago, and which, to a great extent, more especially in the suburbs, still exercise some influence over it. Again, it will be interesting to compare the present sanitary condition of the town with its condition at the time Dr. Martin wrote his report. This is what he said:—"Whoever has visited the native part of the town before sun-rise, with its

* *Calcutta Review*. Vol., V. 1846, pp. 381 and 382.

narrow lanes and 'rankest compounds of villainous smells that ever offended nostril, will require no argument in favor of widening the streets, so as to effect the two greatest improvements of all, as respects the salubrity of the city, free exposure to the sun, to rarefy and elevate the vapours, and to the winds, to dilute them.' Ruined houses, choked with weeds,—the asylums of dying and the sepulchres of dead ones—are to be seen packed in between crowded dwellings, full of little, low rooms without any apertures but such as open upon confined, filthy quadrangles. The inhabitants of these habitations are too much accustomed to bad smells to hasten the removal from their premises of any matter that is in a state of decomposition. Ground is too valuable to be spared for gardens, and, therefore, almost every inch is built upon. The streets and lanes of the roads are covered with filth, dust, mud or offal; and periodically coolies come round as scavengers, to stir up rather than remove the accumulated mess in the kennels, and to send up into the surrounding houses, fresh loaded pestiferous air to be pent up there in so many dungeons."*

This very deplorable state of things existed thirty or forty years ago throughout the city, but is now to be found only in portions of the town, and, more particularly, of some parts of the suburbs. But the position of Calcutta in respect of its sanitary defects and wants, it must in justice be admitted, has not been more remarkable than that of many other great cities. For instance, of some parts of London the following account extracted from a report made a few years ago, by Dr. Letheby, to the Commissioners of sewers of that city, will give some idea of the difficulties of sanitation even in the metropolis of the world:—"I have been at much pains" reports Dr. Letheby, "during the last three months to ascertain the precise conditions of the dwellings, the habits and the diseases of the poor. In this way, 2,208 rooms have been most circumstantially inspected, and the general result is that nearly all of them are filthy, or overcrowded, or out of repair.** So close and unwholesome is the atmosphere of some of these rooms," &c.†

Now this condition of affairs exists doubtless, more or less, in every large city and town. But this very essential and importance difference should be clearly borne in mind, that the circumstances and conditions under which such a state of things has been generated, and may even, to some extent, be neglected with impunity, are not the same all

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* *Calcutta Review* Vol. V., 1846, p. 385.

† *Calcutta Gazette*, December 2nd 1875, p. 1496.

the world over. In cold countries the danger of the neglect of sanitary measures cannot be of such vital importance as in warm countries, in which the deleterious effects of a tropical climate are more sudden in their operation and far more subtle and dangerous. That there is still great need for local sanitary improvement, a recent report of the Health Officer of this city seems to more than prove. He reports that it "is impossible to conceive a more perfect combination of all the evils of crowded city-life, with primitive filthiness and disorder, than is presented in the native portion of Calcutta. Dirt, in the most intense and noxious forms that a dense population can produce, covers the ground, saturates the water, infects the air, and finds in the habits and incidents of the people's lives, every possible facility for re-entering their bodies, while ventilation could not be more shunned in their houses, than it is, if the climate were arctic, instead of tropical"*

Local sanitary reforms seem to be chiefly, and most urgently required in the direction of native bustee-improvement. Bustees are blocks of huts, or hovels, situated within the city, and occupied by the poorest classes of natives. They are the analogies of rural villages and are totally wanting in the usual requirements and decencies of ordinary conservancy. The inconveniences and dangers arising from imperfect sanitation, in connection with small and isolated groups of huts, situated in open localities, may be neutralised, to a great extent, by the currents of fresh air which carry away with them into the open surrounding country much of the noxious and pestiferous exhalations from the filth and other impurities inseparably connected with them. But, situated in the very heart of a crowded and ill-ventilated city, they become the fruitful source of epidemic disease and death, and are the very centres from which they radiate. Therefore, it is a matter of vital importance with every intelligent and responsible governing body, charged with the conservation of the public health, to adopt the most satisfactory sanitary measures possible. That frequently there are difficulties in the way, is true; but it is also true that these difficulties are not insuperable. If those members of the local Corporation who recognise the importance of the vital question of sanitation, were only from time to time to agitate the subject in some practical form, the aggregate result at the end of each year would be considerable. But what, it may be asked, are the sanitary measures which require special attention? The fundamental principles are very briefly and clearly indicated in a recent Resolution of the Government of India, which it may perhaps be as well to reproduce

* *Administration Report*, Calcutta Municipality, 1876, p. 2.

here :—" In the larger cities and towns in India, employing their own Engineers and Officers of Health, the foundation of sanitary improvement must be laid in works of domestic sewerage and drainage, in water-supply brought from a distance, in surface levelling, paving, and cleansing, and in surface drainage. These, together with opening up new thoroughfares, tree planting and improved house construction, where sufficient funds are available, will improve the general health and mitigate or prevent outbreaks of epidemic disease in all the larger groups of population. They are not only the most effectual measures which can be adopted for these objects, but for large, dense populations, they are in the end the cheapest."*

One of the most important factors in every perfect sanitary scheme must be a system of suitable and adequate drainage. Whether underground drainage accomplishes all that is claimed for it, or expected from it, is one of those indeterminate problems, still in the region of theory. But it is probable that in tropical climates it is preferable to open drains and cesspools, which are certain to become most intolerable and dangerous nuisances.

It may be instructive to glance for a moment, at the condition of London in this respect hardly a quarter of a century ago, before the existing system of under ground sewers in that city had been expanded to its present proportions. " Dr. Southwood Smith has made the public aware that the low and filthy districts of London are the sources of fatal and wide-spreading fevers. The city sewers extend to about 15 miles, but form only a small portion of the whole metropolitan drainage, the extent of which cannot be ascertained * *. There is scarcely a house without a cess-pool under it ; and a large number have two, three, four, and more under them, so that the number of such receptacles in the metropolis may be taken at 300,000. The exposed surface of each cess-pool measures, on an average, 9 feet, and the mean depth of the whole is about 6½ feet, so that each contains 58½ cubic feet of fermenting filth of the most poisonous, noisome and disgusting nature * *. The cess-pool, however, in general, forms but one-fourth of the evaporating surface : the house-drain forms half or two-fourths, and the sewer one ; but, connected as the sewers and house-drains naturally are, and acted upon by the winds and barometric conditions, the miasma from the house-drains and sewers of one district may be carried up to another."†

The Public Health Act, passed a few years ago, has altered

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* *Calcutta Gazette*, 20th August 1879, p. 927.

† *Gazetteer of the World*. Vol. VI. pp. 806 & 807.

very materially the above condition of things in London; but the picture presented is still more or less true of the extensive suburbs of that metropolis, and serves to shew to what extent serious neglect of the most ordinary sanitary measures is likely to prove prejudicial to the public health. That there is room for considerable improvement in this direction even in some portions of this city of palaces, the following extract from a recent report of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation will sufficiently show:—"The open ditches, being, as a rule, without a hard floor, and having little or no fall, are scarcely more than elongated cess-pools, and will continue to be the most objectionable of all conservancy arrangements until filled up and superseded by underground sewers."*

The outfall of the local underground sewers is in the Salt Water Lakes to the East of this city; but a small portion of the local sewerage, *viz.*, that from Fort William, is discharged into the River Hooghly. This has been repeatedly noticed in official and other quarters, as the primary cause of the sickness in the port of Calcutta, particularly among the crews of the ships moored near the neighbourhood of this outfall. The pollution of rivers in England, especially of the Thames, has attracted much public attention there, and should convey a warning to the sanitary authorities in this country. The accident to the "Princess Alice" is still fresh in the public memory, when an English Weekly Journal, under the sensational heading 'Drowned or Poisoned?' charged the Metropolitan Board of Works with having murdered 600 or 700 people by poisoning them with sewage. How serious the evil of river pollution has become in Great Britain, not only from sewerage, but from other causes, one more extract will serve to illustrate:—"The ordinary sewage of towns is not, however, the most noxious matter that enters our rivers. The refuse of manufactories of all kinds, of dye works, of paper works, and of distilleries has produced in many of our useful streams a fearful amount of pollution. The stench from the Clyde at Glasgow produces sickness. A clergyman who lives near St. Helens, says that the river there is not only offensive out of doors, but penetrates into every room of his house, even when the windows are shut; that its action is felt in the kitchen, where it turns the copper vessels almost blue. The Mersey emits in summer a very offensive smell. The Calder is equally disagreeable, and we are told that a letter is written with the water of this river instead of ink. It was stated before a committee of the House of

* *Administratiom Report,* Calcutta Municipality for 1876, p.42.

Commons that a light was applied to the water of a stream near Bradford, and it burnt. A stream called Bourne, which flows into the river near Durham, is at times as yellow as ochre and as thick as glue. Lord Salisbury visited Manchester the other day, and can testify that the river there is in a bad condition. He was told by a high Municipal authority that an unfortunate man tumbled into that river, and before he could be rescued, swallowed a dose of the water of which he died."*

The prevalent local diseases in Calcutta, and the ratio per mille of deaths therefrom, is shewn in the following table :—

Causes of death in 1877.

Diseases.	Number of deaths.	Rates of deaths per 1,000 of Population.
Fevers	5,151	11·9
Cholera	1,418	3·3
Dysentery	1,060	2·4
Diarrhœa	623	1·4
Small Pox	67	0·15

It is worthy of note that the rate of mortality from the two principal diseases—fever and cholera, appears to be rather on the increase than on the decrease. It is said that the total number of deaths from Cholera was 796 in 1871 ; 1,102 in 1872 ; 1,105 in 1873, and 1,245 in 1874 ; but in 1875 it rose to 1,674, and in 1876 to 1,851, and although in 1877 it fell to 1,418, it was much higher than during any one of the four preceding years. * * The deaths from fever were 3,845 in 1867 ; 3,681 in 1868, 3,838 in 1869; 3,577 in 1870; 4,242 in 1871 ; 4,895 1872; 3,632 in 1873; 4,461 in 1874 ; 5,328 in 1875; 4,361 in 1876 and 5 131 in 1877.† These facts speak for themselves, but it is to be hoped that some improvement will be found in the vital statistics of the city when the public health reports for the years 1878 and 1879 are published. The rate of mortality in Calcutta, it is also said, "suddenly rose from 23·9 in 1871, to 26·8 in 1874, to 32·7 in 1875, to 30·1 in 1876 and, to 31·9 in 1877."‡ These data are gloomy enough, and afford proof that sanitary reforms are more urgently needed now than ever during the past few years. If the citizens of Calcutta would only evince an active and earnest interest in this most vital and important question, there is no reason why the

* *Saturday Review*, May 8th 1875, p. 592.

† *Administration Report*, Calcutta Municipality for 1877, p. 71.

‡ *Ibid* p. 69.

city should not take a high rank, as regards its public health. Sir Ashley Eden has already placed on record his opinion that the hope that had been expressed that "the work of sanitary reform would be carried out vigorously and earnestly, has been disappointed;" and further, unlike his august predecessor, His Honor does not feel that India is ripe for representative institutions. If, notwithstanding the unfavourable opinion he appears to have expressed regarding it in his Resolution on the report of the Calcutta Municipality for 1877, he has most generously and magnanimously permitted the system to continue yet a while, the note of warning already sounded should not be unheeded by the recently appointed members of the Corporation. Sir Ashley Eden observes that "the experiment of what is called a representative system of municipal administration of the town of Calcutta may be a very interesting experiment, but after all, it must be recollected, that it is only an experiment, and, having regard to the enormous outlay and heavy liabilities of the town, it is certainly a very dangerous experiment which requires the most careful watching."

From time to time, various suggestions have appeared chiefly in the columns of the local Press with reference to the remodelling of the Municipal Corporation. Many schemes have been propounded, but none of them can lay claim to sufficient comprehensiveness. A few brief suggestions for the better administration of our municipal affairs are here offered, in the hope that they may contain something of practical utility.

In the first place, there should be a definite and complete understanding between the administrative and executive factors of the Corporation as regards a proper division of authority and responsibility. If such an understanding were established and fairly carried out, there would be nothing heard of recrimination at the public meetings of the Commissioners. Then, again, as regards responsibility in financial matters. A most fruitful source of deficit is to be found in the expenditure of money which is not distinctly provided for in the Budget estimates and grants. It should be a cardinal principle to spend no money where none has been provided beforehand. But contingencies do, and must, occasionally arise, when it may be necessary to incur extraordinary expenditure. Therefore, distinct provision should be made beforehand to meet such contingencies and to prevent complications. Under the head of "unforeseen contingencies" a sufficient sum might be allotted from year to year, and, if unexpended, appropriated to the extinction of debt, or carried forward for the same purpose during the ensuing year. Then, again, in the event of sudden emergencies of a grave and pressing character occurring,

works of ordinary character might very well be temporarily suspended. It is only a question which of the two matters on hand might be of greater importance, and which should give place to the other. The next important point to be provided for is the relief of the executive by delegating a portion of the control and supervision of the work in each circle or ward, to the resident Commissioners. Generally there are from two to three Commissioners in each ward. All may not be resident in their respective wards, but at any rate, they can easily arrange to look after the wants and requirements of their own jurisdictions. Each Commissioner would then know what was going on in his ward, and, as it is impossible for the Chairman to be ubiquitous, his hands would be thus considerably strengthened, by his colleagues aiding him in such part of his executive duties as might require some degree of personal supervision. He would not then be dependent on the reports and representations of petty subordinates. The ward Commissioners would feel that their interests and that of their respective circles were more in common, and their recommendations, based on a practical acquaintance with the wants of the people, would carry additional weight. By giving every member of the Corporation a direct interest in the advancement of the welfare of his immediate ward, the city would necessarily benefit, as a whole, and the work thus done individually, section by section, would, when considered in the aggregate, be found to compare not unfavourably, from year to year, with that which has been already accomplished.

Art.—VI. GASTRONOMICAL ANECDOTES OF THE EARLIER KHALIFS.

It is pretty well known what and how the great men of our times eat, but the case is different with sovereigns who lived a thousand years or more ago; accordingly a collection of anecdotes of the earlier Khalifs, to which also descriptions of some dishes are appended, may be of some interest.

Mo'ávyah the 1*st Ommiade Khalif: Reigned* 41-60 (661-679).

His first breakfast, we are told, consisted of the remnants from the preceding night's supper, such as a cold lamb, a chicken, and similar dishes. Afterwards, when the principal breakfast was brought, his secretary likewise placed himself by his side. If anybody happened to come in, Mo'ávyah requested him to take a seat at the table, and to eat two or three mouthfuls of some dish which he himself offered, whilst the secretary read his letters to him, or wrote from his dictation. When the table was removed, and he had taken leave of those who were with him, he retired to an interior apartment, where he admitted no one to his presence.

When the midday prayers were announced, he went to the mosque, performed yet four prayer-flections more on his return, and then gave audience to his most intimate courtiers. If it happened to be winter, he distributed to them dainties called *Zád-ul-háj, i. e.*, provisions of a pilgrim, such as dry pastry, biscuits, tartlets made with milk and sugar, butter-cakes, dried fruits, *danjuj*, &c.* In summer, fresh fruits were served.

Then his viziers made their appearance, and received his orders according to the requirements of the day; this lasted till the *A'ṣr*, *i. e.*, 3 P.M. Then he again recited his prayers and withdrew, and no one was admitted. Towards the end of the *A'ṣr* he took his seat, and gave his courtiers an audience, in which they were seated according to rank. Then his dinner was brought, which lasted till the *M'aghreb, i. e.* sunset prayers, were announced. During this repast, those who had to petition for anything, were not admitted. At the call to prayers the table was taken away, and he went to the mosque.

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* *Danjúj* is arabized from the Persian *Dánjú*, which is a kind of thick vegetable-soup.

Voracity of Suleymán, the 7th Ommiade Khalif: Reigned 96-99 (715-717).

This sovereign was a great eater, and his appetite exceeded all belief. To satisfy it, he required every time one hundred *ritl*, or pounds according to the weight of E'ráq. Sometimes his cooks brought him spits garnished with roasted fowls. This prince, who wore a robe of painted silk loaded with gold embroidery, would draw one of his long sleeves over his hand and pull off with it a burning-hot chicken from the spit and tear it to pieces with his teeth. Asma'yi narrates this as follows:—"I spoke to Rashyd of the voracity of Suleymán, and of his way of pulling chickens from the spit with his sleeve. 'You scamp, how you know history!' said he; 'Know, then, that when I examined the robes of the Ommiades, I remarked on the sleeve of every robe worn by Suleymán, a stain, resembling a spot of oil. I could not understand this until I heard what you have just said. 'Let the robes of Suleymán be brought!' They were presented to him, we examined them together, and we found these fat marks to be very distinct." Asma'yi wore such a robe sometimes when he went out, and said:—"This is a garment of Suleymán, and is a gift from Rashyd."

Two anecdotes about Mohdi, the 2nd Abbasside Khalif, who reigned from Oct. 6th 775, till Aug. 3rd 785

1.—Whilst hunting, the Khalif Mohdi, with his freed slave, A'mr B. Rabyi', who was also a poet, happened to be separated from the guards and escort. He felt very hungry and said to his freed man:—"Find somebody who may give us to eat." A'mr obeyed, and at last discovered a peasant who had a kitchen garden near his cottage. He enterered and asked the man whether he had anything to eat. "Yes," replied he; "I have some loaves of barley-bread, the vegetables you see, and leeks." "If you have also oil, that will be perfect," replied Mohdi. "There is yet a little remaining," said the peasant, who served up the provisions, which they consumed with great gusto. Mohdi found the repast delicious, and did it such honour that not a morsel of it was left. Then he told A'mr to compose a distich for the occasion, and the poet improvised:—

> Who fed us with salt-fish, oil, barley-bread, and leeks
> Deserves a box on the ear for his evil deed, or two, or, even three.

"These are bad words" exclaimed Mohdi; "You ought rather to have said:

> 'Deserves a purse for his good deed, or two, or, even three.'"

At this moment the guards, with the escort and eunuchs of the Khalif arrived, and he ordered three purses of dirhems to be paid to the market-gardener.

2.—On another occasion, whilst Mohdi was hunting, his horse carried him far away, and he arrived, dying with hunger, near the tent of a nomad. "Arab," said he "Can you shelter me? I am your guest." The Arab replied :—"You appear to me to be a man of good countenance, powerful, and of a high family; nevertheless, if you are satisfied with what is at hand, I offer it to you." "Bring what you have," said Mohdi. First of all the nomad presented him with bread, baked under the ashes; the prince ate it with pleasure, and asked for the rest of the repast. The host brought a leather bag, filled with curdled milk, and served it up. "Delicious!" exclaimed Mohdi; "have you anything else to offer me?" The host now fetched a leather bottle of *Nebídh, i. e.*, date-wine, and having first himself taken a pull, presented it to Mohdi; who also drank and said :—"Do you know who I am?" "Really, I do not" replied the Arab. Mohdi replied :—"I am one of the eunuchs of the Court." "God bless your employment," said the Arab, "and may he prolong your life, whoever you may be!" Then he took another sip, and presented the bottle to his guest, who also drank and asked again : "Do you know, who I am?" "Yes" said the nomad; "you told me that you were a eunuch of the Court." "Well! that is not it," continued Mohdi. "Then, what are you?" asked the Arab. "One of the Generals of Mohdi." The Arab congratulated him in these terms: "May your habitation be desolate, and your tomb have the odour of sanctity!" He poured out another cup for himself, and then offered it to his guest who, having drunk, renewed his question for the third time.—"I know," said the Arab, "you pretend to be one of the Generals of Mohdi." "No," replied the latter, "I am the Commander of the Faithful himself!" At these words the Arab took hold of his leather bottle, closed its mouth, and tied it up. "Pour me out some more!" said Mohdi. "By God," exclaimed the Arab, "you shall not have one drop more." "And, why asked Mohdi. The host replied, "When you drank the first time, you said that you were a eunuch of the Court; I did not mind that. Then you gave out that you were one of the Generals of the Khalif; let that pass again. But on drinking the third time you have become the Prince of the Believers himself! By Allah, if I pour out anything to let you drink the fourth time, I fear that you will become the Prophet!" Mohdi was still laughing at this sally, when his cavaliers surrounded the tent. At the sight of so many nobles and high personages, who alighted to salute his guest, the Arab lost his head and thought only of flight. He had already run to a good distance when he was brought back to the Khalif, who put him at his ease and presented him with a large sum of money.

Harun-ur-Rashyd, 4th Abbasside Khalif: Reigned from 876 *till* 809.

1.—Suleymán, the Khorasanián, a freed eunuch of Rashyd, stood near him when breakfasting at Hirah, whilst A'wn, the E'bádyte, Chieftain of that town, held in his hand a platter, containing a very fat fish, which he placed before Rashyd, at the same time with a sauce expressly prepared for it.

The Khalif was about to taste of the dish, but his physician Jebráyl [Gabriel], the son of Bakhtieshu, interfered, by beckoning to the steward to put it aside for his own use. Rashyd took notice of this stratagem. The table being removed, and the ablutions finished, the doctor went away. "Rashyd ordered me," narrates Suleymàn, "to follow him to his apartment, to surprise him at the repast, and to report what I had seen. I obeyed; but I perceived, from the precautions I saw Jebráyl taking, that he had his suspicions about the orders I had received. He actually went into a room in the house of A'wn, and ordered the dinner to be served. He caused three cups to be brought; into the first he put a piece of fish, which he moistened with wine of Tyzenábád*. Having thus poured some wine upon the fish, he said:—'This is the way Jebráyl eats it.' Into the second cup he put another morsel of fish, on which he poured iced water, and said—'This is the manner in which the Commander of the Faithful (may God glorify him) eats it, if he does not mix it with other victuals.' Into the third cup he put with the fish some roast meat, some confectionery, a little sauce, a few vegetables; in fact, he took a little piece, and one or two mouthfuls of every dish served, and poured iced water upon the whole.' 'Behold' said he 'the dinner of the Khalif, if he eats other dishes with the fish.' Then he returned the three cups to the steward, telling him to put them by till the Khalif was awakened. Then he attacked the fish and ate his fill of it; but when he felt thirsty, he drank bumpers of pure wine. Then he took his nap. When the Khalif awoke, he asked me about Jebráyl, and whether he had eaten of the famous fish; I narrated to him what had taken place, and he immediately ordered the three cups to be brought. In the first, designated by the physician as his own share, and into which he had poured pure wine, the fish was found reduced to crumbs, and melted like broth. In the second, considered by Jebráyl as the portion of the Khalif, and into which he had poured iced water, the fish had swollen to the double of its original bulk. In the

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* This was a village situated between Kufah and Qádesyah, rich in vineyards, trees, date-groves, and orchards Several canals, derived from the Euphrates, irrigated it in every direction. The wine of it was as renowned as that of Qutrubbul.

third cup, which contained, according to the assertion of Jebráyl, the share of the Khalif, in case he ate various other dishes with the fish, the victuals were putrid to such a degree and emitted such a nauseous smell, that the Khalif felt unwell when it was brought near him. The Khalif then ordered me to carry 5,000 dinárs to Jebráyl, adding :—'Can I be blamed for loving a man, who governs me with such prudence ?' As for myself, I carried this sum to its address."

2.—This anecdote is narrated by Ibrahim, the son of Mohdi :—"When the Khalif Rashyd was at Raqqah, he kindly accepted my invitation and paid me a visit. This Prince was accustomed to eat hot dishes first, and then cold ones. When the latter were served, he perceived near himself a plate of *Qaryd*—a kind of fish-stew—and, finding the morsels to be very small, he asked why my cook had hashed the fish into such minute pieces ? 'Sire,' replied I, 'these are tongues of fishes.' 'It seems to me' continued Rashyd 'there must be at least a hundred of them in this plate.' Muráqib, my valet, remarked to the Khalif that it contained more than one hundred and fifty tongues. Rashyd adjured him to say how much this dish had cost. The slave replied that its price had exceeded a thousand dirhems. The Prince left off eating and swore that he would touch no food until Muráqib brought him one thousand dirhems. This sum having been brought to him, he ordered it to be distributed among the poor :—'I want,' said he to me, 'this to be the expiation of your foolish prodigality. A thousand dirhems for a fish-stew !'

And taking hold of the plate, he handed it to one of his attendants, saying :—'Go into the street, wait for the first beggar who passes, and give him this.' Now, this dish, which I had purchased in honor of the Khalif, cost me two hundred and seventy dinars. I beckoned to one of my servants to go out at the same time with the attendant of the prince, and to buy back the dish from him who might become the possessor of it ; but Rashyd, who had guessed my intention, recalled his valet, and said to him :—'Page ! When you give it to a poor fellow, recommend him from the Khalif, to take good care not to part with the dish at a lower price than two hundred dinars, and it is worth yet more than that.' The valet acquitted himself faithfully of his injunction, and I had actually to pay two hundred dinars, to buy back the costly article from a beggar."

Mo'tasem, 7th Abbasside Khalif : Reigned from July 31*st,* 883, *to January* 4*th,* 842.

1.—This is what Ahmad B. Abu Duwád, one of his favourites, narrates :—"At the time when Mo'tasem had ceased to take care

of his health and of his strength, I waited one day upon him and met his physician Yahya B. Masaweyh. The Khalif went out for a moment, after having recommended me not to go away till he had returned. 'My dear friend,' said I to Yahya, 'it seems to me that the features of the Commander of the Faithful are changed, his strength is decreasing, and his vivacity diminishing. How do you find him yourself?' 'Certainly, the prince is strong like an iron bar, but he has in his hands an axe with which he is incessantly striking that bar.' 'How is that?' asked I. He replied—'Formerly he never ate fish except after seasoning it with a sauce of vinegar, capers, cummin, rue, celery, mustard and nuts. By making use of this sauce he avoided the inconvenience of fish-diet and the dangers to which it exposes the nervous system. When he had served up for himself the heads of sheep or oxen, he likewise moistened them with sauces, which rendered this food inoffensive and light Lastly, under all circumstances, he was careful at his repasts, and consulted me often. At present, however, when I prohibit any dish, he disobeys me and says,—'I shall eat of it, in spite of the nose and the beard of Yahya'? What can I do in the matter"? The narrator adds, "Mo'tasem, concealed behind a curtain, was listening to us. I replied to the physician—'Well, Yahya, you must use force.' 'May my life be a ransom for yours; but I cannot contradict him, I dare not oppose him.' He had scarcely uttered these words, when the Khalif made his appearance before us and said,—'What have you been talking of with Yahya?' 'Prince of the Believers, I conversed with him on the change in your looks, and your want of appetite, which distresses me.' 'And what has he replied to you?' 'He complains that, whereas you formerly accepted his advice, and followed his prescriptions in your regimen, you now disobey him.' 'What have you replied to that?' asked the Khalif. I tried to turn the conversation to another subject; but he added laughing:—'But will I obey him before, or after he has used force?' A cold perspiration broke out all over my body; I understood that he had overheard our conversation, but he added, laughing,—'Ahmad! May God pardon you! You have taken gaily what I thought you would learn with grief; but I discover in your words a certain frankness and familiarity.'"

2.—It is said that the Khalif Mo'tasem had gathered together some of his courtiers at Jansaq*, to drink their morning wine, and had ordered each of them to prepare a dish according to his own choice, when he perceived Sallámat, the page of Ebn Abi-Duwád. "This," said he, "Is the page of Ebn-Abi-Duwád, who comes to see

* Name of a place near Bagdad. It is accidently Arabized from the Persian *Goshak.*

what we are doing. In a moment his master will make his appearance, and will speak to me about one A. B. of the family of Háshem, about C. D. one of the Qoraysh, about E. F. the Ansár, and about G. H. the Arab, so that he will, with his requests, mar our plans for amusement. I take you for witnesses, that I shall this day not grant one of his demands." He had scarcely said these words, when Etàkh, the chamberlain, announced Abu A'bdullah. "What did I tell you," said the prince, turning to his companions; and, as these beckoned to him not to receive the Qáḍy, Mota'sem replied:—"Unhappy man that you are; a fever of a year's duration would be more easy to bear!" The Qáḍy entered and saluted; but he had scarcely taken his place and begun to speak, when the countenance of the Khalif brightened up, and joy permeated his whole being, "Father of A'bdullah" said he to the new-comer; "Every one here has just prepared a dish according to his own fashion, and we take you to be the judge in this business." "Let these dishes be served to me," replied the Qáḍy, "that I may taste them and give a practical decision." The plates were brought and deposited before him. He began to eat copiously of the first that was presented to him. "This is not just," said Mota'sem. "And why, Sire?" "It seems to me that, after having eaten of this dish with so much pleasure, you will give your opinion in favor of him who has prepared it." "Prince of the Believers" replied Ebn-Abi-Duwád "I engage myself to do just as much honour to the other dishes as I have done to this one." "Be it so," continued the Khalif, smiling; "that concerns you." "The merit of the man who has prepared this dish is, that he has been liberal with pepper and economical with cummin; the merit of the next, that he was prodigal with vinegar, and parsimonious with oil. That which makes this other dish excellent is, because the spices have been put into it in equal proportions; as to this one, the author of it has given proof of good taste by putting less water into it than broths."—And, thus, he continued to ring the changes on every stew with praises that charmed him who had prepared it. Then he took his place at the table with the guests, eating with the best grace and with the best appetite, recalling to the mind the exploits of the great eaters of the first ages of Islám, such as Mo'ávyah B. Abu Sofyán A'bdlula B. Zyád, Ḥejjáj B. Yussuf and of Suleymán B. A'bd-ul-Malek, or rather those of the most famous gourmands of that epoch, namely, Mysarah, the date-merchant, Davraq, the butcher, Ḥatem, the grain-measurer, and Esahaq, the bath-man.

Wátheq, 8th Abbaside Khalif: Reigned from January 4th, 842, *to August* 10*th*, 847.

At the court of this Khalif there was a young man among the courtiers who used to stand up on account of his youth, and had not yet been authorised to take his seat among the more aged; but, as he was witty, he had permission to take part in conversation with the other guests, and to quote whatever celebrated proverbs, rare verses, instructive tales and improvised sallies he knew, or his memory supplied him with. Wátheq, whose appetite and gluttony are well known, asked his guests one day what confectionery they would prefer to stimulate their thirst. One of them mentioned the sugar-cane, another the pomegranate, a third the apple, another sugar-cane moistened with rose-water; another, rejecting all these things in the name of science, preferred boiled salt; whilst another, mentioned brine to dry up the throat, as the drinkers of Nebyd do in order better to support the force of the wine and of those things which excite thirst. "You have not got it," replied the Khalif; "and you, young man, what is your opinion?" "I prefer the *moseyver*-biscuit,"* he replied. This answer perfectly agreed with the ideas of the prince, and expressed his secret preference. "This is well! This is perfect!" exclaimed he, "May God grant you His blessings!" And henceforth the young man was authorised, for the first time, to take his seat among the courtiers.

Al Motewekkil, 9th Abbasside Khalif: Reigned from August 10*th*, 847, *to December* 9*th*, 861.

Tradition has preserved the following ancedote, narrated by Fath B. Khakán:—"I was," says he, "one day with Motewekkil, when he had sent for his courtiers and singers, intending to drink with them the matutinal draught of wine in the Ja'fery palace. As we walked, the Khalif, leaning on my arm, listened to my converstaion, and we arrived on a hill, whence we had a view of the canal. The prince caused an arm-chair to be brought, and sat down; whilst we were speaking with each other, he perceived a boat moored quite near the bank of the canal, and a sailor with a big kettle before him, cooking a beef *sikbáj*—hashed meat, seasoned with vinegar, pepper, &c.; the aroma of which spread to a distance. 'Fath,' said the Khalif, 'this smells like *sikbáj*, by Allah! Do you snuff the delicious odour, my good fellow? Let it be brought, such as it is!' The footmen hastened and ran to take the kettle from the sailor; perceiving which, the sailors in the boat were consider-

*A kind of pastry which was fashionable at that time.

ably frightened. The kettle having been brought to the Khalif quite boiling, and just as it had been taken, was placed before us. Pleased with the perfume and the inviting colour of the stew, Motewekkil called for a loaf of bread, of which he broke a piece and gave it to me, taking another for himself. Thus each of us ate three mouthfuls of the stew; then the courtiers and singers came, each of whom ate a mouthful; after that the breakfast was brought and the tables were served. The repast being finished, Motewekkil caused the kettle to be emptied and washed in his presence, and ordered it to be filled with dirhems. Accordingly a bag of money was poured into it, but as 2,000 dirhems were still left, the prince said to the valet, who happened to be near him:— "Take this vessel, carry it to the mariners, and tell them that this is the price of the stew we have eaten; but give the excess of this sum to the fellow who has prepared it, as a reward for his excellent cookery." Fath adds, that when the Khalif was reminded of the sailors' dish, he used to say.—"I have never eaten anything better than the seasoned *sikbáj*, prepared on that day by the mariners."

Abu-l-A'bbás, the Mekkan, narrates as follows:—"I was a frequent guest of Muhammad, the grandson of Táher, in the town of Rey, before his expedition against the family of Abu-Ṭáleb. I had never seen him more happy than during the days which preceded the revolt of the descendant of A'ly; this was in the year 250 (A.D. 864). I was one night conversing with him; happiness reigned in his house, and a musical entertainment was about to begin. 'I think I should like to eat,' said the prince to me; 'What ought I to take?' 'A woodcock's breast, or a morsel of cold lamb,' I replied. The prince ordered a page to bring a loaf of bread, with vinegar and salt, and began to eat. The next evening he said to me, 'Abu-l-A'bbás, I think I am hungry; what would you advise me to eat?' 'That which you ate yesterday,' I answered. 'You do not percieve the difference between the two questions continued he. 'Last night I told you that I should like to eat; but now I say, I think I am hungry; which is quite different.' He ordered his supper to be served, and then invited me to describe the pleasures of the table, of perfumes, of women, and of horses.—'In prose or in verse?' I asked. 'In prose' said the prince. I commenced thus:—'The best repast is that which is seasoned by appetite.' 'What is the best drink?' he asked. 'A cup full of a beverage that quenches thirst, and is then offered to a beloved friend.' 'Which is the most pleasing concert?' 'The tetrachord* and a young girl-musician whose voice is melodious, and song touching.' 'Which is the sweetest perfume?'

*The U'wd, or lute, which had at that time four strings.

The breath of a tenderly beloved mistress, and the presence of a son whom we educate.' 'Which is the most seductive woman'? 'She whom we leave with regret, and rejoin with haste.' 'And among horses, which is the most lively'? 'He, the corners of whose mouth are large, and the pupils of whose eyes are dark-black; who escapes when he is pursued, and who attains when he pursues.'

Mo'tamid, 14*th Abbaside Khalif: Reigned from January* 17*th*, 870, *to October* 14*th*, 892.

Mo'tamid took his seat at the table for the morning lunch on the 11th day before the end of Rajab in 279 (892). In the afternoon, when the repast was served, he spoke to his superintendent, whose name was Múshgir—mouse catcher—and asked him about a dish he had ordered the preceding eve; a stew of sheepsheads, prepared with necks hashed into small pieces, which were then brought to him. He had by his side one of his favourite courtiers, named Quff-ul-Mulaqqim—the big glutton—and another guest, known by the name of Khalef-ul-Mudhik—the buffoon. The first who put his hands to the above dish, was Mulaqqim; he pulled off an ear, rolled it in a loaf of bread, which he dipped into the sauce, then thrust the piece into his mouth and eagerly devoured it. Mudhik drew out a piece of cheek and the eyes; the Khalif, with his two guests, ate heartily, and left not a mouthful. Mulaqqim, who had eaten the first, gave up the ghost during the night, and Mudhik, at the break of day; as to Mo'tamid, he joined his two companions early in the morning. Immediately Doma'yl B. Hammad, the judge, waited on Mu'tadhed and was the first who saluted him with the title of Khalif. Witnesses were called, among others Abu Awf, Huseyn B. Salem and other assessors, who examined the body of Mo'tamid. Bedr, a page of Mu'tadhed, who accompanied them, said:—"Could you find any mark of violence on his body? He died suddenly, a victim to his continual libations of Nebid." The examination of the corpse by the witnesses having revealed no sign of a violent death, it was washed, placed in a coffin made for this purpose, transported to Samarra and buried there. It is also asserted that Mo'tamid died of poison, administered to him in the beverage he was drinking with his two guests. This poison is called Bysh—Napellus thora—and comes from India.

Moktafy, 16*th Abbaside Khalif: Reigned from April 4th*, 902, *to August* 13*th*, 908.

The following is narrated by Ahmad B. Yahya:—"The daily service of the table of Moktafy consisted of ten dishes, with the

addition, every Friday, of a kid and three cups of *Halowa*—sweet meat—the remnants of which were afterwards served up again. One of his servants, who superintended the meals, had orders to count the breads which remained on the table; the broken ones were laid aside for *therid*, *i. e.*, soup; whatever had been left untouched re-appeared the next day; and the same was the case with the side-dishes."

Mohamad B. Yahya Súly, surnamed Shatranji, *i. e.*, Chess-player, narrates as follows:—"One day we were taking our meals in the presence of Moktafy. Qatáy—a kind of fritters—were served, which had first appeared on his own table; they were exquisite, of a fine paste, and perfectly prepared." The Khalif asked us whether the poets had described this nice dish, whereon Yahya B. A'ly replied:—'My paternal uncle, Ahmad B. Yahya,' has spoken of it in the following verses:—

"Qutáyf, well stuffed with almonds
And refined sugar, like plantains
They swim in the waves of nut-oil,
And I rejoice, when they fall into my possession,
With the joy of A'bbás at the approach of success."

Sùly adds:—I reminded the Khalif of the line of Ebn Rùmy:

'And after that came delicious Qutáyf.'

'This requires a beginning,' exclaimed Moktafy,—'recite the piece to me from the first verse.' Accordingly, I continued thus:—

"A *Semytah*[1], yellow like a dinár
In value and colour, served up by a young page,
Swelled almost like a goose by the fires,
It seemed its skin would burst when brought.
The *Judhabeh*[2] exhales its fragrant rain,
And lo! the almond cream with sugar comes;
How beautful it is on the table in its oil,
The butter and brine simmering around;
We peal off the skin from the flesh of the almonds,
As if disengaging silver from leaves of gold.

1.—The *Samytah* سميذطه is not lways like the dish alluded to above. Sometimes a soup of dates, cream and starch bears also this name; whilst according to others the *Samytah* is a lamb first boiled and then roasted in its own skin. From the comparison of its colour in the above verse with a dinár, it appears to have been dyed with saffron as is often done to rice in this country.

2.—The *Judhabeh* جوذابه which will again be alluded to further on, was of two kinds; but it was at any rate during the epoch of the Khalifs a kind of rice with melted butter mixed with sugar and saffron; also this we eat in India. According to the *Burhân Qaty* the above appears to be only the arabized form of *Gudab* گوداب a stew of hashed meat with rice and nuts cooked in an oven; also with vegetables and other ingredients.

"First of all, *therid*[3] was served, blooming
Like a garden and worthy of the foremost place;
Then hashed meats, all garnished with the yolk of eggs,
Serving them as robe and ornament;
And after that came delicious *Qutáyf*[4],
Charming the palate and flattering the throat;
The sugar-candy, spread over them, provokes our smiles
And forms a dew of tears with the butter."

Moktafy found these verses to be according to his taste, and ordered me to write them down, which I did.

The same Muhammad B. Yahya Súly narrates also as follows:—"About a month after the above entertainment, we dined with the Khalif, and a *Luzinjeh*—almond-cake—was served. The prince asked whether Ebn Rúmy had mentioned this sweetmeat in his verses. 'Yes, sire,' I replied. 'Which are they'? They are as follows:—

"Fail not to bring me that almond cake,
The sight of which challenges admiration, or else I would be surprised.
Appetite cannot shut its portals,
But the approach of this dish unlocks them,
If it desired to penetrate into a rock,
Its perfume would make its entrance easy;
Its delicious aroma spreads around the plate
The borders of which are surrounded by butter.
Its external aspect gives information
Of its flavor, rendered more exquisite by its beauty;
Although it is thickly stuffed,
Its envelope is lighter than the morning breeze."

The grammarian, Niftaweihh, narrated the following, which he had from Abu Muhammad Ab'dullah B. Hamdún:—"We were one day conversing" said the latter, "in the presence of Moktafy, on various kinds of beverages, and we discussed the particular kind of *Nebydh* نبيذ which is called *Dúsháb* دوشاب when improved by the addition of *Dhá'thy* زذى and *Dibs* دبس, grape-juice reduced to syrup; and we had before us a rare drinking vessel. The verses of Ebn Rúmy on this beverage occurred to my mind, and I was about to recite them, when the Khalif forestalled me by asking whether any of us knew verses relating to *Dúsháb*, and I hastened to recite these of Ebn Rúmy:—

"Take the best grains and the best syrup,
Press them and macerate them carefully;
Leave them a long while at the bottom of the vessel,
And then you will drink the very wine of Babel."

3.—*Therid* ثريد this is a soup composed of slices of bread, eggs, oil, vinegar, and garlick; it is still eaten in the south of Spain.

4.—The *Qutáyf* قطايف will be poetically described further on, in the last piece.

'The rogue of a poet,' exclaimed Moktafy; 'What a connoisseur in wines he was! He really invites me to drink this day *Dushaby*.' The repast being served, a large dish of *Heryseh** was placed before us, containing in the middle a basin filled with the broth of fowls. The sight of this dish made me smile, because it recalled to my mind the anecdote of the Khalif Rashyd and Abbán, the reader. Moktafy, who had observed me, said—'Father of A'bdullah, whence this gaiety?' 'Prince of the Believers,' I replied, 'I thought of the story of the dough and the broth in which your grandfather, Reshyd, figures.' 'Let us hear this story.' 'Here it is,' sire:—"According to the report of O'tby and of Medáyny, Abbán, the reader, was one day eating with Rashyd, when a magnificent *Heryseh* was served, containing in the middle a kind of saucer full of chicken-broth. I let Abbán speak—'I was greatly tempted to have some of this broth, but was restrained by my respect for Rashyd from stretching out my arm, and dipping my bread into it. I made, however, on the sly, a small opening with my finger so that the broth flowed towards me. 'Abán,' said the Khalif, 'Hast thou made a hole therein, that thou mightest drown those who are on board'? (Qorán XVIII, 70).—'No, indeed, Prince of the Believers' I replied, 'only we drive into a dry land' (VII.-55). Rashyd so laughed at this sally, that he was obliged to hold his sides."

Mostakfy-Billah, the 21*st Khalif: Reigned from A.D.* 944 *to* 945.

Abu Esahaq, known by the name of Ebn-ul-Vakyl, a confidential servant of Mostakfy, narrates as follows:—"The Khalif was living in a state of perpetual alarm He feared that Mutiy' would, after being invested Khalif, make himself master of his person, and dispose of it according to his pleasure. This idea was incessantly haunting Mostakfy. He often complained of the danger of his position to his courtiers, who endeavoured to instil into his mind a little courage and a feeling of security. Once he said to them:—'We will assemble one day for the purpose of discoursing on various kinds of dishes, and quote the recipes for their preparation, which have been given in verses.' A day having been appointed, the company assembled, and Mostakfy invited those present to recite the passages which they had prepared for the occasion. One of the courtiers took up the word and said—'Commander of the Faithful, I know by heart the verses of

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* The *Heryseh* هريسة is usually a semi-fluid composition of wheat flour and hashed meat; it occurs also in the form of a kind of meat-pudding, as in the above instance, with a circular space in the middle filled with sauce, to which those who partake of it, may help themselves according to their liking.

Ebn-ul-Mutazz in which he describes a variety of *Kámykh* (small piquant side-dishes to excite the appetite).' 'Let us hear them' said the Khalif; and he recited :—

" Profit by this osier-tray which is presented to you,
Loaded with vessels symmetrically arranged ;
This variety of red and yellow cups
Contains nothing that is to be disdained.
Behold ! a side-dish of blooming tarragon
Another red side-dish, enhanced by capers,
The perfume whereof charms the sense of smell
As if a druggist had powdered it with musk ;
Another with marjoram, and seasoned
With the best cloves, to suit your taste.
Here is a dish of cinnamon which has
No rival in flavour, in hue no blame ;
It exhales a musk-like scent,
Has pungent taste, its aroma perfumed.
Here is a side-dish of the garden-satureia ;
Its colour reminds us of musk and of pitch.
The garlick-dish you here behold,
With an aroma that flatters appetite.
Its olives are dark, like the night ; they are
Encircled by slices of pickled fish.
The onions in these condiments shine,
As lamps of silver with fire in them ;
Round radishes, seasoned by vinegar,
In white and red slices, resembling
Piles of silver-money mixed with gold."

Mostakfy then ordered side-dishes exactly corresponding to the above description to be served, and added, that he would on that day partake only of such dishes as should be described to him. Then another guest took up the conversation, saying :—'Prince of the Believers, the following are the verses of the secretary Abu-l-Husayn, surnamed Koshájem, in which he describes an excellent dinner :—

" As soon as our appetite is awakened
A well served table awaits us ;
A skilled *chef* adorned it
With all the resources of his art ;
He brings it to us covered
With the most exquisite dishes,
First of all a roasted kid
With its tripes solidly knotted,
Surrounded by a bouquet of mint and tarragon.
Behold ! an appetising chicken
Which we fattened a long while,
A young partridge and a pullet, *fricassé*
In an oven with the greatest care,
Then pastry of fried meat, *Tardynah**,

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*We are unable to give a description of the *Tardynah*, but shall insert a dish analogous to it, namely, of the fried meat-pastry, called *Sanbúsaj* سنبوسج immediately after tht description of the *Wast.*

Red eggs, with olives at their side,
The *Wast*,* in slices cut
And mixed with virgin-oil,
To stimulate the appetite
And tired out stomach ;
A sweet lemon, powdered with *Nedd* †
And perfumed with amber ;
Piquant cheese, the necessary
Accompaniment of the *Wast* ;
Vinegar, the taste of which makes
The nose moist and the voice nasal ;
Small fresh dates, resembling pearls
Concealed in the necklaces of maidens ;
Asparagus, with which you will be delighted,
And almond-cakes, drowned amidst sugar with butter."

The Khalif, after having praised the poet who had composed, and congratulated the guest who recited, these verses, had all the dishes here mentioned, which it was possible to procure, served up. Then he asked whether any one present knew some verses of this kind, whereon, a courtier recited the following piece in which the poet Ebn Rûmy gives the recipé for the *Waṣt* :—

"You, who wish to know what is delicious,
Have asked the most eloquent of panegyrists ;
Listen to the recital I composed ;
It is exempt from changes or gaps :
O dainty lover of nice morsels,
Take two slices of fine wheat-bread
The like of which cannot be seen,
Cut off the crust around their borders,
Now place upon the soft crumb left
White meat of chickens or other fowls,
Pouring around some grape-syrup.
Place over this alternate lines
Of almonds and of nuts minute ;
Some cheese and olives will be
The diacritic points ;
Whilst mint and tarragon will be
Instead of vowel-marks.
When you perceive between the lines
Streaks like the striped cloth of Yemen,
Take boiled eggs and strew the cake
With dirhems and dinârs ‡ ;
Sow salt upon the rays, not prodigally,
But with a sparing hand.

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* *Wast* وسط, literally means "middle, between," but is a kind of sandwich, described in the next piece.

† *Nedd* ند is a scent composed of musk, amber, and aloes, wood.

‡ The little white and yellow slices of the hard eggs are here compared to silver and gold coins.

"Regale your sight, fold up your bread,
Eat it with appetite, and
Demolish the edifice you built."

Another guest now took up the word and said :—"Prince of the Believers," the *Sanbúsaj* سنبوسج has been described as follows by Esaháq, the son of Ebrahym Muṣuly :—

"You ask me for the most excellent dish,
And you address yourself to the most competent of men ;—
Take light and bleeding meat,
Pound it with its fat, but gently.
Throw round onions thereon,
With green fresh cabbage abundantly,
Season plentifully with rue,
Cinnamon, and a handful of coriander ;
Add a few cloves, good ginger and pepper,
A handful of cummin, a little broth,
Two good handfuls of Palmyra-salt.
Pound well, O my good friend ;
Then kindle a nice flaming fire.
Now put your hash into the casserole,
Moisten with some water, and shut the cover.
When the water has disappeared
Altogether, by the fire absorbed,
Your cake you wrap, if so you like,
Into the thinnest bread, with borders closed ;"

Or, if you prefer, take dough,
Kneaded with care, and soft,
Pass your roller all around,
Festoon the edges with your nails,
Then pour fine oil into the casserole
And let it fry in oil as is required ;
Then lay it out in a slender plate,
The middle of which is coated with mustard,
And eat, with mustard seasoned, this good dish,
The most pleasing food to a dinner pressed for time.

Another guest expressed himself in the following terms:—"Prince of the Believers," the secretary, Mahmud B. Al-Husayn B. Sindi, surnamed Koshajim, has described the *asparagus* as follows:—

"We have lances the points of which are curved,
They are twisted and plaited like cords,
But beautifully, without any knots,
Their heads are high upon the stalks ;
You would say they are dyed red
Like a cheek with a mark from an irritated hand ;
They might be ornaments like rings or pearls ;
An appetising juice overspreads them ;
There is an ebb and tide upon them ;
The oil forms over them a tissue of foam,
And, by infiltering itself into the stalks,
Forms tresses of silver and gold ;
An Asiatic would, at the sight of this delicious plate,
Prostrate himself from desire, and burst from joy."

Description of the Aruzzah, or sugared rice.

How excellent is this plate of Aruzzah,
Served by a youth attractive like the moon!
This rice, brighter than snow itself,
Doubly purified by winds and dews,
And arranged in fillets on the plate,
Has the whiteness of milk.
Its splendour is fatiguing to the sight,
Like the brilliancy of the moon at dawn;
The sugar sprinkled on the borders
Twinkles like a ray of solidified light!"

According to the following verses the *Heriseh* هريسه would be a kind of *olla podrida*, or pastry of meat, dry vegetables, and wheat:—

"The best food that can be eaten,
When the host is oblivious, and guests
Are waiting for the roasted kid or lamb,
Is a *Heriseh*, prepared by female hands
Deft and sure, light but vigorous:
In one casserole the flesh must meet
The butter, fat of tails and kidneys,
Almonds ground with care in a mill,
As well as salt and galunga
Which hands grew tired in uniting.
All other dishes must grow pale
When pages bring this delightful plate.
Behold it! on the table placed
And covered by a bamboo-vault.
Young lads present the dinner with this treat;
All hungry persons laud the plate;
Old Sasan invented it in his time;
It was approved by King Anushirvan.

Description of a Júdhábah.

A *Júdhábah* prepared of exquisite rice
Is yellow like a lover's face,
An admirable dish and shining,
Prepared by a good intelligent cook.
Pure like gold, its rosy tint
Is one of the creator's works.
The sugar of Ahváz that seasons it,
Imparts a taste, sweeter than a lover's kiss,
The trembling moss, so richly oiled,
Envelops the guest with sweet perfume,
It is soft and smooth like cream
Its odor is of purest ambergris.
In the bowl in which it is served
It looks like a brilliant star,
Or a fine yellow Cornelian
On the neck of a beauteous maiden.
It is more comforting than security
Suddenly obtained by a heart oppressed with fear.

Another Júdhábah.

A *Júdhábah* of a Cornelian hue
And taste like generous wine,
Made of refined white sugar
And beautiful grated saffron,
Submerged in chicken-fat
Is but the better for it.
Sweet to the palate, it recalls
The saffroned perfume *Khalúq.*

The Qatáyf.

I reserve for my guests, when appetite goads them,
Some Qatáyfs, leafy like volumes of books ;
They are served with other dishes, and shine
In their whiteness, like the abundant juice of bees.
From them oozes almond-oil that permeates them,
They are humid with syrup, in which they swim and sink.
Rose-water envelops them with its ebb and tide ;
Covering them with storeys of globules.
Lying in strata, like fascicles of books,
They restore joy to the afflicted heart.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. VII.—THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN WOMEN.
(Independent Section.)

I

IT is useless to attempt concealing the fact that the results of Western education applied to the youth of India, have been disappointing in many respects. The system has been successful in so far as boys have spontaneously found out that progress in the academic curriculum is the best means of getting on in the world. Much elbowing and pushing is required, of course, before the possessor of a degree or a certificate can attain the coveted place; yet there is such a large proportion of prizes in the lottery, that the number of the blanks has little or no deterrent effect. Happy the losers if the education were really an education, and not a form of what the French rightly call *Instruction*, as distinguished from *Education* properly so termed. Instruction is only the intellectual part of education. Education comprises the equal development of men's powers of heart, head, and energy. The Indian system deals only with the head, and even here it is one-sided, for it has hitherto failed to do anything beyond giving instruction in letters or Arts as distinguished from science. It has thus failed in the vast majority of cases to train Indian youths in correct habits of thought, to say nothing of its absolute failure to modify either the principles or the practical life of Hindu society—for good I mean. It cannot be said to have broken up the belief of India, any more than the Khalifs who stripped the pyramids of their marble casing, can be said to have broken up those monuments of a bygone age. If the beliefs of Hinduism pass away, it will not be under the influence of the present system of instruction—firstly, because it can offer nothing in their place; secondly, because it is not based on science, the true destroyer of supernatural* belief; and, lastly, because it does not touch the female part of society.

When a Hindu who has received this instruction and profited by it, smiles at the idea of his believing some gross polytheistic dogma, say—the existence of many millions of gods, it is often doubtful whether belief in that divine host might not be better than emancipation from a creed which, however absurd to people

* One uses the terms supernatural, superhuman, &c., as being conventional. But considering the deductions so often attempted to be forced by theologians from these terms, it would be more accurate and neutral, and at all events less question-begging, to say *extra*-human instead of *super*-human, *extra*-natural instead of *super*-natural, &c.

with another creed, possesses at least the merit of being the basis of a system of morality which it was scandalous to infringe. I need hardly point out that a creed of free individual development, only limited by the sufferance of one's neighbour, leads to a gradual disappearance of morality, and ultimately to anarchy, individual and social.

Were the Indian system of instruction based on science, at least correct modes of thought would grow up in the place of the metaphysical divagations which are fostered by the literary system. Supernatural [Extra-natural] beliefs would then disappear in the measure of their being replaced ; they would be kept as provisional theories of man's relation with the world, sufficient until better theories could be found.

The third weak point of the system is not overlooked at the present time, and great efforts are being made to fill in some measure the blank of female education. When the young man who has completed his course of literary instruction, returns to his family, nay, when the scholar returns there each evening, after his school hours, what influences does he find in harmony with the instruction given him at school? I do not think I am exaggerating, when I say that the female portion of his family regard it with horror, tolerating it only as a means of getting on in life, of providing for the family with which he is perhaps already burdened. Of two things one ; either the youth is already out of the sphere of maternal influence, regarding his mother and the other matrons of his family with more or less of contempt ; or, if he has any regard for their opinion, his educational growth is being choked amid the weeds of the medium to which it has been transferred. And we must remember that from the want of scientific education of thought, the intellectual soil is unfortunately but shallow.

We see a similar effect in French society. At the present day in the 91st year of the new era, after nearly a century of State-education on such a liberal basis that Protestants and Jews cannot take the slightest umbrage at the scientific systems of instruction provided for all, we yet find no perceptible effect produced on the stability of the old religion. Indeed, that religion was apparently in greater danger a century ago than at present. Incredulity was then general, not only among the educated classes, but among all who had ears to hear. At present the men are just as sceptical, yet they have had to practise toleration of the old religion and have found attacks against it quite fruitless. Amongst the women there is a distinct revival of the old religion, and not only a strong resistance against all attacks on it, but a vigorous attempt to win the men back. No less than 140,000 nuns, teaching in 17,000, schools are engaged in the work of female instruction. The

progress of the Monastic Orders in seizing the work of instructing boys has progressed to such an extent, that interference with these religious schools appears almost as if it would kindle civil war. The consequences of this long-standing schism between the male and female sections of French society, is deplorable in the extreme, and morality has suffered enormously from it.

Similar effects are seen in other countries of Europe; I will not enter into details, but only mark the effect, the hopeless struggle of religious nihilism against the female instincts. Men, who can take care of themselves in the struggle of the world, who, in the first half of life at least, generally fail to appreciate the advantage of discipline in their own souls, take an entirely different view of the subject from that which women instinctively grasp. The view of the men is intellectual. The education which they have received has overthrown the idols of their childhood. Their father's example has prevailed against such teaching as their mother has been able to put forward. They accept with enthusiasm the doctrine of liberty, that each individual should "enjoy the most absolute freedom of developing himself by his own energies, in his perfect individuality." But the women, who are always on the side of order, of discipline, of authority, cling to the system which would guarantee the bulwarks of society. They hear the reasons of the men; their minds are open to receive them. But all efforts to destroy the old religion fail—because no system of social discipline is offered in its place. Against this obstacle all efforts beat in vain. There is no use in destroying the religion of the men, if the whole of the women are on the side of the priesthood, refusing to leave a creed until a better is offered. There will be lamentable struggles, social disorganisation, but no solution of the religious difficulty.

Now the effect is much the same in India as in France, with the difference that the French State gives really scientific (though unco-ordinated) instruction, which tends to produce correct and organic modes of thought, counterbalancing in some measure the metaphysical tendencies of literary instruction. But in India the nearly total absence of scientific instruction and of scientific institutions, renders it hopeless to expect any check to the metaphysical divagation encouraged by the literary system of instruction. And for a people whose indigenous culture is already so intensely metaphysical, this is a deplorable evil.

Thus, we may resume, the effect of Western instruction on the Indian mind is confined to the male section of society, in whom it breaks down the old system of religious discipline, developes metaphysical divagation, often religious nihilism, and produces no balance of good effect on practical life.

The futility of instruction applied to one sex only has not escaped the observation of those interested in the educational system. But there is small hope of any change for the better in a country where custom restricts the school-going age of girls to a very small number of years, and where there is not the powerful motive of interest to induce parents to risk the evils which will very probably accompany the benefits of instruction.

I am of course speaking, not of the primary instruction of young children, but of the higher grade of instruction suitable to girls who are coming of the age when custom will require them to keep at home, at least in the classes where women are removed from the necessity of labour. However great may be the desire of a Hindu father to see his daughters rescued from ignorance, yet that consideration cannot weigh against the prospects which are likely to be endangered by an instruction comparatively harmless to the future of boys.

Any general scheme of education for girls, as for boys, will naturally be either secular, or else of the kind which is more or less openly avowed as given with a view to sowing the seed destined to destroy Hinduism for the profit of Christianity. Can either of these be given—the former so as to be efficient, the latter so as to be accepted freely? The National Indian Association, one of those new institutions now becoming common throughout India, is endeavouring to undertake secular education; yet the attempt excites mistrust, even amongst its supporters. The programme of the Association is not consonant with its principles, and one of its leaders has openly avowed that the instruction must be religious; that, without any attempt to impose the doctrines of Christianity, the system of education will be at least theistic and probably Biblical.

Now, for my own part, I thoroughly agree with the repudiation of a "totally godless and irreligious education," inasmuch as an education for girls is nothing, if not religious. For boys secular instruction is of course possible; I think it is mischievous; yet it is given, and it offers attainment of the grand object of what is called education now-a-days. But girls have not to get on in the world. Putting aside those whom their parents might destine for employment as teachers—the object of educating girls can never be other than to make them good wives and good mothers, having a proper influence over their husbands, able to educate their children in every way, up to the age of fourteen. And for this purpose what is the use of an irreligious education? Look at girls' school-books in this country, and see what is the aim of secular education. It simply aims at teaching reading, writing, ciphering and the storing of girls' minds with the answers to a perfectly

idiotic set of questions. "What queen gave twenty pounds for a pair of silk stockings?" or "What town of England is celebrated for the manufacture of straw hats?" His Excellency the Governor-General has recently recorded his opinion that the education given at Indian girls' schools is very defective, inasmuch as they learn so-called accomplishments that are worse than useless, and little or nothing that will be of practical value in after life. This evil is not peculiar to India. In England, girls' schools have always been celebrated for the execrable rubbish taught as secular knowledge.*

But let us suppose that the system of instruction in girls' schools in India would be improved, just as it has been improved at many institutions in England. Let us suppose the system of secular instruction brought fairly to a level with that of boys, and that the instruction could be kept up to the same age as in the case of boys. What would this system lead to? It would lead to the end which has always been that of mere cultivation of the intellect in women—disaster. The new system of the higher education of women has not been many years in progress in England, and yet it has borne its fruit, the attempt of the so-called educated women to enter into competition with men. Fitted to be the helpmate of man, his ally, his guide, his providence, the college-educated woman too often disowns all dependence on man and enters into competition with him in the labour market. I do not speak of the numerous ladies who earn a livelihood by writing silly novels; their fault is redeemed by the few, the very few, women who have given us imperishable works.† I speak of the class represented by those ladies who boldly advocate the assumption of the professional occupations and political functions by women, and hint not obscurely at marriage being a degrading slavery for enlightened women.

We have, then, no choice in the secular education of women,—either the silly cram of Anglo-Indian girls' schools, or the system of higher instruction tending directly to "female emancipation." Both are unsuitable to Hindu women. And, so far, the National Indian Association is right in disclaiming non-religious education.

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* I call to mind an article on the subject of school-education published many years ago in *Chambers' Journal.* A mother, offended at aspersions on the English system of schools, declared that she had learnt at her school, among other subjects, arithmetic as far as rule of three. Her educational interlocutor replied: 'Madam, by rule of three you probably mean proportion; I believe that there are five women in England who know proportion, and possibly you may be one of the five."

† Even here the effect of competition is felt. I know a lady who lives by her pen; but she takes care to remain unknown to her editors or publishers, and write under a man's name in order to avoid the inferior payment she would obtain were her sex known.

But is there any other possible? I have the strongest doubts whether Hindu fathers would allow girls past childhood to receive the religious education sketched in the programme of the National Association. What would be the object of allowing their religious ideas to be unnecessarily disturbed—even if the matrons of the family would permit such disturbance? I see no hope in this direction.

And yet I believe that Indian girls might receive a distinctly religious education which would be in harmony with Hinduism, which would improve their minds and would fit them to be the wives of instructed Hindus and the mothers of educated Hindus.

There are of course a certain number of Hindu men whose sense of true religion, derived probably from the influence of large-hearted parents, has enabled them to attain spontaneously the education of the heart without which instruction is a perilous charge. Yet these must always be exceptions; in the vast majority of cases the grievous defects of women's education cannot but render their influence void, or even mischievous, on the young men of the family. Women's influence lies in the affections, that of men in the intellect; but affection unenlightened by some instruction is nearly as bad as intellect unguided by affection. The superabundant quality of one sex can doubtless supply the place of the deficient quality in the other, yet, for this to take place, there must be common ground, some training of the affections in men, some cultivation of the intellect in women. Otherwise, instead of that happy alliance of the heart and the intellect in which each sex can supply the deficiency of the other, we shall find utter incompatibility arising from the want of common ground between affectionate but densely ignorant women, and intellectual but heart-dried men. Therefore women must have some intellectual culture, sufficient to light up their souls, to give them power of comprehension, to enable them to interest themselves in the affairs of male citizens, yet without any pretention to the full degree of instruction necessary to the well-educated man. But I insist that this culture must be religious in its tone; that there must be nothing in it to clash with that deep sense of religion which is, and should be, the greater part of woman's soul. Only on this condition can she execrcise her proper influence over man, educate her children properly and fit them for the proper application, in due course, of an intellectual training.

The education of Hindu girls must be distinctly religious and yet in harmony with the Hindu spirit. Making every allowance for the conservatism of the Hindu system, yet that system is progressive. Based firmly on the order which has stood for so many centuries, Hinduism is yet susceptible of that progress without which society becomes stagnant, if not putrid, and only awaits the hurricane of

revolutionary outbreak to be swept away. Any education, to be adapted to Hinduism, must itself be on a progressive system; Hinduism must make concessions, if it is to be saved. But I believe that the necessary concessions are in harmony with Hinduism and can be fearlessly granted. For any real education will be distinctly religious, and, in its highest development, will never break the continuity of the Hindu life, will never cause the educated Hindu, man or woman, to look back on the worship of the faith, the life of the past, with other feeling than respect.

I have said that all true education must be religious. In order to have a clear view of the issues in question, it will be well to begin by defining education and religion. Taking Dr. Alexander Bain's recently published work on *Education as a Science*, I find that he gives various definitions of education, and pronounces them all unsatisfactory. He quotes the German definition :—"the harmonious and equable evolution of the human powers," and considers it defective, as not recognising the specialization of individuals; as paying more attention to even development than to the fostering of genius. He next quotes James Mill's definition of education, as having for its end "to render the individual as much as possible an instrument of happiness, first to himself, and next to other beings"; and the younger Mill's definition, in the narrower sense, as "the culture which each generation purposely gives to those who are to be its successors, in order to qualify them for at least keeping up, and, if possible, for raising, the improvement which has been attained." After passing all these, and some minor definitions in review, Dr. Bain evades the issue and proceeds to the schoolmaster's art, the materials it works on, the powers it can bring into play, the value of the results obtained.

It can hardly escape observation that, even according to the definition of both the elder and the younger Mill (neither of whom will be suspected of any bias towards religion), the influence of religion must largely affect education. We cannot conceive of a man becoming an instrument of happiness by being crammed with facts in geography or history, or made into a calculating machine. Neither will the result be produced by teaching him the language, literature and moral philosophy of a nation alien to his own in nearly every respect, while paying comparatively little attention, either to his own language, to the poetry, to the philosophy, or to the polite arts of his own country. On the contrary, we can conceive of a man attaining the end of education by acquiring knowledge in the learning of his country, however inferior it may be, and passing on the torch of progress to another generation. For this end religious influence must be called in aid. But Dr. Bain disclaims any religious influence on the part of the school-

master; his moral teachings must be of the 'honesty is the best policy' class; even these are deemed to be beset with "difficulties and snares," while "the embroilment as regards order and method must become worse by the addition of religious doctrines and the religious bearings of morality." This is all our Professor of Educational Science can do for us. And yet what a power he has thrown aside in religion! If there be any influence which could mould youth into an instrument of happiness, of progress, instead of making him a more ingenious instrument of disorder than he is in the undisciplined state, it is religion.

I will now take another definition of education. It will be seen to harmonize with those already given, while taking a far higher ground for the end of man. Auguste Comte gives the following:—"The main object of education is to lead us to live for others, in order to live again in others, by others, whereas we are naturally inclined to live for ourselves alone." I own that this definition takes but small account of Number One; and am ready to admit any objection on this point, but, to those who think that man is generally but too much inclined to take care of himself, and that there is but little fear of any dangerous development of the doctrine that he should live for others, I present it without further comment.* Let it be taken, for the present, as an ideal; I ask nothing more. Now this ideal system of education evidently subordinates the culture of the intellect to that of the heart and makes the discipline and regulation of society a most important factor in education. It is therefore based on religion. For by religion I mean not any theological formula or metaphysical wind-bag. I take a definition of it which embraces every religious system and includes them in its demonstrable terms:—"Religion is a system of universal explanation, regulating love and faith, feeling and thought, in order to direct conduct and obtain human unity * * *. Its action is to discipline the individual and to rally all the separate individuals towards progress * * *. The practical sphere of religion is the improvement of human order, its physical, intellectual and moral improvement."

This is Auguste Comte's definition, not of any particular form of religion, but of religion in general, the different forms approaching to it at various distances according to their vitality. Should any of my readers hesitate to accept this definition of religion; should they prefer some definition exiling it from action on life, I will remind them that Comte's definition has been accepted by men who

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* Any excessive development of the monastic or ascetic spirit proceeds from selfish, post-mundane motives, rather than from a spirit of sympathy.

would repudiate the idea of being Positivists, but who cannot avoid acknowledging the truth of Comte's view. Compare with it Mr. Froude's definition :—"Religion is the wholesome ordering of human life, the guide to furnish us with our daily duties in the round of common occupation ; the lamp to light us along our road, and show us where to place our steps." Elsewhere, he calls religion the spring of our affections, the light of our mind, the guide of our actions.

If, then, we accept Auguste Comte's definition, it is impossible to separate religion from education ; there is no education without religion; there can be only that individual development which conduces more than any other cause to modern anarchy, social or political. The post-mundane purposes of religious systems can be put aside in our present consideration ; we deal only with the mundane action to which they are in reality but secondary. These post-mundane objects differ widely in every faith, but agree in being mere modes of bringing an external force to bear on man—that external object without which all but the strongest hearts fail.*

Men and women have lived, whose whole sanction for a life of virtue and devotion has been a consciousness of Duty ; yet how few are they compared to the multitudes for whom duty fades away, unless supported by an external force more or less respectable—in a word a Superstition, in its true meaning, the feeling of a Power outside of the individual, and above, or stronger than the individual. The fight of Duty against Ease, of Grace against Nature, of Altruism against Selfishness—they are but forms of the same antagonistic principles—is but a poor fight, if not strengthened by the feeling of this external Power, if not inspirited by practices of devotion to that Power, by worship. Whether that Power and that Worship belong to the Polytheistic, to the Monotheistic, or to the Positive system, is a matter of indifference, compared with the importance of their being in force, in all that regards the mundane result of religion, which is the same in every system, the discipline of the individual, the convergence of individuals towards the general good. And under any representatives of the phases of religion, the astrolatric fetishism of the Chinese State-religion, the polytheism of Southern Asia, the Christian monotheism of Europe, the Musalman monotheism of Western Asia, we find that a working religion must have a doctrine satisfactory to the intellect, a worship fostering the good influences of the heart, and a rule of life for the discipline of the energy. Without these, there is nothing but

* There are other than post-mundane, or supernatural, ways of bringing this force to bear, so that, as long as it is in action, there can be no objection in principle to including the non-supernatural [natural] faiths with those which acknowledge the supernatural [extra-natural.]

nebulous theosophy, materialism, and anarchy. And it seems to me that the system of State-education in India being divorced from religion, without a counterbalance of national feeling, of scientific method, of social influence, has an effect very opposite to that which its good intentions deserve.

I have so far spoken of the religious element in education, as applied to both sexes. I shall now speak, as far as possible, of the education of girls only. It is evident that the education of Hindu girls must be on a religious basis. The mind of woman, so strongly controlled by the heart, is not receptive of metaphysical divagations, so attractive to the other sex, especially when men are isolated from the healthy influence of educated women. She must have some distinct power to revere and serve. Remaining a Hindu, she will, if educated properly, gradually emancipate herself from the coarser forms of belief and worship, while restraining her male relatives from destructive and anarchic lines of thought. Thus, I set aside all idea of lady-teachers, missionary or secular, for the present at least, equally with any idea of purely secular education. When the young women of India are educated, when their home cultivation is sufficiently advanced to be strong against the attacks on Hindu religion and custom which must inevitably mix with the instruction of Christian teachers, then we may hope for real benefit to ensue from free contact with the European governess or schoolmistress. At present such teachers are out of the question.

I do not underestimate the difficulties which stand in the way of the education of Hindu women, especially the institution of child-marriage, which cuts short all culture of the intellect at the very age when it should begin. No attempt at forcing the school-teaching of girls at an early age can remedy this evil, for the years after 13 or 14, the usual age when Hindu girls are married, are the time when the true intellectual culture should begin. I wish that some of the energy brought to bear on the subject of widow re-marriage had been devoted to the true cause of such evil as exists, the widowhood of women who have never really been wives in their adult age. As it is, the admirable institution of perpetual widowhood, one of the best points of the Hindu system, has been assailed, while nothing has been done against the cause of evil, child-marriage. No more striking example is possible of the powerlessness of Western instruction to modify the social system of India. Patriotic Hindus must take up the subject energetically and prevent the perpetuation of hereditary ignorance—ignorant mothers desirous to marry their daughters young, and child-wives becoming in their turn ignorant mothers. I am sure that if a few thoughtful Hindus, obliged to marry young girls, would treat

them as children until the age of eighteen at least, allowing home education to go on under their superintendence, they would reap such happiness in after life as would cause their example to be followed by every Hindu not blind even to his own welfare. Once the custom broken, it would only be an affair of time for public opinion to prevent child-marriage in India, as effectually as it prevents the practice in England.*

Granting this modification of a custom which is disastrous to all hope of true progress, I proceed to give a sketch of the system of education in a Hindu household where the children are free from the necessity of labour ; where there is a certain amount of ease. In treating of the home-education of girls, I meet at the outset with a difficulty ; it is essential for their proper education that the mother shall be well educated, and we know that at least a generation must elapse before there will be educated Hindu mothers. However, that is not a reason for despair ; let the father who is determined that his children shall be well educated, devote his spare time to them, and he will supply the deficiency in a great measure. I begin by pointing out that systematic instruction, in this generation at least, will hardly require attendance at school, and can, under favourable circumstances, be better imparted at home. It is the custom to send children to school when of far too tender age ; they do not pick up their letters any more quickly than they would at home, and they lose much of the benefit of real education. I lay down the principle applicable to all children, European or Indian, boys or girls, that a youth of 14, knowing two languages besides his or her vernacular, with the natural taste for the arts of expressing sound or form, well cultivated, and carefully trained physically by father and mother, is well educated ; is, indeed, far better educated than the average school-taught youth of the same age. I can imagine persons shuddering at my irreverence to the examination-idol, and constraining themselves as they ask, "Can the youth be well educated, when he has been taught nothing but languages? where are Mathematics, Geography, History? and how was he even taught to read and write?" I reply that the art of reading and writing is acquired spontaneously among children who are accustomed to use pencil and paper from the earliest age, who are brought up by intelligent parents. It only requires an hour daily of pleasant

* I do not see the good of cloaking the fact that the English law allows marriage to take place at a shamefully early age. I rather take credit for the good feeling of English society in proving itself wiser than the law, and raising the minimum age of marriage for women by three or four years. Let Hindus act in the same way towards their law.

practice at drawing from picture-books under the mother's eye, for the child to have acquired the power of reading and writing by seven years of age* At the same time the habit of expressing ideas of form is encouraged. I leave to Hindus the choice of drawing, painting or modelling in clay, as the means of expression they prefer in the artistic education of their children. I know that there is, in some quarters, a prejudice against music, but this must be overcome; singing, so important for the effective rendering of sacred poetry, is an absolutely necessary part of the education of girls, and instrumental music is most desirable. There could be no more delightful part of home education than the cultivation of musical expression.

I have now carried the child on to about seven years of age; it has spontaneously learnt to read and write more or less well; it has learnt numeration with pebbles and can make small calculations; it can either draw natural objects in a rude manner, or model with some grace in clay; it can sing in a pleasing manner; it has acquired habits of industry by attempts at gardening; it has learnt sympathy with the poor and kindness towards domestic animals; it already has in its memory a pleasant stock of harmless fairy tales, which exercise its imagination. After this age education may safely become more systematic. Reading will spontaneously become perfected by the perusal of pleasing and instructive books. There are already a number of such English books translated into the principal Indian vernaculars; before long every household should be able, at a small cost, to have a library of poetry, history, and geography, from which children would be able to acquire the requisite instruction while exercising the intellect and the imaginative faculty. The arts of expression, both in sound and in form, will be cultivated, and girls will learn some musical instrument for the recreation of the family in the evening and for the cultivation of the religious faculty in men.

* Read what William Cobbett says on education;—

"My children are a family of scholars; each sex has its appropriate species of learning, and I could safely take my oath that I never ordered a child of mine, son or daughter to look into a book, in my life, ... Never, had they, while children, teacher of any description, and I never, and no-body else ever, taught any one of them to read, or write, or anything else, except in converversation, and yet no man was ever more anxious to be the father of a family of clever or learned persons."

I have not space here to transcribe the charming pages in which the stout yeoman describes the education of his children. It will be found in the "Advice to young Men," and I wish that every one of my readers would procure that little work. Cobbett's vigorous and correct English, his sound instincts, his manly teachings, his earnestness of purpose, make it a delightful book. Even his crotchets and prejudices emanate from a sound instinct insufficiently directed.

During the years from 7 up to 13, or 14, two languages other than the vernacular, should be acquired. Which should these be? There is not the slightest doubt that one of them should be the language of some other Indian nationality. Under the ordinary circumstances of Southern India, it is evident that Tamil youth should learn Telugu, and *vice versa*; the acquisition of a second South Indian language is so easy, that in many cases another Indian language, that of some Northern Indian nationality, or the classic language of Hindus, may also be acquired. The object is two-fold, —means of communication with members of other Indian nationalities, and additional poetical resources.

The second obligatory language should be European. There are many cases where the language for boys must be English, but I can hardly conceive that anywhere girls should acquire this difficult tongue, so ungraceful in the mouths of Indians who have not learnt it direct from Europeans. The object of the European language in the case of girls is exclusively educational, and far more poetical than intellectual or scientific. Therefore, Italian is the European language which Hindu girls should learn, in order to appreciate the religion, the philosophy, the life of the West. If necessity did bring them into contact with English ladies, Italian would, or ought to be, the language of intercourse; it is understood, if not spoken, by every person in Europe with any pretension to culture; it is in direct succession from Latin; it is the central and sacred language of the West, the most perfect, the most harmonious; while its acquisition to Indians is easier than that of any European tongue. It has the best claim to be the future common language of the West, and therefore the future medium of communication between Indians and Europeans. By its means Hindu girls will be able to appreciate the finer poetry of the West. At the same time it would enable them, if necessary, to study many scientific subjects not yet treated of in vernacular works.

It may be said that Italian would require the assistance of teachers; this is not so. Its pronunciation is simple and easy to Indians, and follows the spelling absolutely; when a few elementary manuals have been written for its acquisition through the leading vernaculars, there will be no difficulty in a girl becoming able to read and understand Italian with ease in a few months. This faculty would put at her service a vast amount of poetical literature, and as a large number of books written in English and other European languages are translated into Italian, she would virtually have the means of access to the whole of European literature.

Thus, she would attain the age of 13 or 14 with a vast exten-

sion of the poetic faculty from her possession of two languages, from her cultivation of expression in music, and her sentiment of the beautiful in art. Her general knowledge would be ampler than if she had attended school, while she would have been carefully excluded from all corrupting influences. At this age the youth of either sex are ready to enter on a course of scientific education, fitting each for his or her path in life. The succeeding years before entrance on the more serious duties of life, will witness the training of the mind in the successive physical sciences:—Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Sociology, through the medium of works written in the vernacular. The depth to which different persons will go in these subjects is of course dependent on circumstances; and in the case of Hindu girls the amount of instruction need not, for some time to come, extend beyond what could be taught by books and explained by a father or elder brother. There will be difficulties enough in this generation—let us not exaggerate them—but in the next generation the task of education will be simple. I will not enter at present into details on the scientific training of the intellect in the years after 14; I will merely say that, especially in the case of girls, it will continue, as before, subordinated to the cultivation of the heart, and animated by religion.

And this brings me back to the relation of the system of education, I propose, with the Hindu religious system. It may be asked—are youth to be educated in the polytheistic system of worship? I return the question, why not? Polytheism comes naturally to all children up to the age of 14, and if acquaintance with it be kept as pure as possible (and I know it can be kept as pure as Monotheism in any influence on the young), no harm will be done. If the poetical faculty be properly cultivated, the Hindu girl will be accustomed to look only at the poetical side of Polytheism; its objective portion will be kept in the background, and an enlightened father will find no difficulty in imparting a progressive movement to the religious sentiment of his children. There should be no more difficulty in keeping the polytheistic belief poetical and subjective, than is the case with English children brought up in an atmosphere of Greek mythology. There will be no break with Polytheism, no burning of idols; a fetishist in her childhood, a poetical polytheist in her early youth, she will gradually have her eyes opened to the Law of the Universe, and while her faith is gradually passing to a purer phase, there will be no break in it—she will aways remain a Hindu. She is no isolated being; she will have, I hope, an enlightened husband, who may be able

to explain to her the passage of the mind through the theological state and its final liberation from the bondage of the extra-natural and the extra-human. The bondage will have been mild to her and will not have crippled her mind. Fortified by a poetical education, she will have been accustomed to take supernatural ideas in a poetical sense, and she will always look back upon the polytheistic belief as associated with a happy childhood, and, on the whole, giving it a pleasant colour. She will not believe what a more ignorant generation believed; but she will not deride it. She will not give up her heritage in the faith of her ancestors, when her progress in knowledge has shown her that two and two always make four, and that the earth moves round the sun. Will she read the story of Rama and Sita with any changed feelings when she knows that it is mythical? When she is able to recognize in the triads of Vishnu, Krishna, Rama; of Siva, and his two sons; of the three great Pandava brothers, the personifications of the three divisions of the human soul—feeling, intellect, and energy, will she regard the mythology of the old Sanskrit works with any worse feelings than those of tenderness and respect? For my own part, I have no fear of the result. I believe that the education of women, in the way I have sketched, would save Hinduism from its present stagnation. Its progress has been stopped by the deep ignorance in which women have been kept, and all the efforts of enlightened men will be vain, unless they call the women to their aid and educate them to the level of their proper sphere in life, as the moral providence of man, superior to him in heart, as inferior to him in intellect, but supplying his deficiencies of sentiment and making him a complete member of society. There is a great truth in the idea of the Ardha-nari—the God incomplete without the female element of character.*

I conclude this paper by urging upon the people of India the necessity of a system of national education. Leaving to Government and to missionary zeal the task of preparing youths for the examinations in English required for public service, the National Schools should be independent of any such purpose; they should aim at giving Hindu youths an education in harmony with their religious system and comprising the science of the West—the whole taught through the medium of the vernacular. It would be

* At first the Hindu legend seems grotesque. But it finds, not only explanation, but justification, when it is recognised as giving expression in polytheistic language to that same feeling which throughout the most cultured, or, at all events, the most religious, nations of monotheistic Europe has been gradually substituting the worship of the Virgin Mother for that of either principal person of the Trinity.

necessary to start with Normal Schools, one for each nationality, in which young men, willing to devote themselves as apostles of education, would learn Western science and prepare themselves to become schoolmasters. During this preliminary period, school books would have to be written in the vernacular, and the great work of adapting the Western systems of scientific classification to Indian languages, would have to be carried out. There are large classes of the Indian population, especially amongst the mercantile and agricultural sections of the community, who require a good scientific education for their children and are unable to obtain it, firstly, because there is no scientific instruction really available, and secondly, because any that may be supplied, will be through the medium of the English tongue, a sufficient knowledge of which would entail several years' preliminary study for no other purpose.

For these classes, the instruction now supplied is valueless, and they do not waste their children's time on it. I refrain from entering into the details of the system of national instruction which I consider necessary. I only mention that it would be applied to young men principally at school, but it would also enable the instruction of girls to be carried on at home through the medium of school books written in the vernacular, aided by the tuition of those young men of the family who attended school. The conditions of the system are easily determined: its principle must be Hinduism, its basis science, taught through the vernaculars, and its object progress.

EDWARD NICHOLSON.

Art. VIII.—THE NATIVE ARMY OF MADRAS.

THE sepoy army of Madras is the oldest in India. It was in fighting out the great question, not at the time clearly perceptible, except perhaps to such men as Dupleix and Clive, whether the French or the English were to be paramount in India, that sepoys trained by European officers were brought into war. Throughout that time, and for more than fifty years following, the territories held by the English of which Madras formed the base, supplied troops who were in constant war. From A. D. 1750 to 1819 there was but little breathing time between the campaigns in which Madras troops were engaged. But since the latter date, when the Marathas and their consequents, the Pindaris, had been settled, the Madras army has, with the exception of a portion employed in Burmese wars, had no experience in the field for a period of sixty years. For, though some of the Madras troops were employed in suppressing the Mutiny, they were not used as freely as would have been the case had their true value been believed. At that time all Englishmen were suspicious of native troops. It may be said of the Madras army, that no army has had in its time so much continuous war or so much continuous peace. This is important, as exhibiting the position of the Madras army at the present time.

For when an army returns from successful war, the system and arrangements under which it succeeded, come, as time passes on, to be looked on as sacred; yet gradually the spirit departs, though the letter of the system survives. Thus the Army of the Peninsular war, which, at the close of the campaign, Wellington said he could take any where and do anything with, gradually lapsed into the army that invaded the Crimea, a splendid army for its size, consisting of fine men, perfectly disciplined and trained for show, but from which the spirit of the training of warfare had departed, and it required to be taught by sad experience the first lessons of war. Lord Cardigan's reconnaissance resulting in a maximum of sore backs and a minimum of information; the inordinate time taken up for the formation of our small force in battle order at the Alma, and the desperate situation in which our army lay for some hours during the battle of Inkerman for need of a simple trench to protect an unguarded flank, are well known and sufficient examples of this. Thus, also, the army of Frederic the Great lapsed into the army that was crushed at Jena, and the army of the First Napoleon into the capitulators at Sedan and Metz. Just previous to the Crimean war, the soldier whose buttons were the brightest, was looked upon as the best warrior. Cleanliness is all-important in war, to escape

disease. As soon as any body of troops have any rest in a campaign, or whenever opportunity occurs, the utmost cleanliness should obviously be enforced. But the spirit of the rule became lost during long peace, and the letter was enforced to the pitch of absurdity, while the practice of advanced guards, rear-guards, or crossing a river in face of an enemy, only kept place in the "Field Exercise" by good luck; and the experience of small warfare of posts was entirely lost, though this really made the army of the Peninsular the efficient one it was, by giving a habit of ready resource to the leaders of small parties.

The Madras army is now in this plight. Long-continued peace has caused it to adhere to the apparent form by which its victories were achieved; but the spirit is gone, the letter alone remaining in vitiated form. Had the Madras army to take the field, it would do so, no doubt; the men and officers are loyal and willing as far as their strength goes; but the arrangements for their support in the field are cut down to a minimum, and it would take time before the system of indenting in triplicate, applying for sanction and authority for every trivial regimental action, and other arrangements, which may be admirable in peace, but are utterly unsuited to war, could be overridden. Till this could be done, there would be no possibility of rapid movement, and difficulties would arise at every step in each movement, which could only be overcome by officers daring to take responsibility on themselves, in complete disregard of the rules under which they had been educated as soldiers. This is felt rather than perceived, and it is therefore customary to sneer at the Madras infantry, as of little value, and the faults lying with the organization of the army are unthinkingly laid upon the troops. We have, however, no parallel in history to show that a race of men who fought so well and cheerfully for us during the time when our supremacy was at stake and any disaster might have proved fatal to us, would in the course of sixty years prove to be useless as soldiers *under proper management.* Even if detachments of the Madras army had not shown in occasional cases during that period that their loyalty and soldier-like qualities had not deteriorated, there would be no ground for the supposition that they had.

In the times of Clive and his successors, the fidelity of the sepoy amid dangerous distractions was the first desideratum, and therefore encouragement was given, that when sepoy troops were cantoned, they might have their wives and families with them. It appears, indeed, probable that in later times, following the example of the Indian armies led against us, they were allowed in some cases to take their women with them on a campaign. Whether the system was really ever carried to this

extent or not, the custom of the sepoy to have, residing with him in cantonments, as many of his family as he chooses to support, or as insist upon living on his income, has been a marked feature of the Madras army. There are many who say that, in the dangerous epoch of 1857 and 1858, this proved our salvation, and that the absence of all mutinous tendency among Madras troops at that time showed the wisdom of the arrangement. The argument is undoubtedly a strong one, and if it were certain that the troops of the Madras army were at the present time as capable of sustaining the hardships of war, and as fitted for it as their grandfathers, little could be said against it.

But the pay of a sepoy, though differing little, if at all, in the number of rupees, has undergone very considerable deterioration since the commencement of this century. At that time seven rupees a month was a large income for the majority of the population of India; food was cheap, money was dear, and the sepoy could, with his pay, support himself well and also his wife and children. But at the present time not only has the value of the pay deteriorated inasmuch as far less food can be purchased for the rupee than formerly, but also the custom of supporting families has grown to an inordinate extent, and there are few sepoys, I am informed, who, on marrying a wife, are not also, in course of time, saddled with the encumbrance of either mother-in-law or an aunt or two, besides an aged grandmother, in addition to any children that may result from the marriage. Nor do the relatives come only from the wife's side. I believe I am not overstating the case in putting an average of three or four adult persons who, besides his wife and children, live on the sepoy's pay, and I am told that the custom is so inveterate, that even a rise in pay is of little value to the native soldier, because more relations flock around him and insist on living on his earnings. To English people accustomed to a poor law and workhouses, by which the destitute and the idle are provided with means of subsistence at the general expense, this would appear at first scarcely credible, but the strong feeling of the native, especially in southern India, that it is the duty of every man to support his poorer relatives, even though they will do nothing for themselves, seems to take the place of a poor law. From an economical point of view the system may have its advantages. Expenditure on famine shows what might occur if a system of managing their own poor were not generally carried out through the country; but from a military point of view such a system, carried to such lengths as it is carried in the Madras army, cannot be too strongly reprehended. The pay of the native soldier is mainly given to him to supply food by which he may keep himself strong and able for hard tasks in

marching and in war. If, as is the case in Madras, in order to support a flock of relatives, he denies himself sufficient food for the purpose, his value as a component of an army is almost nothing, the hospital being his destination on the first opening of hard work; and if this be the general rule throughout an army, that army is of little use for war, where hard fare and hard work must be expected, and where the soldier's power of lasting depends on the constitution formed in peace time.

The facts are well known to officers in Madras, but it may be as well to give a clear example on authority. General Blake, commanding in Burmah, in a report * to Lord Napier of Magdala, dated 30th of July 1872, says :—" I was in command of my corps at Shway Gheen, and one of the companies remitted to India one month more than the whole of its pay; and this excess could only have been acquired by sale of its rations. It never occurred again; but unless closely watched, the sepoy (particularly Madras Hindoos) will dispose of his rations, and send the money to his family.

This is in itself an immense injury to the army, but the system also saps its very foundations. For while the campaign was going on in Afghanistan in 1878, it was found difficult to secure recruits for some Madras regiments, and the alleged reason was that the women were said to deter the young men from enlisting, fearing the war, because they might lose the bread-winner. During the Maratha and Mysore campaigns and for twenty years afterwards, the women would, as occurs all over the world, have been the first to spur on the men where glory and prize-money were obtainable. But long continued peace has now led them to look upon a soldier's career as being but a certainty of seven rupees a month with a pension to follow, and, fearing curtailment of this, and vastly exaggerating the danger, they imparted their fears to the men. Another reason that tends at present to create a difficulty in obtaining recruits is that the best recruiting grounds are just recovering from famine, the population has become sparse, and every available man is required for cultivation.

It is to us a matter of considerable importance that the general population of Southern India differ very considerably in their views and customs from those of the Upper part. Lord Ellenborough compared the Indian Empire to a ship that had been wisely built in compartments. It should be our duty to see that while the compartments form one whole body capable of efficient service, each compartment is in itself separate and not likely to be leaked into by others. I cannot pretend to go into

* Blue Book—Organization of the Native Army, 1877, p. 161.

the deep question of how far the people of Southern India are the residue of nations driven into the extremity of the Peninsula by the Aryans, or how far they are mixed with them, but that the languages and many of the customs are totally distinct from those of the Northern parts of the Peninsula, is well known. Many, if not most, of the recruits for the Madras army, have to be taught some language that shall be a common means of communication in the regiment. For this, Hindustani is generally taken, but frequently Hindustani is as foreign a tongue, in construction and all else, as English, and the more general use of the latter language would tighten the bonds between Englishmen and Madrassis, and also tend to keep the Madras Native Army separated from any evil influences working on the soldiers of Northern or Western India.

Mr. Forjett in his book, "The real Danger of India," shows, on the best traditional authority, for his father was in the artillery at the siege of Seringapatam, that at that time the sepoy troops were mainly composed of pariahs and low caste men. Such men have not the fine appearance of Brahmans, or those of Aryan race, but their loyalty may be depended on with considerable confidence, because they are raised in social rank by becoming sepoys. The Madras Sappers and Miners consist chiefly of this class, and their readiness and aptitude for all kinds of work in war is generally acknowledged. The mass of the Madras army should, as far as possible, consist of men of this class. But the letter is followed, instead of the spirit, and the size of men has too long been the general rule according to which recruits have been accepted or rejected. For gunners of Artillery, size is indeed requisite to enable them to move heavy pieces and reach to load cannon, but any man of good constitution who will readily obey orders, and can fire a rifle with some direction, makes an Infantry soldier, who, though he may not be showy on parade, is most valuable in war. A force of such men, if well officered, cheery on the march, and readily obedient to orders at all times, would form no despicable enemy to any troops.

Sir Neville Chamberlain has, in a famous order, said that the Madras sepoy is what his officers make him, and the saying is an epitome of the whole subject, for nowhere in the world is a more docile soldier to be found. But, as Sir Fredrick Haines, then Commander-in-Chief in Madras, pointed out in a report* to the Secretary to the Military Department, dated 3rd April 1875, a larger proportion of English officers is requisite than that fixed on the basis of an Upper Provinces or Punjab regiment, where there exists a class who may be utilized as Native officers. Yet the system

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* Blue Book—Organisation of the Native Army, 1877, p. 28.

of Native officers as Company officers can be little more than a farce, when no payment of the men can, for obvious reasons, take place except in the presence of an English officer. If a sepoy has to receive two annas compensation in the Madras army, it goes to him from the hands of a Wing Commander, or other English officer. Sir Fredrick Haines in the above quoted report says, "It is a pretence to say that the Native officer now commands his Company. Minor punishments are all awarded by the Wing officer, and by him the pay is issued. Moreover, the sepoys would have no confidence in the due and impartial performance of such duties by the Native officers were they entrusted with the execution of them." In the British army it is felt that, however irksome the duty may be at times, the payment of the men is one of the great holds that links together the Company officer and the men under him. If that, and the watching that the men's food is good and sufficient and their barracks in good order, were removed, the influence of the Company officer over his men would be very much lessened. The men would see and feel little of his position, except during an occasional hour of parade. Yet this is what occurs in the best Native infantry regiments, for the payment is by custom monthly, not weekly, or daily, as used to be the rule in the British army. Owing also to the presence of the women and families, no close supervision of men's health and comforts in barracks can take place. An occasional visit can no doubt be made in a patronizing way, but any inspection must of necessity be superficial.

Where there is really strong prejudice felt against the presence of English officers to superintend meals or quarters, as in Northern India, the only remedy is to appoint Native officers and put as much faith in them as is justified by their deeds. But it appears more than doubtful whether any such prejudice exists among the general population of the Madras Presidency, and where it occurs in the army, it will be generally found to be the result of mixing soldiers of the Mahomedan classes, or high caste Hindus, with the Madras sepoys, or else of a deference to supposed prejudices on the part of officers, which tends to raise and foster the very prejudices that it must be acknowledged interfere with the efficient supervision of the troops. The Madras Sappers have the salutary rule that no caste is acknowledged, and all orders issued are to be obeyed. In the Infantry, on the other hand, there have been frequent cases where a regiment has been ordered on service for Burmah or the Andamans, and the Commanding Officer has been directed to inform the men that if any of them did not wish to go, they might volunteer for any other regiment remaining in India. If officers of British regiments were asked what would

be the result of giving the British soldier similar option in case of foreign service, it is probable that opinions of considerable strength would be elicited.

Many of the most experienced officers of the Madras army are of opinion, that little difficulty would be found in treating the matter with a bold, firm hand, and that Madras troops might be established in barracks and supplied with rations in India, as has been done for years when they are serving in Burmah or the Andamans, while it would be perfectly feasible to make certain that each sepoy had at least one good meal in the day. There seems to be no more absolute necessity, beyond that of custom, for the Madras sepoy to be burdened with an intolerable number of women than for the Bengal sepoy; and, when Madras troops cross the sea, they not only leave their families behind, but a good many of their supposed prejudices, and they often then cook and eat together nearly as freely as European soldiers. It appears to be the opinion of many who know them well, that, far from entertaining any idea that the shadow of an Englishman would defile their food, the Madras sepoys would be glad of the supervision of their officers, especially if it took the form of insisting on their being well fed and of enabling them to shake off the trammels of a custom which they all allow to be irksome and even tyrannical, but which they can only rid themselves of by being able to plead compulsion.

It is said that there would be little difficulty in fixing a proportion of the men who only should be allowed to marry—for Madrassis are not given to child-marriages,—or in admitting no one but wives and children of the men in the barracks or lines. Of course, under such regime, the term of service must be shorter, but it seems to be generally acknowledged that the inordinate length of service which has been insisted on, sapped the strength of the army, by causing each regiment to consist almost entirely of men who had long passed their prime and were unfit for the hardships of war; the object being to economise by diminishing the pension list. Till very lately no sepoy, if even over 32 years' service, when he was entitled to the highest rate of pension, could obtain his discharge unless invalided. At fifty years of age, a sepoy who has done his share of night duty, can hardly be fit for war. In the British army, it is found that a soldier who has done sentry-go during 21 years, in other words, is about 40 years of age, is almost invariably unfit for further service. There are of course many elements of difference between the cases, but the efficiency of the Madras army has been aided of late at both ends by allowing sepoys after 32 years' service to obtain their discharge without having to malinger in order to get before an

invaliding board, and also by rating the value of good chest measurement for recruits above that of mere height.

The present system, under which the men make their own huts, is eminently unsatisfactory, both to the men and to the Government. The amount allowed as a grant-in-aid for building huts is based, on what no doubt was a fair allowance at some distant period, but is at present quite insufficient to admit of good huts, suited to permanent residence, being built on the first occupation of a cantonment by troops. The principle was good enough in Clive's time, and suited to war, that the men should rapidly run up their own huts, with a little assistance from Government, but, for a lengthened occupation in peace time, such rude huts are necessarily deficient in ventilation, and are built with no consideration for the first sanitary principles. The money, therefore, that the Government gain by a small expense on the lodging of sepoys, is lost in a way not so clearly perceptible, but still of equal money value, in the diminution of the time during which the men can do really effective military service, in the extra hospital expenditure entailed and the temporary loss of service of the sick. In 1877 the Quartermaster-General of the Madras army proposed the building by Government of huts in lines which could be arranged with due regard to ventilation and sanitary reqirements, each occupant paying a small rent to cover the cost of repairs, and, as a consequence, the hutting money now allowed would cease to be issued, and the troublesome system of regiments buying and selling their huts from one another on relief could be done away with. After full discussion of *pros* and *cons*, the Government of Madras came to the not unusual resolution, that it was a most valuable proposition, and one most desirable to carry out, and that it would be considered in the Budget estimates of the next year. So it may very likely stand over pending the period when the Wynaad gold fields make the Madras Government so flush of money that they can afford some in aid of the efficiency of their army. To allow an army to fall into inefficiency (or a state in which it is unable to take the field at very short notice and maintain itself there) is not economy in the long run. It is like the action of an engineer who, when work was slack, should let all his machinery lie rusting, so that, when required for work, all his engine gear and implements would require fitting and doing up at a cost which would have amply sufficed to have kept them in good order, ready for instant work, if occasionally looked to.

For many years the question has been mooted and as often put aside, of dressing the Madras sepoy in uniform in which he could use his limbs freely. Most of the Madras regiments are

now dressed in tunics and trowsers assimilating to, but rather tighter than, those worn by British troops. In the olden days, when battles commenced at about 250 yards' interval between the combatants, it was an obvious advantage in India that the enemy should be unable to distinguish which were European soldiers and which were Native, prior to the lines of battle being formed; this would at the present day be also an advantage, but, as the action commences at much greater range, it is quite possible to put the sepoys in a dress more suited to the climate and to their habits, so as to get from them their full marching power, without losing the advantage of puzzling the enemy as to the best point to strike at. The colour might be kept, only the form altered, as in the uniform of our West India regiments. Like the question of the huts, this has been constantly brought forward, and the change all but authorized, but eventually consigned to that looked-for period when there shall be a surplus of cash and no special object to expend it on.

The age, and comparatively large number of officers of field rank in the Madras army, is well known. This occurs also with the other native armies in India, but is not so strongly marked elsewhere as in Madras. The present system of retirement gives every inducement to officers to "hang on," but the system that tends to efficiency is one where every inducement and even compulsion, in necessary cases, is used to cause officers to leave when the Government has got the best of their services. It is a military axiom that the worse your troops, the better your officers should be, and our Natvie armies should be thoroughly well officered by the best men to be got and in the prime of life, for no one will pretend that sepoys have as good fighting qualities as British soldiers. But after twenty years or so of the mill-horse round of regimental duties in peace, the zeal and enthusiasm that give young officers great influence over their men is apt to depart, especially where an officer is kept at subordinate duties. If the present system continues, the average age of the officers of the Madras army that head the list will keep on increasing until about fifteen years hence, when there is a break, and a number of officers who are now in their first years of service will fall into the command of regiments.

Writing as an onlooker, who has had the good fortune to see something of the three native armies of India, the following appears to be the present condition of the Madras Infantry. We have a force of excellent material for service in India or in any similar climate, and of unsurpassed loyalty and docility. But from its former state of high warlike efficiency at the beginning of the century, it has been allowed to drift along with no reorganization, unless occasional reduction of numbers can be so called. It

does not seem likely that the Simla Army Organization Commission can do much for the Madras Native Army. The obstacles in the way of its progress into a handy and smooth-working machine for war lie, as will have been seen from the foregoing, more in details to be dealt with locally than in any Imperial questions, except thus far, that every one component part of the numerous armies of the British Empire should be in fit order for the field, so that, should a war break out, we may be able to throw our strength into the earliest blows and thus render the contest short, sharp, and economical. Nothing is more expensive than a war dragging over years, but if our armies are not each of them ready, it will be impossible to prevent this ; and then all the little driblets of savings effected by starving the organization of the army during years of peace will be swallowed up, in almost hopeless efforts to recover the time lost, by prodigal expenditure at high pressure on the outbreak of war ; the army will suffer for the want of forethought, and fall off, being replaced by recruits raised at a high price, as happened with the army that landed on the shores of the Crimea. So far, then, we may hope that the Simla Commission may be able to strengthen the hands of those in whose power it will be to deal boldly and firmly with minor organization and to transform the Madras Infantry from an army lingering under the cold shade of neglect into the army it formerly has been and might readily again become.

R. H. FAWCETT.

Art. IX.—ELECTION ISSUES.

THE appeal to the country which cannot now be long delayed by Her Majesty's ministers, is an interesting event to look forward to; and the result of it both political parties in England affect to await with confidence. It would be perhaps a thankless task to attempt to forecast that result; but one thing is evident, Conservatives ought not to be too sanguine or over confident, for there is no doubt that, while the actual Parliamentary majorities may have shown little or no decline of confidence in the Government by its own supporters, yet the opposition of its adversaries has assumed more collected and determined proportions, and a large section of public opinion, as represented by news writers and the like, have seceded more or less from their former adherence to the Government of which they originally were staunch supporters. Another thing has unquestionably been telling against the Government of late, which may be the effect of the moribund condition which legislators are credited with falling into after they have enjoyed six or seven years of power, but which, nevertheless, equally turns influences against them, *viz.*, the regular and persistent way in which their policy is impugned and condemned without these attacks being reciprocated and carried into the enemy's country; or where a solitary reply may have been given, it has generally been apologetic, and always leaves on the mind of those who would like to see the policy which they have approved boldly vindicated, the impression that much has been left unsaid that ought to have been said.

But whatever may be the result of the elections, it is not an inopportune moment to look briefly back and see to what extent the Government are deserving of the confidence which the country has so long reposed in them, and to analyse the temper and spirit of the Parliamentary opposition which has been offered to them.

When a Government comes into power, pledged to carry out any extensive scheme of reform, or to revolutionize some ancient national institution, it knows that it may expect an obstinate, and, it may be, an embittered, opposition from those who refuse to see the necessity for the step, and who dislike to have settled customs interfered with, when not palpably an incovenience. On the accession of the present Government to power, this was not the case. The country had been glutted with Parliamentary strife, and was wearied with a policy that made economy at all costs its watchword, and appeared to respect no interest at home, while it hesitated and faltered before its responsibillties abroad. Thus the

Conservative Government entered into power with the avowed intention of merely smoothing down difficulties and rounding off edges. The Liberals professed a concurrence in the unmistakeable expression of the national feeling, and started with the determination to give the Conservatives a fair trial, as they put it, with a certain air of condescension that smacked somewhat of the intolerant spirit which they have since displayed.

For a time all went smoothly. The great chief of the Liberal party, who had led them through many a successful fight, and who also had achieved for them the most signal defeat their party had sustained for nearly half a century, darkly hinted his intentions of retiring into private life, and relinquishing those scenes of party strife in which he had for so long taken a leading part and been a principal actor. The prospects of Liberalism looked gloomy, and even Conservatives grumbled that they had no regular opposition to deal with.

But stormier times were at hand. While a political calm reigned unruffled upon the sphere of home politics, matters abroad assumed a threatening aspect. The troubled cloud of Eastern complications gathered fast on the horizon. Russia's schemes were ripening, and the time was approaching, she hoped, to pluck the fruit. She had settled with Germany and Austria, the only two Powers she cared to consult, by the Triple Alliance Scheme; and she had only a short time before tested the amount of opposition to be expected from England; and having met with a somewhat abject submission from that power, she quietly left her out of account for the future. Hence she threw off the mask with but little delay. But England, for the first time for many years, happened to be ruled by individuals of a different stamp from those Russia had of late been accustomed to deal with, and whose principles were not of that pliant construction which can forego and surrender rights when justice demands their retention. These statesmen found England hedged in by pledges which clashed at once with the line Russia was pursuing. Hence,t hey immediately showed front.

Russia was surprised, but appeared determined; and things looked gloomy and threatening.

It is easy to conjecture what might have happened had the Liberal party at this time assisted the Government to check Russian encroachments, and to insist on the maintenance of those treaties which they themselves had but recently negotiated; one of two contingencies must have happened, and to the minds of all Conservatives either would have been preferable to the middle course pursued by England. Either Russia would have remained fixed in her intention of attacking Turkey, or she would have

receded from it. Had she adopted the former course, then there can be no doubt the Government of England would have accepted the challenge, had but the country supported them, and we should have entered the lists in the defence of Turkey. thus saving our national honor, preserving inviolate what ought to be the sacredness of international compacts and baulking Russia in her schemes of aggrandizement. On the other hand, had Russia gone back, as was highly probable, from her intentions, then Europe would have been saved from the horrors of a bloody war, and the rights of nations been respected as well.

But this staightforward line of action was not adopted by England. At the very moment when it was of importance that England, of all nations, should present a united and decided front towards Europe, upstarted the ex-leader of the State and set the ball agoing, which, partly from the suddenness of the thing, and partly from the inability of the people to guage accurately the meaning of what was laid before them, rent the country into two factions and divided it against itself.

It is interesting to recall and note the nature of this opposition, started so violently. As yet the Government had made no distinct declaration of the exact line it intended to follow, as up to the time of the Bulgarian atrocities Russia had not publicly avowed her intentions. What ought to have been expected from a statesman who only within a short period had relinquished the reins of power, and who was acquainted with, and had hitherto given, official countenance to the traditional and necessary policy followed by this country with reference to Russia and Turkey, and, supposing him to have changed his ideas with reference to that policy, and to be desirous of pointing out to the Government and country the necessity of altering it? One might have expected powerful but temperate harangues in Parliament, pointing out the dangers and errors of a too strict adherence to old treaties, and arguments showing the altered conditions which rendered necessary a revision of such treaties; and if such arguments, laid before the high intelligence of an English Parliament, who alone in a case of such vital concern to the country could be competent to form the accurate and rapid judgment required to meet the case, had been adjudged by that Parliament to be sound, then the decision would have settled the matter and been accepted by all. But Mr. Gladstone did none of this. He collected mobs and stumped the country. He harangued the rabble in flowery and violent oratory, holding up the Turks as a nation of beasts to be swept aside, and the Russians as a body of philanthropic crusaders to be encouraged and even assisted; while all was interspersed with a bitter and unnecessary antagonism to

the Conservative Government, whom, to such lengths did his unseemly violence go, he accused of indirectly abetting the massacres in Bulgaria. This was the beginning of the tactics pursued by the present opposition, and a fair sample of what it has been throughout.

For a time Mr. Gladstone stood alone, as he had fairly sprung a mine upon the political world, and the opposition hesitated between their conscience and their party. But his name had possessed, and did then possess, a great influence in the country, and it was popularly believed the People's William could do no wrong. Hence his persistency soon gained adherents and gathered support from those who regard the Tory as their direct foe. The whole matter grew into a popular excitement. The radical faction joined *en masse*, and the tag-rag and bob-tail of the Liberal party soon lent a willing hand when they found it was a case of abusing their political adversaries, and an opportunity to let forth the spleen which, bottled up and labelled forbearance for a fair Conservative trial, had been eating their vitals out. Hence the hands of the Government were tied and their power weakened when the blow came, and hence their inability to take that step at the outset which might have placed them clear of every subsequent complication that has arisen, or may yet arise, even if English blood had to flow for it. But the nation had been lashed into such unreasonable frenzy by the way its feelings were played on by the details of the Bulgarian atrocities, that it lost its head, and the action of the Government was not only hampered but practically annulled.

Being baulked, then, by the violent excitement into which Mr. Gladstone threw the country, from following a course which would have preserved the peace of Europe, or given Russia a task which was beyond her power, the Government did their best to restrict and confine the extent of the war. In this laudable endeavour, however, they got no assistance from the opposition. They accused the Government daily of deceiving the country and doing their best by underhand means to drag England into a useless war, while professing with their lips to be labouring to avoid it; but whenever they had the temerity to bring any particular point before the notice of Parliament, the injustice and inaccuracy of their accusations were always laid scathingly bare, and the judgment of Parliament was invariably expressed strongly in favor of the policy of the Government; nor did the opposition on any occasion, while condemning the Government, suggest any alternative policy which they could agree upon among themselves, or which offered a single inducement to recommend it to Parliament or the country. Mr. Gladstone went down to the

House of Commons, in his senseless agitation against the Government, with his famous five Resolutions, which were to have exposed the Government so damnably. But the recollection of that event may make Conservatives smile. The production of the Resolutions spread utter consternation even among his closest friends. They were a glaring condemnation of the inconsistency of himself and his party, and could have brought nothing but disastrous defeat on their heads. He was prevailed on to withdraw two or three of them, and the remainder, though colored down to an almost meaningless form, were next to laughed out of the House. Yet, this is an excellent example of the tone and character of the opposition offered to the Government during those troubled times when their hands were full and their heads occupied with the task of preserving England from the dangers that threatened her from her enemies abroad.

It cannot be denied that there was a considerable body of Liberals who fought shy of going to the violent lengths of the rest, but they, by their silence, must be judged as having acquiesced, and must accept the position of being ranked with the more unscrupulous, especially as latterly they appear to have allowed themselves to be carried away by the stream, and to have accepted the situation of meaningless antagonism to every act of a Conservative Government. At any rate, one thing is certain, that history will not stop to draw the line, and that the stigma of unpatriotic behaviour, which they have undoubtedly drawn upon themselves, will accrue to the whole.

Thus matters went on for a couple of years. The country was engrossed with foreign politics, and parties hardly troubled themselves to examine the Home policy of the Government. Some useful legislation was nevertheless got through, and that more was not accomplished, was not their fault, but mainly owing to the system of opposition, or rather want of system, which, inaugurated by Mr. Gladstone, split the Liberals into many sections, most of them led by its own fussy nobodies, whose only idea was one of enmity to the Government, and who, being themselves ignorant of the matters they affected to criticise, constantly raised debates and bothered and badgered the Government for information on every subject, regardless of the injury a premature disclosure of such information might have on the conduct of affairs, or of the necessity for affording it, and heedless of the waste of time which ensued and which might have been employed for better purposes.

Then came the conclusion of the Turkish war, and the arrival of that moment which had been foreseen by the Government, when Russian ambition would directly menace England as well as

Turkey. They prepared to avert that calamity, by force if need be; but their endeavours to place England on a footing fit to enforce her demands if necessary, were always met by the most violent and quite unscrupulous, or at any rate, quite unreasoning, opposition from that party who had made it their unwavering obligation to thwart and bring discredit upon their political opponents; or, as Mr. Gladstone himself expressed it, their unwearying task for three years to counterbalance the designs of a Conservative Government.

But Russia drew back and the Treaty of Berlin was substituted for the Treaty of San Stefano. From this event dates the growth of a new opposition; but on examining the reasons for it, it will appear to most supporters of the Government that their policy has been both sound and judicious. There had ever been a considerable party in England who maintained that in an armed resistance to Russia alone there existed any chance of a durable settlement of the rival claims of those two countries. They had urged on the Government the necessity of an uncompromising resistance at the outset to the Russian pretensions, and they had deplored the events which had prevented such resistance being offered. They were then branded as alarmists and fire-eaters. On the preparations of this country for a possible war with Russia towards the close of the Turkish campaign, and when the voice of the country would undoubtedly have supported such a war, they fancied they saw an excellent opportunity for remedying the mistake which had been made at the outset. This party is represented chiefly by the views held in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and a few minor newspapers. For them the Treaty of Berlin was a bitter disappointment, and they have never forgiven the Government for having had a hand in it. They predicted its entire failure as a means of keeping the peace, and they have constantly striven to show that its terms have not been kept, and that it has virtually lapsed into the old Treaty of San Stefano. But to most Conservatives it must appear that the Government acted well and wisely in avoiding war if they could possibly help it at so late a date as that. The time had passed away when a couple of British army corps could undoubtedly—as we now see—have turned aside the tide of Russian invasion, and caused the wave to recoil on the aggressor; and England would only have been justified in going to the extreme of declaring war, had Russia refused to retrace those steps which placed her as a direct menace on England's highroad. The Government would but have stultified itself, had it laid itself open to the accusation of having left Turkey to its fate. and when that country's armies lay shattered, demoralised and scattered, and Constantinople was threatened by two or three hundred thousand Russian troops

flushed with success, of having then stepped in with the paltry number we can put in the field, and prolonged the contest to the misery of the population and the eminent risk of ourselves. No doubt, had England embarked in such an undertaking, she would in the end have suçceeded, but at what cost of life and money, and in what length of time it would be hard to estimate. No, the Government steered the country through those difficult and dangerous times with remarkable skill and unflinching energy, and with no little success. As far as England was concerned, the main dangers arising out of the war have been averted for the time, and there is some reason to expect and hope that the Treaty of Berlin will secure the peace of Europe for a season. In all this the Government have deserved the thanks of England, and all the more that what they did was done in spite of the ill-natured criticisms and the obstructive tactics of an unreasoning opposition.

Other complications have also subsequently arisen out of these troubles, during which the Government's acts have ever been represented as deeds scarcely worthy of England's worst enemy. The Afghan war has brought down on their heads as hard accusations as could be heaped against a foe invading our own shores. The Prime Minister was unfortunate enough, when epitomising the results which would satisfy the Government on the termination of the war, to mention that, amongst other things, we would strengthen our boundaries and obtain a more scientific frontier. The expression was at once taken hold of. He was held up as a ruthless adventurer, wantonly daring to carry fire and slaughter into a peaceful neighbour's country for the sake of bombast and territorial aggrandizement. You bully at Cabul and bow at St. Petersburgh, said Mr Gladstone. You have stained the Queen's reign with bloodshed, said Mr. Bright. Terminate your cruel and needless war, said the sapient Affghan Committee. Recall the Viceroy, said the Marquis of Hartington; while, above all, for violent and imtemperate language stood the Duke of Argyle.

That the arrival of the Russian Mission at Cabul was the result of affairs in Europe, no one denies; that the Amir's hostility to us was due to the vacillating and timid policy pursued by the Liberal administrators of India, will appear to most impartial observers beyond a doubt; and that Russian influence at Cabul must be excluded by us, as perfectly incompatible with Indian security, has been admitted by every shade of politician, both in India and at home. But, as usual, these free criticisers of the Government, while railing at them for having originated the crisis and accusing them of being actuated by unscrupulous and designing motives, never suggested what alternative to adopt to meet the case. The Government would no more have thought of wantonly going to war to

obtain a scientific frontier from an unoffending neighbour, than it would have thought of organising a system of highway robbery to replenish its exchequer; but what man is there who can fail to see both the wisdom and advisability of securing, when once we had been forced into war, a frontier that would render us perfectly independent for the future of any like combination against us from the same quarter?

That the foreign policy of the Government will be the staple bone of contention at the coming elections, is an evident fact; and that the closest examination of that policy but strengthens the confidence hitherto reposed in Lord Beaconsfied's Government, ought to be palpable to any impartial and unprejudiced mind; while the tactics pursued, and the animus displayed, by Her Majesty's opposition can only recoil on them to their own confusion and disgrace Mr. Gladstone ventured to assert that the Tories have done more to separate parties and intensify party feeling than any other Government he could recall; but the man's judgment must simply be warped not to see that that embittered feeling exists almost solely in his own ranks, and was started directly, if not wholly, by himself.

The Conservatives, as an opposition, and while obliged to look on at the thin edge of the wedge of destruction driven into institutions the preservation of which was sacred to their creed, and to witness the humiliation and practical obliteration of their country before the eyes of Europe, yet ever treated their opponents as honourable and honest men doing their best, if on mistaken principles, for their common country; while, under the leadership of Mr. D'Israeli, they invariably did their utmost to strengthen the Government during foreign difficulties, and to show Europe that, where England's interests where threatened, political differences disappeared as the wind. This their antagonists have neither appreciated nor reciprocated, to the great detriment of the country's position and the disturbance of the balance of power in Europe.

But during all these years of political warfare they have managed to produce nothing more than a few indefinite and meaningless general accusations, which, from their inherent vagueness, have never been thought worthy of refutation. The policy of the Conservatives has been a policy of Imperialism, dashed with a species of low buffoonery called Jingoism; the Government has been a Government of surprises, daring and doing unconstitutional deeds in the dark, laughing in their sleeves at the way they have tricked Parliament and the country. Orators have painted showy pictures of this state of things, and stamped them as the production of a Conservative Government, and no doubt they will

succeed in catching many an unthinking vote and persuading many an ignorant elector to confide in a Radical programme. But whenever these accusations have had to stand the test of unbiassed and intelligent criticism, they have completely fallen to the ground.

Imperialism took its origin from the assumption of the Queen of the title of Empress of India, but, so far from the Government having acted in a generally high-handed or imperious style, either towards the country or towards its neighbours, the accusation is utterly unfounded and unsupported by fact. By their patient perseverance and their confidence in the justice of their policy, the Conservative Cabinet eventually brought all Europe to acquiesce in the main in their views, as registered in the Treaty of Berlin; and Parliament has frequently declared by overwhelming majorities that the Government has invariably stood fair by them.

What Jingoism is, we have never been told; but it would simply appear to be this, that when the Government put its foot down at a certain line which must not be crossed, and made extensive preparations to uphold its determination, this plan so far differed from the surrender-under-protest policy we had been accustomed to from former Governments, that it was pretended not to be believed in, and stigmatized as boast and bravado; and as, happily, the necessity of going to extremes was averted, the appellation has been sneeringly retained, as the avoidance of war lent a certain air of plausibility to the accusation, and as no one thought it worth controverting.

The Government has been condemned for concealing and withholding information; but it would be an interesting thing to determine whether there has even been a Government in England, which, during such troubled or difficult times, has given fuller, freeer, or franker information on each and every point as it arose, where such information could possibly be afforded without palpable injury to the immediate interests of the country. The fact is the Government gave the information, but the fussy nobodies who often needlessly extracted it for their own purposes, did not choose to believe it, as it invariably clashed with their own erroneous calculations.

It cannot be denied that there now exists a large proportion of electors who are ever ready to lend an ear to the latest or the loudest cry; and that the Liberal and Radical party, with least to cry about, have of late been the loudest, is undoubted, and it is quite possible that the preponderance of parties in the next Parliament may be reversed. But one thing will ever be a matter of congratulation to Conservatives, and that is, the knowledge of the real service done their country during their lease of power, and

the certainty that this must in time be recognized; while they may rest assured that should a new Government be prompted by the principles, or act to any extent on the lines of policy, pursued by the Gladstone administration, it will as surely and as rapidly come to grief.

How could any Government stand in which existed an element represented by the ideas lately expressed by Mr. Bright, who maintains that, failing a reduction of military expenditure, the British should abandon India and confess their mission there a failure? Such expressions stamp the man as utterly unable to comprehend anything beyond the limits of his own vestry, and incompetent to appreciate the magnitude of England's sceptre, or to accept and make the best of the world as he finds it. Moreover, such senseless sentiments trade on the ignorance of the audience they are addressed to.

What would an English audience have thought, had Mr. Bright recommended that, failing a reduction of the military expenditure at home, the English had better abandon England to the Zulus or any one else who cared to take it? Yet the one idea is just as ridiculous as the other; and as far as the amount of misery that would be created, as measured by the percentage of human beings it would fall on, or the amount of vested interests that would be destroyed and pledges that would be violated, and security to life and property that would be sacrificed, the surrender of India would probably show a severer total than the abandonment of England.

Such an idea is of course impracticable and absurd; but it shows how absurd it is that a man holding such views should have ever been a Cabinet Minister in England.

These sentiments, though of recent growth, pervade the Radical ranks and are somewhat widely diffused throughout the Liberal party.

Unless they be renounced, that political party, if it ever holds the Government of empire in its hands, connot hope to retain for long either the confidence or the respect of the people, who in the main are proud of their country and conscious of where its power and prosperity lie; while always at hand to take their place is that party who make it their boast that they have ever struggled to retain the empire intact and maintain its privileges unshorn, and who have already shown that they have both the courage and the ability to do so.

ART. X.—A MODERN VIKING.

1.—*The Life of Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak, from his personal Papers and Correspondence.* By Spencer St. John, F.R.G.S., formerly Secretary to the Rajah, &c., &c. William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London: 1879.

2.—*The Private Letters of Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., Rajah of Sarawak, narrating the Events of his Life, from* 1838 *to the present Time.* Edited by John C. Templer, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and one of the Masters of Her Majesty's Court of Exchequer. London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street. 1853.

IN a far off Island of the East there once reigned a Sultan, the inhabitants of one of whose outlying provinces had been goaded into rebellion by the tyranny of a Governor whose rapacity was limited only by what it had to feed on.

The laws and usages of the country were set aside, and the people compelled to labor on so small a wage that they were unable to keep body and soul together; goods were forced on them at the Governor's own price; the produce of their fields was taken from them, and when this was exhausted, their girls and boys were seized and carried off as slaves. If they murmered too loudly, piratical bands were instigated to attack and kill them. At last, this intolerable oppression produced its natural result. Half the population fled; trade and agriculture ceased, and poverty and desolation reigned on all sides. One tribe had the temerity to take up arms against the oppressors; but the result was only still more complete destruction. A horde of wild savages was collected and let loose on their country; their villages were burnt; many of their men were killed, and their wives and children were torn away from them. At last, all classes combined to expel the Governor from the province. Assistance from other parts of the country enabled him to hold his own; but he was unable to put an end to the insurrection. After this state of things had lasted some time, the Sultan sent a plenipotentiary from the Capital to try and restore order. But he was equally powerless with the Governor; and the rebellion seemed likely to go on for an indefinite period.

At this juncture a young Englishman, in quest of adventure, arrived on the scene of action, from across the seas. A friendship sprang up between him and the Sultan's plenipotentiary, and he was persuaded to lend armed assistance for the purpose of crushing the insurrection.

The Island was Borneo; the Sultan was Omar Ali, Sultan of Brunei; the province was Saráwak; the oppressive Governor

was Pangerang Makota; the plenipotentiary was Muda Hassim, and the young Englishman in quest of adventure was James Brooke.

Remembering that James Brooke, was not only enterprising and brave, but chivalrous and just, a Bayard *sans peur et sans reproche*,—it may seem strange that he was thus tempted to side with the oppressor.

Two explanations of the apparent inconsistency will naturally suggest themselves. It may be supposed, on the one hand, that he was deceived as to the true state of the country and the nature of the rebellion, or, on the other hand, that being aware of the real facts of the case, he acted in the conviction that success would place it in his power to redress the original wrong, and was thus reconciled to a course of conduct from which he would otherwise have revolted, by the reflection that the end would justify the means.

In the absence of any positive evidence on the question, the course of subsequent events might be appealed to as lending probability to the latter hypothesis. For James Brooke not only succeeded in suppressing the rebellion, but, by a rare combination of good fortune with righteous purpose, wise contrivance and indomitable perseverance, eventually substituted justice and order for oppression and anarchy in Saráwak. It seems highly improbable, however, that, when Mr. Brooke first consented to assist Muda Hassim, he could have foreseen the influence that he would afterwards acquire, still less his actual future position in the country. His own journal, moreover, points to the predominance of other motives. and shews that, though he hoped to be able to secure consideration, if not pardon, for the leaders of the rebels, he looked rather to the righteousness of the Sultan's cause, than to reform of the government, to justify his action. "In the first place," he argued, "I must confess that curiosity strongly prompts me—since to witness the Malays, Chinese, and Dyaks in warfare is so new, that the novelty alone might plead as an excuse for this desire. But it is not the only motive; for my presence is a stimulus to our own party, and will probably depress the other in proportion. I look upon the cause of the Rajah as most just and righteous, and the speedy close of the war would be rendering a service to humanity, especially if brought about by treaty. At any rate, much may be done to ameliorate the condition of the rebels in case of their defeat; for though I cannot, perhaps ought not to, save the lives of the three leaders, yet all the others, I believe, will be forgiven on a slight intercession. At our arrival, too, I stated that if they wished me to remain, no barbarities must be committed, and especially that the women and children must not be fired upon. To counterbalance these motives is the danger,

whatever it may amount to, but which does not weigh heavily on my mind. So much for reasons, which, after all, are poor and weak when we determine on doing anything, be it right or be it wrong. If evil befall, I trust, the penalty may be on me rather than on my followers."

Though, therefore, the ultimate result justified the means, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the arguments by which Mr. Brooke reconciled his action to his better feelings, were erroneous ones, based on an imperfect knowledge of the real circumstances of the country.

The admitted futility of all speculations which assume the possibility of things having happened otherwise than they actually fell out, is powerless to rob of its romance the discovery of unexpected relations between apparently remote events. That, but for a wound inflicted by a Burmese bullet, Sir James Brooke would never have established civilised government in Borneo, is just as much, and no more, a truism, as that but for the birth of William the Conqueror, or, for the matter of that, of Julius Cæsar, the *Calcutta Review* would never have seen the light. We may be the most rigid confatalists without thereby losing the power of imagination; and as long as the power of imagination lasts, it will continue to be exercised, now by the humour, now by the irony, inherent in the tangled web of history.

Born in Benares in 1803, Brooke was sent at an early age to England, and there received such education as he could be got to submit to. He appears, however, to have been a more than usually wayward lad, averse from studious application and intolerant of the restraints of school; and the consequence was that, when in 1819, having received a commission in the East India Company's Service, he left for Bengal, to join the 6th Native Infantry, he was without much knowledge and with little power of self-control. In 1822 he was appointed Sub-assistant Commissary-General, and from that time appears to have applied himself diligently to a varied course of reading. In 1825, when the Burmese war broke out, he was sent to join the army operating in Assam. Here his adventurous spirit soon displayed itself. Learning that there was a want of light cavalry to act as scouts, he offered, and obtained leave, to raise a troop, with which he rendered valuable service. While thus employed, he was sent to reconnoitre a stockade, and, returning, found that the advanced guard had fallen into an ambuscade, and been thrown into some confusion by a sudden volley from the enemy, which had knocked over a number of the men. Putting himself at their head, he led them to the charge. The stockade was taken,

but Lieutenant Brooke was shot through the lungs and left for dead.

The wound was not mortal. But recovery was tedious, and, during the protracted leave he was compelled to take, Lieutenant Brooke formed a resolve which altered the entire course of his career.

His leave, says his biographer, "had to be extended until four years and a half passed, and after five years' absence he would cease to be a member of the Bengal Army. His first effort to return to India was delayed by shipwreck; the second was a slow vessel, "the Castle Huntley," which brought him to Madras, July 18, 1830, just leaving him twelve days to reach Bengal. This was not possible in the days of tubs of sailing-vessels, so that he made this his excuse for throwing up the service. The fact was that he had formed many friendships among the officers of the ship, and they had fired his imagination with descriptions of the Eastern Archipelago and of China, and he determined to have a look at these countries."

He now sailed in the "Castle Huntley" for China, visiting Penang, Malacca and Singapore, on the way, and in June 1831, returned with the ship to England.

Here, for some years, he led a life of comparative inaction. Possessed of every qualification for a brilliant social position; handsome in features, elegant in his bearing, and winning in his manners, he was nevertheless of too over-sensitive and reserved a nature to take pleasure in general society. At one time he thought of going into Parliament, but he abandoned the idea owing to want of the necessary money. He fell in love and was jilted, an experience which appears to have deterred him from further enterprise in this direction.

The old yearning after adventure now returned, and he succeeded in persuading his father to find him the money for the purchase and freighting of the brig "Finlay," in which he set sail for China, in partnership with two friends, Kennedy and Wright, the former of whom commanded the vessel. But the venture proved an unfortunate one; the Captain's views of discipline were distasteful to Brooke; the friends disagreed about the management of affairs; the brig and cargo were sold at a loss, and Brooke returned once more to England. Towards the end of 1835 his father died, leaving him a considerable sum of money, and presently he determined to have a vessel of his own, and purchased the *Royalist* yacht, of 142 tons burden. After cruising with her for some time in the Mediterranean, and visiting Spain, Malta, and the Bosphorus, Brooke, in December 1838, set sail for the

Eastern Archipelago with the general object of exploring its unknown islands and, wherever possible, opening up intercourse with their inhabitants.* He arrived at Singapore soon after Rajah Muda Hassim, by an act of kindness towards some shipwrecked seamen, had drawn attention there to the province of Sarâwak ; and, some one being wanted to convey letters and presents to the Rajah, he readily consented to be their bearer.†

With a favorable wind, the *Royalist* made a rapid voyage to the coast of Borneo, and, after a few days surveying between the points of Api and Datu, the territory of Sarâwak was reached. From Taling Taling came the first Malays to greet the future Rajah. Having conciliated the good will of their Chief by presents and attentions, Brooke went on surveying till the 11th of August, when he bore away for the mouth of the Sarâwak, and, entering it without difficulty, dropped anchor under the peak of Santubong, where the Rajah Muda Hassim, having been acquainted with his arrival, sent an officer of rank to welcome him. The next morning the *Royalist* anchored off the town and fired a salute of 21 guns in honor of the Rajah. On landing, Brooke was received by the Rajah with "marked distinction," and on that day, says Mr. Spenser St. John, "a friendship was commenced which endured until the tragic death of the Malay prince." After spending a week in Kuching, Brooke obtained the Rajah's permission to visit the interior ; and the remainder of the period of his visit was spent in exploring such parts of the country as, in its disturbed state, were accessible with safety.

Mr. Spenser St. John thus sums up the results of his voyage. "He had roughly surveyed about 150 miles of coast with sufficient accuracy to show that the received maps were utterly incorrect.

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* Before Mr. Brooke left England he wrote a long paper, descriptive of the objects of his voyage, which is given in full in the second of the books whose titles head this article. From this paper, it appears, that he had selected Malladu Bay, at the northern extremity of Borneo, for his first essay after leaving Singapore, and that, from thence he proposed to penetrate inland, at least as far as the Lake and Mountain of Keeny Balloo. This, however, was to be only the first of a long series of explorations.

† Writing from Singapore to his friend, Mr. Templar, a few days before his departure for Borneo, he says :—

"My intention is first to visit Sarâwak—a river whence they get antimony ore, as yet unknown and unmarked on the charts. At Sarâwak I hope to get hold of the Rajah of Borneo Proper and go up to the capital with him, and, if possible, make an excursion up the river. I feel *confident* something is to be done, though the field is one remarkably difficult to get at. From the character of this Borneo Rajah, I am led to believe he may be made by good management and some presents, subservient to my views, but in case he fails, I shall proceed according to my original intention to Malladu Bay, and return by Celebes, thus making the entire round of the island."

He had visited many rivers, some before unknown even by name; he had established a friendly intercourse with the Malay chiefs of the coast; and had been able to spend ten days among a Dyak tribe. He had obtained much information, which, on the whole, subsequent inquiry prove to be fairly correct, though no man was more convinced than himself that first impressions and notes made by travellers who only spend a few days in each place are rarely valuable, except so far as they relate to outward objects, and treat simply of the appearance of the country."

On the 11th October, Brooke set sail again for Singapore, whence, writing to Mr. Templar, he says:—"I have been able to establish the most intimate and friendly footing with the Rajah of Borneo, the ruler of the country, and I have every prospect of being able in the ensuing season to see the whole of his country."

His next voyage was to the Island of Celebes, where he visited, among other States, that of Boni.

In the month of August 1840 Brooke visited Saráwak for the second time. The rebellion still dragged its slow length along: but the land Dyaks had joined the Sultan's party. The rebel Malays were thus materially weakened, and the ground held by them restricted to the fortified position of Siniawan, about twenty miles up the river from Kuching, the Saráwak capital, and the neighbouring stockade of Balidah. Such arrant cowards, however, were the Rajah's troops, and so little disposed to come to close quarters with the enemy, that there was but small prospect of the war being brought to a speedy termination without assistance from without.

It was under these circumstances that Muda Hassim, whose influence at the capital depended on his crushing the rebellion, appealed to Brooke for his co-operation; and Brooke, feeling that his projects of exploration equally depended on Muda Hassim's good will and influence, and assured that the rebels would be forgiven, after some hesitation, consented.

"Fortune," says Mr. St. John, "seemed to smile on Mr. Brooke's resolve to stay and aid Muda Hassim: detachments of Malays and Dyaks arrived from the coast; 200 Chinese came over from Sambas, animated by a desire to revenge the cruel treatment which they themselves had received at the hands of the Saráwak Malays.

"On the 18th of October Mr. Brooke started for Ledah Tanah, or the tongue of land where the two branches of the Sarawak river meet, and found the grand army encamped there under the protection of a stockade, erected to guard against surprise. At the moment of his arrival a column was starting to confirm the allegiance of the Serambo Dyaks, hold the villages on that mountain and secure them against tne Saráwak Malays, who, pressed by hunger, would, it was feared, make desperate attacks on them in order to procure food.

"Mr. Brooke began now to appreciate the difficulties of the task he had half promised to undertake. He found the Makota, the the Commander-in-chief, as he ever was, full of the most elaborate and clever schemes to circumvent the enemy, but as unwilling as incapable of taking a decisive resolution. When urged to make even a false attack, in order to divert the attention of the enemy from the column that was advancing on Serambo, to secure the most important posts, he would do nothing—he would wait : and even when a white flag, the preconcerted signal, was seen flying on the summit of the mountain—no, he would do nothing ; he feared that the column was surrounded by the enemy."

At last, in a council of war at which Brooke assisted, an advance was determined on, and, after much unnecessary delay, the stockade was pulled down and re-erected within a mile of the enemy's stronghold at Balidah. This was on "a hillock, jutting out into the river, encompassed by triple stockades, and separated from the mainland by a deep dry ditch. Thousands of *ranjows* were planted around the fort, pitfalls with pointed stakes, and every other contrivance of Malay and Dyak ingenuity to prevent their defences from being approached.

The Rajah's forces consisted of a motley crowd of about 200 Chinese, fine men, but wretchedly armed, with fantastic spears, swords and shields, a few muskets, and "a certain number of curious weapons, consisting of long, thin, iron tubes with the bore of a musket, and carrying slugs ;" 250 Malays, the mainstay of the force, half armed with muskets, and about 200 Dyaks, armed with spears and swords. Brooke strongly urged the desirability of assaulting the enemy's forts, but his proposal was hailed as the extremity of rashness. At "a council of war it was subsequently decided that advances should be made from the hill behind the stockade to Balidah, by a chain of forts, the distance being a short mile, and that when the proper spot was reached, a battery, should be erected, and a bombardment commenced—with their guns and gunners, likely to be very noisy, but perfectly harmless."

In the meantime a fierce conflict was waged by the contending parties, consisting mainly of defiant shouts and firing at impossible ranges. At last the stockades were pushed to within 300 yards of Balidah ; Mr. Brooke sent for some of the European crew, and six-two pounder carronades from his vessel, which soon silenced the enemy's fire and made a practicable breach in the stockade. Again, Mr. Brooke urged an assault ; but his proposition caused a commotion "which it was difficult to forget and still more difficult to describe."

In Mr. Brooke's words :—

"Pangeran Usman urged with energy the advantage of the proposal, and in the course of a speech lashed himself to a state of fury : he jumped to his

feet, and with demoniac gestures stamped round and round, dancing a war-dance after the most approved fashion. His countenance grew livid, his eyes glared, his features were inflamed, and, for my part, not being able to interpret the torrent of his oratory, I thought the man possessed of a devil or about to 'run amuck;' (1) but after a minute or two of this dance he resumed his seat, furious and panting, but silent. In reply, Subtu urged some objections to my plan, which, however, was warmly supported by Illudin, who apparently hurt Subtu's feelings, for the indolent, placid Subtu leapt from his seat, seized his spear, and marched to the entrance of the stockade with his passions and his pride desperately aroused. I never saw finer action than when, with spear in hand, pointing to the enemy's fort, he challenged any one to rush on with him. Usman and Sirudeen, the bravest of the brave, like madmen seized their swords to inflame the courage of the rest: it was a scene of fiends: but in vain,—for though they appeared ready enough to quarrel and fight among themselves, there was no move to attack the enemy. All was confusion; the demon of discord and madness was among them, and I was glad to see them cool down, when the dissentients to the assault proposed making a road to-night, and attacking to-morrow. In the meantime our six-pounders were ready in battery, and it is certain that the assailants might walk nearly to the fort without any of the rebels daring to show themselves in opposition to our fire.

A renewal of the proposal the next day was variously received, the Chinese declining to go unless the Malays would join them, and the courage of the Malays failing them. At last Mr. Brooke, thoroughly disgusted, declared his intention of returning to his ship, and leaving the parties to fight out their own battle, and in pursuance of this resolve, he started for Kuching and actually embarked his guns.

Now it was that Muda Hassim, reduced to despair, offered him the government of Saráwak, if he would stay and continue his aid. After remaining a month in Kuching, and assuring himself of Muda Hassim's sincerity, he accepted the offer, and again started, with his guns and sixteen Europeans, for the interior.

The operations that followed, were characterised by the same procrastination and the same poltroonery as those just described. A show was made of assaulting the enemy's position; but, by raising a point of etiquette, Makota contrived that neither he nor Mr. Brooke should accompany the storming party. The party started, but only to turn back when they had covered two-thirds of the ground. For no sooner had they arrived within ear-shot of the hostile stockade, than one of the Malay Chiefs began to say his prayers so loudly as to warn the enemy of their approach; and, a Chinaman having been killed by the fire that followed, they all halted, and, after more prayers, turned tail. It is impossible to avoid the conviction that the retreat was preconcerted.

Only one encounter of any moment occurred during the war, and

(1) In Malay, *Amok*.

in that the Borneon forces took no part. Mr. Brooke, having received intelligence that the rebels were attempting to surprise a party of the besiegers who were engaged in erecting a stockade, made a dash at them with his Europeans, his Malay boatman, and a Lanun ally, named Si Tundo. The effect was immediate and complete; the enemy threw away their arms, and, making for their canoes, escaped across the river. After this, they gradually abandoned all their forts, except Balidah, and ultimately, through an Arab Sharif, who had arrived on the scene, sued for terms. They required Mr. Brooke to give his word that their lives should be saved. This Mr. Brooke had no power to guarantee; and, after further parleys, they surrendered at discretion, giving up the fort of Balidah and destroying their stockades, on Mr. Brooke promising that they should not be plundered or ill-treated till Muda Hassim's pleasure was known. Then, says Mr. H. St. John, "came Mr. Brooke's difficulty—the greater from his being imperfectly acquainted with the causes of the rising—to save the lives of the chiefs of the insurgents, which he was fully convinced Muda Hassim intended to take. For this purpose he went down to Kuching, and begged as a favour to himself that the Rajah should pardon them. To this the Malay prince would by no means consent. He urged that their lives were justly forfeited, and that they must pay the penalty of their rebellion. To this Mr. Brooke could only reply that he had taken part in the war, and aided to bring it to a successful conclusion, under the full conviction that the Rajah would exercise clemency; but as he refused this favour to himself, he could not help doubting the sincerity of his friendship, and that therefore he bade him farewell. On this the Rajah yielded. Throughout the interview Mr. Brooke was oppressed by the conviction that the leaders had justly forfeited their lives; whereas, had he known the truth—to what oppression the people had been subjected before they rose in arms—he would rather have demanded the punishment of Makota, who was the cause of all the evils that had occurred.

Thus ended the civil war. The Saráwak Malays surrendered their arms, ammunition, and property, and the chiefs gave their wives and families as hostages. Siniawan was abandoned, the inhabitant were dispersed, the chiefs had fled, the army was disbanded; and the Chinese, finding themselves alone at Siniawan, destroyed the Malay houses, and built a village for themselves in the neighbourhood."

Before taking up the government of the country, Mr. Brooke was induced, under arrangement with Muda Hassim, to return to Singapore for the purpose of opening up trade between the two places. There he purchased the schooner *Swift*, and loading both vessels with a cargo of merchandise, returned to Kuching. On his arrival, Muda Hassim promised to lóad the vessel

with antimony in exchange, and Brooke was weak enough to make over his merchandise in advance.

Having obtained the goods, Muda Hassim showed no disposition either to furnish the antimony or to fulfil his promise of making over the government. The latter engagement, made under pressure of one kind, was in fact destined to be fulfilled only under pressure of another kind; and the warfare in which Mr. Brooke had embarked on behalf of others, to be followed by an act of war on his own behalf.

Muda Hassim was, it is true, guilty of other breaches of engagement than those which affected Mr. Brooke's personal interests. He not only withheld the antimony, and ceased to show any disposition to make over the government, but he sanctioned piratical attacks on unoffending Dyaks, whom Mr. Brooke was, in a manner, bound to protect. This sanction was, indeed, withdrawn on Mr. Brooke's urgent representations, but the fact of its having been given was sufficient proof of Muda Hassim's insincerity, or of his inability to withstand the sinister influences of Mr. Brooke's enemies, and a robbery and attempted murder by some of Makota's followers, furnished a plausible excuse for interference. We say, a plausible excuse, for it is impossible to read Mr. Brooke's letters without seeing that his own interests were uppermost in his mind, and that, apart from any such altruistic considerations, he was determined to insist on the fulfilment of the bargain.

Writing to Mr. Templar, on the 24th July, 1841, he says:—

"You know, I think, how greatly I have served the Rajah Muda Hassim, and the unqualified promise he made me, agreeing to give me the country, and to assist the government, which I thought best. On these promises I bought a second vessel, and put into her a cargo, in all costing me a great sum; and when I arrived here, with many friendly professions he took the cargo, and was to give me the antimony ore in exchange, at a favourable but fair rate. So far all went smooth; but arrived at this point, I first observed a slackness, then a slight shade of coolness, and then an evident wish to evade all discussion about the settlement of the country; and, last, a measure to try me, which went to the ruin of the country. It was nothing more or less than allowing 120 piratical Dyak boats, to go into the interior here, to attack the Dyaks of this country. When I resisted indignantly this gross breach of our agreement, he denied all knowledge of it; but his knowledge was no less certain, and the measure his own! You must know that antimony ore is easily and readily got; but though he has taken this cargo of mine, he has delayed giving me the return, and has now allowed the natives to work the stone. Now if this was a European, I should be sure he wanted to deceive me: and I believe this friend is false, and thinks to weary me out, and

thereby cheat me, and get me away in disgust; but he is mistaken. I have taken my measures. One vessel partly full of ore, has returned to Singapore for provisions. The "Royalist" has been despatched to Borneo Proper to demand a shipwrecked crew; and I remain here with Mr.——, and Peter, and another, to watch my friend and creditor. If I conclude that he wants to break his promise, and cheat me, too—and there can be no surer proof than that he could give me the full return in one month, and keeps me five, without allowing, nay, preventing his people working—if, as I say, I am sure of this, I will fleece him to his very bed-clothes; and if he resists, fight it out."

That Mr. Brooke had come, on general grounds to the conclusion that the fulfilment of Muda Hassim's promise was essential to the good government of the country, and that this conclusion was, in fact, a correct one, may be conceded. But to allow that such a line of argument is sufficient to justify private war against an independent State, would be to claim general license for buccaneering enterprise wherever there might be wrong to redress.

On the occurrence of the outrage to which we have just referred, "Mr. Brooke determined that a settlement should be made one way or the other; and therefore he armed his vessels, landed his crew, and marched to the palace, where he explained to the Malay prince the treachery and crimes of Makota."

The result, in the words of Mr. Brooke, was that—

"After this demonstration, affairs moved cheerily to a conclusion. The Rajah was active in settling; the agreement was drawn out, sealed, and signed; guns fired, flags waved; and on the 24th September 1841, I became the governor of Saráwak with the fullest powers."

Up to the period of Mr. Brooke's assumption of the Government of Saráwak, his acts must be judged as those of a private individual. From that period, it is due to him that they should be judged as those of an independent ruler; for, though many years elapsed before he was formally recognised in this capacity by the British Government, there can be no question that, from that time he was such a ruler *de facto* and, in estimating his conduct, full consideration must be allowed for the consequences of his actual position.

As may well be conceived, the settlement of the country proved a work of extreme difficulty. This difficulty arose from many causes, three of which may be enumerated as possessing special prominence. These were the depopulated state of the country and the feeling of mistrust which the character of the late administration had created among both Dyaks and Malays; the depredations of the various piratical tribes who inhabited the

neighbouring coasts; and last not least, the presence in Saráwak of the Borneon Rajahs and their rascally following.

The removal of the first of these obstacles depended upon that of the other two, and, at the best, could be only gradually achieved. By firmness and the force of stern examples, Mr. Brooke speedily put down head hunting, and resistance within his own territory. The incursions of outside pirates, who at this time completely blockaded the coast, could be effectually prevented only by attacking them in their strongholds; and for this Mr. Brooke had not sufficient force. With a view of ridding himself of the Borneon Rajahs he determined to visit Brunei and see the Sultan himself. This course, then, he adopted and with complete success, obtaining not only the recall of Muda Hassim to the capital, but the release of a number of shipwrecked lascars who were detained there, and, what was no less important, the confirmation of his own appointment as Governor of Saráwak. The necessary aid for the suppression of piracy was also forthcoming, but from a different quarter. In February 1843, the internal affairs of Saráwak being comparatively settled, Mr. Brooke paid a visit to Singapore, and there struck up a friendship with Captain the Honourable Henry Keppel, who, on hearing the state of affairs on the coast of Borneo, readily agreed to co-operate for this purpose. Into the details of the operations which followed, it is unnecessary to enter. Suffice it to say, that they resulted in the suppression, first of the Seribas, and ultimately of the Sakerang, the most formidable of these miscreants.

On his return to Saráwak, Mr. Brooke, no longer hampered by the presence of Muda Hassim and his followers, found the Government of the country a much easier task than before. Trade began to prosper, and the Dyaks from the surrounding countries began to settle in large numbers in his territories.

In February, of the following year, Captain Bethune arrived in H. M.'s S. "Driver" with a despatch from Lord Aberdeen appointing Mr. Brooke, Her Majesty's confidential Agent in Borneo.

Captain Bethune was also commissioned to select a spot for a British settlement on the coast, the Sultan having, during Mr. Brooke's last visit to Brunei, offered to cede the Island of Labuan to the British Crown.

During the visits to Borneo which followed, Mr. Brooke obtained evidence of the existence of a formidable league against Muda Hassim, to which there could be little doubt that the Sultan himself was secretly a party, and which was supported by the pirates of Maludu. With a view of breaking up these combinations and striking a further blow at piracy, he appealed for assistance to Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, then at Singapore, who shortly after arrived on the coast with a powerful squadron,

As Pangeran Usup, Muda Hassim's chief enemy, happened to hold two British subjects in slavery, the Admiral called on the Brunei Sultan to punish him. The Sultan pretended to be willing, but pleaded that the Pangeran was too strong for him, and begged the Admiral to take his punishment into his own hands. Usup refusing to come in, his place was attacked, and he fled into the interior, where he was subsequently murdered. Muda Hassim's authority having been thus restored at the Capital, Maludu was afterwards attacked and destroyed.

The year 1846 was ushered in by the treacherous murder of Muda Hassim and his relatives at Brunei. A number of causes combined to make Muda Hassim, the best hated man in the place. To begin with, he was the friend of the English; and there can be little doubt that not only the Borneon chiefs generally, but the Sultan himself, in spite of his outward approval, looked with small favour on the high-handed proceedings of Mr. Brooke and his co-adjutors in the British Navy. Then, again, he had actively co-operated in the suppression of piracy, and, however beneficial the result may have been to the trading and agricultural classes, it was opposed to the interests of the chiefs, who were secretly in league with the pirates and shared their plunder. Last not least, the recognition of his title, as heir to the throne of Brunei, had made him an object of jealousy to both the Sultan himself and the other branches of the royal family.

Mr. St. John thus describes the tragedy :—

Numerous meetings were held in the palace, and it was sometime before the Sultan would give his consent to the massacre of these his nearest relatives; but after Muda Hassim had obtained from him the declaration that he was the legitimate heir to the Crown, he no longer hesitated, and preparations were made to surprise all the brothers. So secretly was this scheme conducted that no details of the plan reached them. They did, however, receive some warnings; but feeling confident after the destruction of Maludu and the deaths of Sirib Usman and Pangeran Usup, and thinking that they had adequate support in the friendship of Mr. Brooke and the aid of the English navy, they took no efficient precautions.

One night, when the brothers were scattered, the signal was given: bands of armed men left the palace, and pulling silently in the darkness, arrived unobserved near the houses of the different brothers. They attacked simultaneously. The young princes had but few followers with them. Bedrudin fought gallantly: he defended the entrance of his house for some time, but with three or four followers he could do little against a murderous band of forty or fifty. Finding that he, with his *kris*, held his own, and that they could not force an entrance into the house, one of the assailants fired. The shot took effect in Bedrudin's left wrist, and as that arm fell he received a severe wound in the right shoulder and several wounds in the body. His few followers were either killed or fled. He managed, however, to gain the inner apartments, where he found his sister, a favourite concubine, and Japar, a slave lad. The latter he commanded to reach down a barrel of powder, and spread the contents on a mat. He then called the women to sit near

him, and, turning to the lad, said: "You will take this signet-ring [1] to my friend, Mr. Brooke, tell him what has occurred, let him inform the Queen of England that I was faithful to my engagements, and add" he said, "that my last thoughts were of my true friend, Mr. Brooke." He then ordered the lad to save himself. Japar opened the lattice-like flooring, slipped down a post into the water, and swimming to a small canoe was enabled to paddle quietly away, while the murderers, suspicious, were cautiously making their entrance into the house. Japar had not proceeded many yards when a loud explosion told him that the gallant prince had set fire to the powder, rather that fall into the hands of his enemies.

Muda Hassim was attacked at the same time, and probably would have escaped had he pulled directly to the Burong Pingé *Kampong*, the inhabitants of which would have protected him. After a gallant defence he, too, wounded and overpowered by numbers, was forced to destroy himself. Of the fourteen brothers, but two or three escaped: one Muda Mahomed, whom I knew afterwards, was desperately wounded; another became insane; and this unfortunate family ceased to exist as a power. Although Mr. Brooke endeavoured to do something for the survivors, they have almost disappeared as a political element in Brunei.

On learning of the massacre, the Admiral promptly set sail for Borneo with a strong fleet; and after a smart resistance, Brunei was taken by the British. The Sultan fled into the interior, and a provisional Government was established. Subsequently he submitted to Mr. Brooke, renewing all his engagements and granting Mr. Brooke the exclusive right of working coal.

In the meanwhile, the British Government determined to take possession of Labuan, a cession of which was obtained without difficulty from the Sultan, and subsequently a regular commercial treaty was negotiated through Mr. Brooke.

Mr. Brooke's position now being thoroughly secure, he paid a visit to England, where he was duly lionised. Among other marks of distinction, he was presented with the freedom of the "City of London" and invited to Windsor, where he had an interview with the Queen. Finally, before leaving, he was appointed Governor of the new Colony of Labuan and Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General in Borneo.

A further honour was in store for Mr. Brooke, in the shape of the Order of the Bath, in which he was installed at Singapore, on his way out, regretting that the news had not arrived a little later, so that the ceremony might have been performed "amid the wild beauties of the Borneon forest."

Sir James Brooke, with Mr. Grant, a midshipman of the *Meander*, who had left the service to become his private secretary, and Mr. Spencer St. John, arrived in Saráwak early in September 1848, and was received with the warmest enthusiasm. After a brief sojourn spent in visiting the wives of the principal Malay

[1] One which Mr. Brooke had given him.

chiefs, and during which Captain Brooke, Sir James' nephew and aide-camp arrived, he sailed for Labuan and was sworn in as Governor; proceeding thence to Brunei, to ratify the treaty with the Sultan. Returning to Labuan, almost the whole of the party, including Sir James himself, were struck down with fever, and this circumstance led to a cruise in the Sulu Archipelago. After re-visiting Labuan and remaining there a fortnight, Sir James, being anxious to commence operations to complete the suppression of the Seribas and Sakarang pirates, who had reared their heads again during his absence, returned to Saráwak. The interval of preparations for the expedition was occupied in fresh trips to Labuan and to Sulu, where a treaty was negotiated.

At length Her Majesty's brig *Albatross*, Captain Farquhar commanding, the *Royalist* and the *Nemesis*, had all assembled at Saráwak, and on the 24th July commenced a series of operations which, culminating in the decisive battle of Batang Marau, dealt the death blow to maritime piracy on the Borneon coast. This beneficial result, however, did not prevent the proceedings of Sir James Brooke and Captain Farquhar from being made the subject of a savage attack by Mr. Gladstone, on the ground that the charge of piracy was a mere pretext on the part of Sir James for massacreing enemies who threatened his power in Saráwak. The baselessness of this charge was clearly proved, and the Admiralty adjudged the Sakarangs to be pirates; but the ball of calumny and intrigue, once set rolling, was not to stop till a Royal Commission had been granted to enquire into the Rajah's conduct.

Constant attacks were made on him both in the Press and in Parliament, where Joseph Hume was his foremost assailant. In July 1851, a motion of enquiry was, after a triumphant reply by Lord Palmerston, rejected by a large majority. Sir James Brooke's enemies, however, did not rest, and after the accession of the Coalition Ministry to power in 1853, a Commission was granted.

In a letter from Lord Clarendon to Sir Charles Wood, the questions to be investigated were stated as follows :—

"The first question to which the Commissioners will have to direct their inquiries is, whether the position of Sir James Brooke at Saráwak, either as holding that possession of the Sultan of Borneo, or, as he now alleges, as an independent rajah, holding it by the free choice of the people, be compatible with his duties as British Consul-General and Commissioner for trade, and with his character of a British subject.

With reference to this portion of the inquiry, it is to be observed, that by no act of Her Majesty's Government has countenance ever been given to Sir James Brooke's assumption of independence, and

that his possession of Saráwak has never been considered otherwise by them than as a private grant bestowed by a foreign sovereign upon a British subject.

In the next place, the Commissioners will have to inquire whether the interests of Sir James Brooke, as a holder of territory, and as a trader in the produce of that territory, are compatible with his duties as Consul and Commissioner for Trade, to promote and foster the general trade of other British subjects.

Thirdly, it will be the duty of the Commissioners to inquire into the accusations brought against Sir James Brooke by British subjects, whether in their private capacity, or, as in the instance of the Eastern Archipelago Company, in a corporate capacity, of having sought to injure their interets, with a view to the promotion of his own.

Lastly, the Commissioners will have to inquire into the relations of Sir James Brooke with, and towards, the native tribes on the north-west coast of Borneo, with a view to ascertain whether it is necessary that he should be intrusted with a discretion to determine which of those tribes are piratical, or, taking into view the recent operations on the coast, of calling for the aid of Her Majesty's naval forces for the punishment of such tribes."

That these questions were, taken by themselves and considered on their merits, perfectly fair subjects of enquiry, admits, we think, of no dispute; and the position of Sir James Brooke was at once so anomalous, and so calculated to excite jealousy, that it was probably almost inevitable that enquiry should sooner or later be called for. Yet it will strike most unbiassed persons that a grave injustice was inflicted on Sir James Brooke,—as regards the first two questions, because his appointments as British Consul-General and Commissioner had been made by the Government with a full knowledge of his position as Rajah of Saráwak, and, as regards the other question, on account of the indefinite character of the charges cited.

The statement that no countenance had been given to Sir James Brooke's assumption of independence was flagrantly untrue. In the words of Mr. Templer, replying to Lord Clarendon,

"On the first August 1841, the Sultan granted the country and Government of Saráwak to Sir James, then Mr. Brooke, thereby confirming a prior cession by the Rajah Muda Hassim. On the 14th September 1843, a translation of this grant was forwarded to Sir Robert Peel by Mr. Brooke's agent.

On the 14th September 1844, Lieutenant-Colonel Butterworth, Governor of Singapore, wrote to the Governor-General of India, for instructions how to act with reference to Sir J. Brooke's

position in Saráwak, and refers to a fact noticed in the log of the *Phlegethon*, dated the 2nd day of September, regarding the appointment of the Governor of Linga, by the Rajah Budrudin *and* Mr. Brooke, as corroborating the supposition that the English were supporting the latter.

On the 7th January 1845, this letter was forwarded by the India Board to Viscount Canning.

In the year 1846, Captain Keppel's narrative containing Mr. Brooke's journals, was published, which stated that on the 24th September 1841, Mr. Brooke was declared Rajah and Governor of Saráwak; that on the 5th November, in the same year, a court of justice was opened by him; that on the 10th January 1842, he promulgated a simple code of laws for the people of Saráwak; and from the period of this publication, Sir J. Brooke has been commonly called in this country by the name of the English Rajah, or Rajah Brooke.

In November 1844, Mr. Brooke was appointed agent for the British Government in Borneo.

In the year 1847, he received the appointment of Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General to the Sultan and independent chiefs of Borneo.

In October 1847, Mr. Brooke returned to England, was in constant communication with the departments of Government and left England in February 1848, having received the further appointment of Governor of the Island of Labuan. He was thus administering the government of Saráwak within the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government at the time he was appointed to this governorship.

Early in the year 1848, Captain Mundy's Narrative was published, which details the punishment of the Sultan for the murder of his relatives.

On the 14th March 1849, Sir J. Brooke communicated to Lord Palmerston that 'he had hoisted a Saráwak flag as a distinguishing mark of country,' and requests the sanction of Government to its use, on the ground that it would afford a recognised permanency to the country. On the 20th June 1849, Lord Palmerston replied that 'Her Majesty's Government approved of Sir James Brooke's proceedings on that occasion.' It is therefore very clear that Sir J. Brooke has always represented himself as Governor of Saráwak, first as tributary to, afterwards as independent of, the Sultan; and never in any manner as the holder of territory in the nature of a private grant, or as entitled to any property in Borneo, except in the right of the State of Saráwak. With respect to Saráwak, he has always acted as a ruler, independent of Her Majesty's Government. When, therefore, Her Majesty's Govern-

ment, knowing this, and I may say in consequence of this, selected Sir J. Brooke as the person best fitted to extend British interests in those seas, conferred the above appointments, continued him in them, and at length approved of the use of a Saráwak flag as a distinguishing mark of country, I must, as I before stated, as a friend of Sir J. Brooke, who is cognizant of these facts, protest against the unqualified assertion which forms the basis of the first query. *viz.* :—

'That by no act of Her Majesty's Government has countenance ever been given to Sir J. Brooke's assumption, of independence, and that his possession of Saráwak has never been considerd otherwise by them, than as a private grant bestowed by a foreign sovereign on a British subject.'

As in most such cases, private enmity was at the bottom of the agitation against Sir James. Of the motives at work, Mr. Spencer St. John gives the following account :—

"The Eastern Archipelago Company had been formed to develop the resources of the Indian islands, and particularly to work the coal of Labuan and the antimony at Saráwak. It had been pushed into existence by Mr. Wise, Sir James Brooke's agent in England, nominally to aid in advancing the work of the Rajah, but in fact to supplant him. His secret project was unknown to the directors when the company was formed, as it was difficult to fathom Mr. Wise's schemes.

"But the fact was, that by inadvertence and unpardonable carelessness, some private letters written by Sir James from Saráwak had been allowed to fall into the hands of Mr. Wise, and in these he had noticed some energetic expressions about himself, when Sir James, irritated by what he considered dishonest attempts to impose on the public, declared that he would kick Mr. Wise to Old Nick if he continued to mix his name up in such schemes, and expressed the opinion that "a friend was worth a dozen agents." Mr. Wise, however, was cautious as to showing his discontent, and only whispered his insinuations to my father; but when Mr. Brooke positively declined to have anything to do with his projected company, and refused to sacrifice Saráwak to the other's greed for money, Mr. Wise grew furious, and then it was that he burst out to my father in accusations against his employer.

"Mr. Wise was an able man, and as crafty as he was able. As a minute examination of his different projects would be of no interest to the public, it will be sufficient to say that he had for a long time attempted to launch in the market a gigantic scheme, and he took advantage of the excitement caused by the arrival of Sir James in England during 1847 to carry out his project. He

thought himself secure of a lease of the Sarawak antimony ore; but he had not yet obtained the grant of the right of working coal on the mainland of Borneo, as Sir James had thought it his duty, as a Queen's officer, to pass the concession he had obtained to the English Government.

"Mr. Wise looked upon this act as treason to himself, and was rendered furious on hearing that some genuine capitalists in the city were trying to obtain the concession. Upon this he thought of my father, and after a consultation, he drew up a long memorial, which the former agreed to place personally in the hands of Lord Palmerston.

"My father was an old acquaintance of Lord Palmerston, and I well remember the particulars of the interview. When he had explained to his lordship the object of his wishing to see him, he handed him the memorial to read. On seeing its length, Lord Palmerston started, and said, 'St John, your friend's a d——d long-winded fellow!' but with that admirable aptitude for work for which he was remarkable, his lordship read it through, and promised to do his best. What were the steps subsequently taken I do not know, but Mr. Wise was given the concession, and immediately formed his company. Many of the directors were rich, but nearly all were inexperienced men, and Mr. Wise was allowed to do as he pleased.

"Some months later Sir James Brooke thought that he discovered errors in Mr. Wise's accounts to a considerable amount: an explanation was demanded, but refused; and Mr. Wise, finding that Sir James had for a long time been aware of his covert hostility, now threw off the mask, and attacked his old employer on every occasion.

"Our proceedings against the pirates in 1849 furnished him with the necessary weapons. By garbled extracts, by untrue reports, by means which I know not, he managed to obtain the confidence of obstinate old Joseph Hume, who dearly loved a grievance, and attacks on Sir James were commenced both in Parliament and the press. To minds that were prepossessed, it was of no use furnishing proofs of the character of the pirates, or to bring forward the judgment of the Admiralty Court. It was of no use for the House of Commons to approve Sir James Brooke's proceedings by increasing majorities; it was of no use for Lords Palmerston, Grey, and Ellesmere to stand forward in his defence, nor for that hard hitter, Henry Drummond, to demolish Mr. Hume's case in the House. Mr. Wise and his faction were determined, if possible, to ruin Sir James Brooke. Stung by this injustice, the Rajah decided to carry the war into the enemy's camp, and attacked the Eastern Archipelago Company,

and did not give up the contest until he had seen the seal of their charter torn off by the judgment of a high tribunal. But at what expense of time, money, temper, and health was this triumph obtained !"

Sir James' enemies even went so far as to accuse him of having bribed the pirates to murder Mr. Burns, Captain Robertson, and others of the crew of the *Dolphin*, and of having, by similar means, procured the death of Mr. Williamson, one of his assistants, who was accidentally drowned while being ferried across a river in a canoe.

The report of the Commission was generally favourable, and the Government were constrained to approve of Sir James Brooke's conduct. At the same time they accepted his resignation of his State appointments, which he had tendered on being acquainted with the instructions to the Commission.

It would be impossible, within the compass of a review article, to enter into the details of Sir James Brooke's administration of Sarawak, from his return in 1853, to his departure for England in 1861. We shall therefore confine ourselves to salient points and to results.

One of the most important events in the progress of civilisation in Borneo, was the cession of the six districts, obtained by him from the Sultan after his return in 1853. The coast between Sarawak and Brunei was nominally subject to the Sultan ; but he possessed little real authority, and his name. was used by his nobles as a cloak for robbery. "The next district to Sarāwak was Samarahan, which in everything followed the lead of its neighbour ; then Sadong, governed by an ill-conditioned Malay chief, named Bander Kasim, who was always in trouble ; then the great river of Batang Lupar, with its several branches of Lingga, Undop, and Sakarang, entirely independent of the Sultan, as was the next great district, the Seribas. Kaluka kept up an occasional intercourse with the capital, but paid no revenue ; and the majestic river of Rejang was peopled by tribes who owned no allegiance to any one."

The question of cession had been first mooted in 1850, before Sir James Brooke's second visit to England, and favourably received by the Sultan. The districts did not pay their expenses ; and Sir James Brooke now "proposed to the Brunei Government a certain fixed sum, and half the surplus revenue. The fixed sum was small ; but the revenues of Sarawak at that time were very small also. Few difficulties were raised : the Sultan, happy in the assurance of Sir James Brooke's support, and desirous to get something where his predecessor had obtained nothing, agreed to cede the districts on the conditions proposed ; and before we left, the necessary deeds were prepared and signed. A year's revenue was

paid in advance, large presents were made to different nobles, and all ended happily."

The Chinese insurrection in 1857 is noticeable more on account of the atrocities committed by the insurgents, and of the proof furnished on the occasion of the popularity of Sir James Brooke's government among the people of the country, than on account of any permanent influence exercised by it on the progress of Sarawak. As far back as 1850, large numbers of Chinese, chiefly from the neighbouring territory of Sambas, had begun to settle in Sarawak. The result, from a fiscal point of view, had been most beneficial; but in many respects the Chinese proved troublesome subjects. They were inveterate smugglers, and the firmness which the Rajah had shown in putting down their malpractices, combined with the damage done to his prestige by the Royal Commission and the subsequent coolness of the British Government, had engendered a spirit of resistance to his authority.

In 1856 the Rajah went away on a visit to Singapore, and during his absence, the members of the Kungsi, or Chinese Gold Company established in Sarawak, became so violent that Mr. Crookshank, who was in charge of the Government, thought it advisable to man the stockades, and to send for a force under Mr. Johnson from Sakarang. On the return of the Rajah, he punished the ringleaders, and, being satisfied with their show of submission, dismissed the guard.

This excess of confidence was productive of tragic results. On the 18th February 1857, the Kungsi, seeing that the Rajah was completely off his guard, assembled 600 of their workmen at Bau, and, arming them, marched them down to Tundong, whence they embarked in cargo boats for Kuching. Warning was given, but discredited; the Chinese squadron pulled through the town in the dead of the night, and landed the insurgents unperceived. Government House was at once attacked; and Sir James Brooke, who had only one European servant with him, narrowly escaped with his life, by diving under the bows of one of the insurgents' barges and swimming to the opposite bank of the river. Mr. Nicholetts, a young officer of the Government, hearing the uproar, rushed out of his house and was killed, and his head was severed from his body and borne about on a pike as that of the Rajah.

The other attacks took place simultaneously. Mr. and Mrs. Crookshank, rushing forth on hearing this midnight alarm, were cut down—the latter left for dead, the former seriously wounded. The constable's house was attacked, but he and his wife escaped, while their two children and an English lodger were killed by the insurgents.

Here occurred a scene which shows how barbarous were these Chinese. When the rebels burst into Mr. Middleton's house, he fled, and his wife

following found herself in the bath-room, and by the shouts was soon convinced that her retreat was cut off. In the meantime the Chinese had seized her two children, and brought the eldest down into the bath-room to show the way his father had escaped. Mrs. Middleton's only refuge was in a large water-jar; there she heard the poor little boy questioned, pleading for his life, and heard his shriek when the fatal sword was raised which severed his head from his body. The fiends kicked the little head with loud laughter from one to another. They then set fire to the house, and she distinctly heard her second child shrieking as they tossed him into the flames. Mrs. Middleton remained in the jar till the falling embers forced her to leave. She then got into a neighbouring pond and thus escaped the eyes of the Chinese, who were frantically rushing about the burning house. Her escape was most extraordinary.

The stockades, however, were not surprised. The Chinese, waiting for the signal of attack on the houses, were at length perceived by the sentinel, and he immediately roused the treasurer, Mr. Crymble, who resided in the stockade, which contained the arsenal and the prison. He endeavoured to make some preparation for defence although he had but four Malays with him. He had scarcely time, however, to load a six-pounder field-piece, and get his own rifle ready, before the Chinese with loud shouts rushed to the assault. They were led by a man bearing in either hand a flaming torch. Mr. Crymble waited until they were within forty yards; he then fired and killed the man who, by the lights he bore, made himself conspicuous, and before the crowd recovered from the confusion in which they were thrown by the fall of their leader, discharged among them the six-pounder loaded with grape, which made the assailants retire behind the neighbouring houses or hide in the outer ditches. But with four men little could be done; and some of the rebels having quietly crossed the inner ditch, commenced removing the planks which constituted the only defence To add to the difficulty, they threw over into the inner court little iron tripods, with flaming torches attached, which rendered it as light as day, while they remained shrouded in darkness,

To increase the number of defenders, Mr. Crymble released two Malay prisoners, one a madman who had killed his wife, the other a debtor. The latter quickly disappeared, while the former, regardless of the shot flying around, stood to the post assigned him, opposite a plank which the the Chinese were trying to remove. He had orders to fire his carbine at the first person who appeared; and when, the plank giving way, a man attempted to force his body through, he pulled the trigger without lowering the muzzle of his carbine, and sent the ball through his own brains. Mr. Crymble now found it useless to prolong the struggle, as one of his four men was killed, and another, a brave Malay corporal, was shot down at his side. The wounded man begged Mr. Crymble to fly and leave him there, but asked him to shake hands with him first, and tell him whether he had not done his duty. The brave Irishman seized him by the arm and attempted to drag him up the stairs leading to the dwelling over the gate; but the Chinese had already gained the courtyard, and pursuing them, drove their spears through the wounded man, and Mr. Crymble was forced to let go his hold, and with a brave follower, Daud, swung himself down into the ditch below. Some of the rebels seeing their attempted escape, tried to stop Mr. Crymble, and a man stabbed at him, but only glanced his thick frieze-coat, and received in return a cut across the face from the Irishman's cutlass, which was a remembrance to carry to the grave.

The other stockade, though it had but a corporal's watch of three Malays, did not surrender, but finding that every other place was in the hands of the

Chinese, the brave defenders opened the gates, and charging the crowd of rebels sword in hand, made their escape, though they were all severely wounded in the attempt.

The confusion which reigned throughout the rest of the town may be imagined, as, startled by the shouts and yells of the Chinese, the inhabitants rushed to the doors and windows, and beheld night turned into day by the bright flames which rose in three directions, where the Rajah's, Mr. Crookshank's, and Mr. Middleton's houses were all burning at the same time.

After remaining in the place a day, and compelling the surviving Europeans and the Malay chiefs to take oaths of fidelity to the Kungsi, the insurgents retired with their booty. An assembly was immediately held by the Malays, who unanimously determined to remain faithful to the Rajah; and one chief manned a boat, and, starting in pursuit, succeeded in capturing one of the Chinese barges and killing five of its defenders. This premature action brought back the Chinese with re-inforcements. The Malays made a brave resistance, but their measures of defence having been but imperfectly organised, they must, in spite of the efforts of Sir James Brooke, who had returned during the attack, have succumbed but for the timely arrival of one of the Borneo Company's steamers. The Chinese fired one aimless volly without doing any harm, and when the guns of the steamer opened on them, fled in confusion. The Malay population, aided by the Dyaks, now rose *en masse* on the fugitives, and so harassed their retreat that but few escaped; those who did, being disarmed and stripped of their plunder by the Dutch into whose territory they had fled.

After the suppression of the insurrection, Sir James Brooke made his third visit to England, where he arrived in 1858. Owing partly to ill-health, partly, it would seem, to a sense of his extreme weakness at Sarawak in the absence of extraneous support, and with inadequate fiscal resources, and partly also to the complete dissipation of his own private fortune, he appears at this time to have become thoroughly weary of his enterprise, and, finding the Ministry more favourably disposed towards him, he entered into negotiations with a view to the disposal of Sarawak to the British Government. A protectorate was offered; but this did not meet his views, and was refused. By and by a change of Ministry came, and the accession of Lord Derby to power was followed by a complete estrangement between Sir James and the Government.

To add to Sir James Brooke's despondency, affairs in Sarawak fell into an unsatisfactory condition. The relations between Captain Brooke, who was administering the Government, and the Sultan of Brunei became strained, partly owing to his high-handed

treatment of the Sultan's subjects, and partly, it seems probable, to injudicious interference on the part of Mr. St. John, the Consul-General. Captain Brooke, having lost his wife, returned to England, leaving the Government in the hands of his brother, Mr. Charles Johnson. Certain discontented chiefs, smarting under punishment justly inflicted on them by Sir James Brooke, seized the opportunity to conspire against the Government, and Messrs. Steel and Fox, two officers in the Kyang district, were assassinated, there can be little doubt, at their instigation. Mr. Johnson acted with energy, and not only severely punished the Kanawils who had given shelter to the murderers, but forcibly expelled one of the chiefs who had instigated the crime, and banished the other.

Sir James Brooke now opened negotiations for the transfer of Sarawak with Holland and France in succession, but without success. His pecuniary difficulties increased, and, being pressed by the Borneo Company for the return of £5,000, borrowed from them after the Chinese insurrection, he was enabled to repay it only through the liberality of a friend.

A state of distrust, amounting almost to panic, reigned at Sarawak, where both the prestige and the popularity of the Europeans had undergone an eclipse since the estrangement of the British Government had become generally known. Mr. St. John is inclined, probably with much reason, to find another cause of diminished sympathy between the two races, in the introduction of English ladies into Sarawak. It is not, of course, to be supposed that these ladies were either themselves personally unpopular, or exercised any directly maleficent influence on the relations between their husbands and European friends and the Malays; but their presence led, of necessity, to diminished social intercourse between the men of the two races. "In the earlier days," says Mr. St. John, "every evening after dinner tle chiefs would assemble in the great hall, sit amongst us, and conversations were freely carried on as between equals. But when the ladies arrived, that was all changed; after dinner the ladies retired into the drawing-room, where the gentlemen soon followed, or remained impatiently waiting for the natives to go. This they soon observed, and gradually they left off coming. No wonder the bonds of sympathy between the native and Euro pean became slacker."

This moreover was, probably, not the only way in which the presence of English ladies led to a loosening of social ties between the European and the Malay. Something of the same kind has been witnessed in India, where, if the influx of our fair sisters has had for one of its consequences, a marked increase of

our own comforts and sources of enjoyment, it has undoubtedly had for another of its consequences, a widening of the distance between Europeans and natives, and perhaps a diminution of kindliness in the feelings of Europeans towards natives, as well as in their knowledge of them.

When things seemed at their worst, the same friend who had enabled Sir James Brooke to repay the Borneo Company, provided him with the money to buy a steamer for Sarawak. The *Rainbow* was purchased, and the Raja recovered his spirits and determined to persevere in his enterprise.

In 1861 he returned to Sarawak, where his tact and energy soon restored confidence to the country. The Sultan was induced to make over to him the whole of the coast as far as Kidurong Point for an annual tribute of about £1,200, Captain Brooke was installed as heir-apparent, and, all troublesome questions having been satisfactorily settled, Sir James Brooke returned to England.

After his return negotiations were renewed with the Government, first for protection, and finally for the formal recognition of Sarawak. While they were in progress, differences with Captain Brooke, which ultimately resulted in his being disinherited, again took Sir James to Sarawak. A successful expedition was organised under Mr. Johnson against the powerful tribe of the Kayans, who had been raiding on the Sarawak borders; and, this last source of danger having been overcome, Mr. Johnson, who had now adopted his uncle's name, was placed in charge of the Government.

Sir James left Sarawak for good in September 1863. In October of the same year, the British Government recognised the independence of Sarawak, and a Consul was appointed. A rapid improvement in the commerce and revenue of the country also set in, and Sir James Brooke, under the influence of these favourable events, also improved in health and spirits. He still continued, however, to agitate for protection, but without success; and towards the close of 1866, he offered to hand over the country to the British Government on the sole condition of its respecting the religion, laws, and customs of the people, and paying the State debts, amounting to nearly £75,000. The offer, however, was refused, and it became necessary to make fresh arrangements for the succession, which, after some hesitation, was settled on Charles Brooke.

On the 24th December 1866, Sir. James Brooke had a second attack of paralysis, and in the following June he was struck down by a third attack, never to rise again.

Mr. Spencer St. John's book closes with a valuable consular report of the condition of Sarawak in 1878, in which the area of

the territory is put down at about 28,000 square miles, and the number of the population at 222,000, of whom 20,000 reside in Kuching, the capital. The exports in 1877 were valued at £250,000 and the imports at nearly an equal sum. The revenue in 1876 was 183,182 dollars. The writer of the report bears the highest testimony both to the affection in which Sir. James Brooke's name is held, and to the even-handed justice, honesty, and popularity of the present Government.

The policy of the Sarawak Government appears to me to be just and and equitable toward the native Dyak and other races It may fairly be assumed to be so, if we take as a test the fact, that extensive tribes of savages have been transmuted frow lawless head-hunters and pirates, into comparatively peaceful agriculturists. The crime of head-hunting is now scarcely known in Sarâwak. Indeed, I regret to state that it appears to be more common in the territories of his Highness the Sultan than elsewhere; and so bold did I find these gentry on my arrival in Labuan, that two cases were absolutely before me of head-taking within the British colony of Labuan itself, where a panic on that account had existed for some time. The same remarks apply to the crime of piracy, a pet offence with the old marauders, and a venial one in their eyes. What little piracy exists on the western coasts of Borneo is not to be found within the dominions or seaboard of Sarâwak. It is rather to be looked for in the territories on the north-west coasts of Brunei, again partially within the nominal jurisdiction of the Sultan, and to a greater extent on the north-east coast.

There are doubtless to be found in the rule of Sarâwak many defects, some of which might be at once amended—others, again, that time only can efface. In criticising severely any special legislation or custom at present obtaining whithin the country, it would be necessary that all the attendant circumstances should be thoroughly elucidated and considered, before arriving at a sweeping and condemnatory judgment upon matters which, to the eyes of the most civilised colonists in the world, appear anomalous or even wrong. Sarâwak is yet not forty years old, and has time before her to amend and improve any defects of government. As long as the main objects constituting the welfare of the community be kept in view, and the people are generally contented and happy, the objections to which I have referred can practically have but small weight in the balance.

One of the principal recommendations attaching in the eyes of the native to European rule in Sarâwak is, the honesty of its administration, especially in pecuniary matters. The object of the Malay nobles in olden times, and indeed now in the territories of Brunei, was to squeeze as much as might be from the wretched aborigines; the principal aim of the European appears to them to be, to solve the problem of how to carry on an effective Government at the lightest possible cost to its subjects. This difficulty has met with a creditable solution in Sarâwak: a taxation of about £40,000 per annum, distributed amongst a population of 200,000 souls, and giving a statistical average of from 5s. to 6s. sterling per head, can scarcely be called oppressive. (In calculating this average, I strike out about 50,000 frontier natives, who probably escape paying taxes at all.) Another recommendation in the eyes of the native is the possibility of obtaining even-handed, if rough, justice. It is not necessary, as they see and admit with satisfaction, that litigants should enter into a pecuniary competition with their opponents to purchase the favour and countenance of their judges.

Education and progress will safely and surely eradicate many of the evils

remaining in the State, which may be viewed as legacies, fortunately diminishing, of a barbarous *régime* long since extinct. In the meantime, natives, Mohamedan as well as pagan, will be best managed and improved by showing a proper degree of respect for their usages and customs, especially by a complete tolerance of their forms of worship; and the only real blot in Sarāwak, that of slavery (although existing in a modified form), may be trusted to die out with the gradual extension of European rule, and the increased intelligence of the coming generation.

The occasions requiring the employment of armed force are becoming rare, and disturbances are strictly local.

The real power of Sarāwak is based upon remembrance of, and gratitude due to, the late Rajah, Sir James Brooke, as well as upon the firm administration and even-handed justice of the present Government. No one visiting Sarāwak can fail to observe the respect and affection in which the present Rajah and his family are held by the entire community. The fact is as noticeable among Europeans as among the natives; and I may observe that the moderately paid but fairly efficient European staff is socially on a par with the officials of the generality of our colonies. The mode of life amongst the European body is quiet and unostentatious; but of hospitality there is abundance, and no visitor leaves Sarāwak without pleasant reminiscences of his stay.

A further noteworthy feature is to be found in the results obtained with so little money. The civil list of the Rajah is, I know, modest in all respects; and it is not every Government that, on a yearly revenue of £40,000 sterling, would be enabled effectively to rule 25,000 square miles of territory, with a population of over 2,00,000 souls, to keep up a respectable standing military force, to garrison and maintain fourteen forts, to pay a competent staff of European officers and native authorities, to maintain three gunboats, to protect commerce and agriculture, and generally to guarantee safety to life and property within its limits.

ART. XI.—MR. HUNTER'S EDINBURGH LECTURES.

MR. Hunter, in his recent lectures, has given to the British public by far the ablest sketch ever laid before them (in a popular form) of the work done by the British in India during the period, of little more than fifty years, during which they have been the paramount power in Hindustan. This excellent resumé of facts and figures is by far the completest apology which has been generally accessible; and it places the lecturer in the enviable position of an interpreter to the people of England of matters for which, indeed, they have assumed the responsibility, but which they have had but little opportunity of examining in so agreeable a light.

There can be no question but that the Court of Directors who began the work of civilising India (*auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliæ* as their motto set forth) consisted principally of intelligent experts, interested in the welfare of the country. And the impulse given by them has, on the whole, been maintained since the introduction of direct Imperial Government. In fact, there is adequate reason for believing that the subsequent tendency has rather been to progress in the direction of occidentalisation, and of removal of checks which the former ruling body had, in their practical and cautious sagacity, endeavoured to impose.

Whether for evil or for good, Englishmen have since been largely encouraged to apply their skill and capital to the development of Indian resources. The garrison of British troops has been more than doubled; many railways have been built, many a ship added to the mercantile tonnage. Codes of an enlightened and even a highly philosophical character, have been introduced; and a system of University teaching and examination has been extended, and to a certain degree, acclimatised in the country. Vaccination has been partially popularised, attempts have been made to diffuse sanitation and to check the ravages of famine and of epidemic disease.

Objections are made, not perhaps always wisely, or even honestly, against the value of these good works. On the other hand, they have not been sufficiently noticed by their doers, nor supported by such a skilful array of facts as the present.

It is not necessary to fly to the extreme of pessimism. Mr. Hunter has availed himself of his unrivalled opportunities to show how civil war has been extinguished, organised crime mitigated, and preventible death diminished; how trade and knowledge have been fostered, how the reign of law has been substituted for

the power of privilege and the caprice of despotic administration. All this is correctly stated; and it may leave a handsome balance to the credit of British rule in India. Nevertheless, there is a heavy debit side to the account which must be first deducted. The complaints against British rule in India are not merely, or mainly, those enumerated by *The Times* in its eulogistic review of the first Hunterian lecture. It is true, that some of these grievances exist, and are widely and deeply felt. It is not right that the British Government, after professing to fix the land-tax in permanence, or, for a term of years, should enhance the demand, first under the thin disguise of a temporary "famine insurance," and then undisguisedly and in perpetuity. It is not right that, while professing to abandon an income-tax, it should expose men's incomes to the incidence of direct taxation under another title. It is least of all right that the pledges to employ natives in the higher branches of administration should have remained unfulfilled, for practical purposes, during a full score of years. These things were not done by the Mughals for more than a century; and it is noticeable that during that period no popular rising or other mark of disaffection was observed. Including Jahangir's interlude of misrule, the empire of the Chaghtais, from the fall of Bairam Khan in 1561 to the death of Jai Singh in 1667, was considered strong and popular, by European observers as much as by Oriental historians: and during that long period there was no direct taxation, nor any systematic exclusion of the natives from office, of whatever class and kind.

It may be questioned, further, whether the wholesale introduction of exotic principles of administration can benefit races that are wholly unprepared for them, so much as a vigilant and intelligent application of indigenous methods. A Hindu, transplanted in mature age to England, does not find the food, climate, or other conditions of English life suited to his constitution, and is apt to wither and perish like Ram Mohan Rai and Dwarka Nath Tagore. And why should we expect that the body politic should fare better under alien treatment than the body physiological of whose aggregates it is composed?

The extinction of civil war is a good thing in itself; but has it left the Rajputs more chivalrous, or the native aristocracy in general, more manly or more prosperous? All experience shows that it has not. The mitigation of organised crime of an open or violent nature may, for all we know to the contrary, have inincreased the spread of other forms of lawless egoism, of forgery, perjury, and secret poisoning. The increase of trade has impoverished the multitude who cannot, in such a state of society as they live in, benefit by the lowered value and purchasing power

of money consequent thereon. The diffusion of such knowledge as has been hitherto dispensed by British schools, colleges, and universities, has sapped religious traditions, and fostered political discontent, so as to seem to necessitate a censorship over the vernacular press. The reign of law has been productive of an increase in the burdens of the poor and an extensive transfer of landed property.

It is not, of course, a *sequitur* to say that any other set of foreigners would have done better. Perhaps, some might have done worse. But it only needs a reference to some of our own back numbers to see that, while certain classes have benefited by British methods, the rural poor, who form the overwhelming bulk of the population, have added to their sufferings, as fast as they have added to their numbers. "Thou hast multiplied the nation, but not increased the joy." And this is always to be taken into consideration, as a warning rather than a discouragement, whenever we are inclined to give the Indian Government praise in the spirit of unquestioned optimism.

THE QUARTER.

OUR chronicle is again, perforce, and bids fair to be for some time to come, chiefly a military one. When we last wrote, preparations for the march of an avenging army upon Cabul had reached an advanced stage. The vanguard of General Roberts' Division had, indeed, been pushed forward as far as Zargunshahr on the 27th September, and it was expected that the entire force would reach the Afghan Capital by the 1st October. The Amir had arrived in General Baker's camp, ostensibly for the purpose of displaying at once his helplessness and his fidelity to the British cause, but really, there is good reason for thinking, in the hope of being able to delay the advance of the force by his representations, while securing his own personal safety, not from the violence of his own subjects, but from the consequences of resistance on the part of his soldiery to our arms.

The progress of the main body of General Roberts' army was delayed beyond all expectation, partly by want of transport, and partly by defective organisation of such as existed. The chaos into which the march from Ali Kheyl to the Logar resolved itself, has been compared with that which marked the disastrous retreat of the French from Moscow. Had the army been attacked in force by a disciplined enemy in this part of its route it must, in all probability, have been annihilated.

The last of the force left Ali Kheyl on the 29th September and the entire army, consisting of upwards of 6,500 men and officers of all arms, was massed at Zargunshahr on the 2nd October. Between the latter place and Charasiah, which was reached on the 5th, the force was compelled by the want of transport to march in instalments, the advance portion sending back its baggage animals to bring up the ammunition left in the rear under charge of General Macpherson.

Early on the morning of the 6th instant, the enemy were observed in great force occupying the ridges to the south of the city, and the defile, between them, leading to the Bala Hissar. A force was accordingly detached under General Baker, consisting of the 72nd Highlanders; a wing of the 93rd; three companies of the 5th Gurkhas; five companies Pioneers, one company Sappers; three guns G-3-R. A; two Gatlings; four mountain guns and some Cavalry, to clear the heights. At a-quarter-to-one the troops got into action, at 3 P. M. the enemy were in full flight, and by night-fall all the principal points were occupied. Our loss was between eighty and ninety, killed and wounded;

that of the enemy comparatively heavy. Eighteen guns were captured, thirteen in position, and the remainder abandoned on the road.

The following detailed account of the action is given by the Special Correspondent of the *Pioneer :*

"The following is the fuller description of General Baker's successful attack. The force under his personal direction got into the open, north of Charasiah, about noon. The heights to the left and front were seen to be crowded with men who were holding a strong position on the steep craggy points. The enemy's right front was made the initial point of attack. Two companies of 72nd Highlanders, supported later by two conpanies of the 5th Gurkhas under Captain Cook, skirmished upwards under a heavy fire. They crept up a knoll 500 or 600 feet high, the climbing being most difficult; while General Baker with the main body held a position on the lower hills. To support the skirmishers, General Baker opened fire with two mountain guns, and afterwards brought up two more and two Gatlings. The latter fired a few rounds, but, then, got out of order. The remaining companies of the 72nd Highlanders were pushed forward under Colonel Clarke to outflank the enemy's right. At 1-30 P. M. these were supported by two companies of the 5th P. I. All worked forward rapidly, and, passing through a little gap joined the advanced line of skirmishers. The enemy had three banners on the ridge, and fought very bravely. There were from 1,500 to 2,000 of them armed with Sniders and Enfields, but they had no guns. They were plainly commanded by trained officers as their movements were very orderly. They directed their fire not only at the advanced party, but at the mountain guns, and at General Baker and staff. Dr. Duncan was wounded seriously while standing at the General's side, and two or three ambulance kahars were killed. The mountain battery escaped with the loss only of a mule. All this time, the advanced companies of the 72nd Highlanders and the Gurkhas were holding their ground within 200 yards of the enemies' lines, and waiting for our flanking movement to have its due effect. It was past two o'clock before the rush was made: and, when our men charged the enemy evacuated the ridge at once, leaving many killed and wounded, and two standards fell into our hands. A private of the 72nd Highlanders behaved spendidly, charging up the hill at the Sungar, followed by four or five Gurkhas and one of his comrades: he is to be recommended for the Victoria Cross. The mountain guns under Captain Swinley fired extremely well and did great execution. When this important position had been taken, the general advance was stopped, and the 23rd Pioneers and the rest of the Gurkhas, who had been held in reserve, were pushed forward under the command of Lieutenant Chesney and Major Fitzhugh, respectively. Many of the enemy now were on the run, but fought obstinately wherever the ground favoured them, and at one point charged the Gurkhas who came crowding on close at their heels. The Gurkhas met them with the bayonet and broke them at once. Point after point was taken by our troops who had to cross a series of low ridges, while the main high ridge was held by the enemy, still in force. They also held a good position flanking our left, which was shelled, and the Pioneers and Gurkhas were then sent up. The enemy retreated pell-mell, flying across an open maidan towards the Chardeh villages, which could be seen lying in front, a mass of vegetation and foliage. Indikee was the nearest village, and if the General had had cavalry with him the enemy would have been cut up by scores. As it was, fire was kept up by the guns and Martinis, as long as the men were within range, and the Gatlings were again used, this time with good effect. General Baker here halted

for half an hour's breathing time, and signalled his success to Sir F. Roberts. The 72nd Highlanders, who had borne the brunt of the fighting, had 36 men put out of action. Two companies of the Pioneers had gained the main ridge meanwhile, the enemy still retreating, and now an advance was made to the right front towards the defile. General Baker now swung round his left flank, and facing eastward, swept the ridge clear; firing at long ranges going on, but no further casualties occurring. The work was most difficult, as the ground was very bad, and it was not until dark that the last peak overlooking the defile was occupied. Here a junction was effected with the 92nd Highlanders, who with G-3rd Battery Royal Artillery had not been idle. The 23rd Pioneers and the 5th P. I. moved down into the plain beyond the pass, while the 72nd Highlanders, the Gurkhas and mountain guns remained above, throwing out strong picquets over the range of hills. While this fight was going on 3 guns of G-3rd Battery Royal Artillery on the extreme right had come into action, shelling the heights overlooking the defile and occasionally dropping a shell into the defile itself. The enemy were here also 2,000 strong and had 13 guns in position, although they did not make much use of them. Our guns made beautful practice, and the Highlanders, after shelling had lasted some time, took three hills in succession, all strongly defended by Sungars. No better form could have been shewn by any soldiers than that in which the Highlanders went up the hills—the enemy awaiting until they were almost within bayonet reach, and then turning tail. Their final retreat was in great disorder, and their total loss must have been several hundred.

The following morning General Roberts, with the main body of the force, advanced from Charasiah through the Sang-i-Nawishta defile, and fixed his headquarters at Beni Shahr. Here, on the morning of the 8th, he learned that the camp of Sherpur had been evacuated, but that the enemy occupied a fortified ridge to the north of the city. General Massey, with the 9th Lancers, 5th Punjab Cavalry and 12th Bengal Lancers, was accordingly sent round by Sherpur, to cut off their retreat by the Bamian road, while a force of infantry under General Baker was pushed forward along the Beni Shahr ridge till it faced that occupied by the enemy.

General Massey found the Sherpur cantonment deserted, with a large number of guns, which were captured, and thence he worked round into the Chardeh plain, keeping the enemy's position to his left rear.

"Our cavalry formed up in the fields to await the infantry attack; the 5th Punjab Cavalry going off to the right to block the main Bamian road. The enemy on the ridge contented themselves with throwing occasional shells at our videttes, and the villagers fired at a party which tried to open communication with the latter. In the meantime General Baker, with 320 of the 92nd Highlanders, 2 companies 72nd, 7 companies 23rd Pioneers, 2 mountain guns, and one Gatling, had left Beni-Hissar at noon, and by a-quarter-to-four had, after a fearful climb, got into position on the top of Bala Hissar ridge. He shelled the enemy who answered shot for shot, but nothing more occurred; except that the

Gatlings were tried at a tower at the base of the ridge and the 72nd picking off the gunners of field-pieces on the enemy's camp. The 72nd had worked down hill to a tower on a ridge overlooking the Cabul river, and were waiting for reinforcements to storm the heights."

Unfortunately General Baker, perhaps overrating the enemy's strength, hesitated to attach them; darkness came on while he was waiting for reinforcements; and, during the night, the enemy made off, abandoning their camp, guns and many of their animals, and a large quantity of ammunition. Generel Massey's cavalry failed to intercept them, probably owing to the fact that they dispersed from their camp and concealed themselves in the city and surrounding villages. The next day he pursued along the Bamian road, but only overtook a small body about twenty in number, who were cut up.

On the 11th October, General Roberts visited and inspected the Bala Hissar, and on the following day he took formal possession of the citadel, which was occupied by the 67th Foot and 8th Gurkhas. After the British standard had been hoisted over the gateway, the General and his suite passed on to the Amir's garden, where, in a Kiosk, overlooking the city, a durbar was held and the following proclamation read to the assembled Afghan chiefs.

"Proclamation to the People of Cabul by Major-General Sir Frederick Roberts, &c., &c., dated Bala Hissar, Cabul, 12th October, 1879.—In my Proclamation of the 3rd October, dated Zargunshahr, I informed the people of Cabul that a British army was advancing to take possession of the City, and I warned them against offering any resistance to the entry of the troops, and the authority of His Highness the Amir. That warning has been disregarded. The force under my command has now reached Cabul, and occupied the Bala Hissar; but its advance has been pertinaciously opposed, and the inhabitants of the city have taken a conspicuous part in the opposition offered. They have therefore become rebels against His Highness the Amir, and have added to the guilt already incurred by them in abetting the murder of the British Envoy and of his companions,—a treacherous and cowardly crime which has brought indelible disgrace upon the Afghan people. It would be but a just and fitting reward for such misdeeds if the city of Cabul were now totally destroyed, and its very name blotted out. But the great British Government is ever desirous to temper justice with mercy, and I now announce to the inhabitants of Cabul that the full retribution for their offence will not be exacted, and that the city will be spared. Nevertheless, it is necessary that they should not escape all penalty, and that the punishment inflicted should be such as will be felt and remembered. Therefore such of the city buildings as now interfere with the proper military occupation of the Bala Hissar, and the safety and comfort of the British troops to be quartered in it, will be at once levelled with the ground; and further a heavy fine, the amount of which will be notified hereafter, will be imposed upon the inhabitants, to be paid according to their several capabilities. This punishment, inflicted upon the whole city, will not of course absolve from further penalties those whose individual guilt

may be hereafter proved. A full and searching enquiry will be held into the circumstances of the late outbreak, and all persons convicted of bearing a part in it will be dealt with acc rding to their deserts. I further give notice to all, that, in order to provide for the restoration and maintenance of order, the city of Cabul and the surrounding country to a distance of ten miles are placed under martial law. With the consent of the Amir, a military Governor of Cabul will be appointed to administer justice, and to punish with a strong hand all evil-doors. The inhabitants of Cabul and of the neighbouring villages are hereby warned to submit to his authority. For the future the carrying of dangerous weapons, whether swords, knives, or fire-arms, within the streets of Cabul or within a distance of five miles from the city gates, is forbidden. After a week from the date of this Proclamation, any person found armed within these limits will be liable to the penalty of death. Persons having in their possession any articles whatsoever which formerly belonged to members of the British Embassy are required to bring them forthwith to the British Camp: Anyone neglecting this warning will, if found hereafter in possession of any such articles, be subject to the severest penalties. Further, all persons who may have in their possession any fire-arms or ammunition formerly issued to, or seized by, the Afghan troops, are required to produce them. For every country-made rifle, whether breech or muzzle-loading, a sum of Rs. 3 will be given on delivery; and for every rifle of European manufacture, Rs. 5. Anyone found hereafter in possession of such weapons will be severely punished. Finally, I notify that I will give a reward of Rs. 50 for the surrender of any person, whether soldier or civilian, concerned in the attack on the British Embassy, or for such information as may lead directly to his capture. A similar sum will be given in case of any person who may have fought against the British troops, since the 3rd September last, and has therefore become a rebel against the Amir. If any such person, so surrendered or captured, be a captain or subaltern officer of the Afghan army, the reward will be increased to Rs. 75; and if a field officer to Rs. 120."

The Amir was invited to be present at the ceremony, but probably from a disinclination to being identified in any way with the proceedings of the day in the eyes of his subjects, absented himself on the plea of indisposition, sending the heir-apparent in his stead. After the Proclamation had been read, the Mustafi Wazir; Yahiya Khan, the Amir's father-in-law, and Zakhariah Khan, his brother, were arrested, with a view to an enquiry into their conduct in connexion with the massacre of the Embassy, and the subsequent opposition to the British advance. At the same time the Amir himself was placed under a strong guard.

Rumours that the Bala Hissar was mined had preceded its occupation, and though this does not appear to have been the case, the citadel was shortly afterwards the scene of a tremendous catastrophe. On the 16th October, a little before 1 o'clock, while Captain Shafto, with a number of khalassis, was engaged in the work of removing ammunition from the godowns which formed part of the arsenal, a terrific explosion took place, resulting in the death of Captain Shafto himself and the men at work with him; twelve men of the 5th Gurkhas who were posted close

by; one man of the 67th, and 2 Sawars of the 5th Punjab Cavalry. The 5th Gurkhas who were encamped near the arsenal, and the 67th Foot, who were in the Amir's garden, were promptly marched out of the Bala Hissar, and it was fortunate that this was done, for at about a-quarter-to-four in the afternoon came a second explosion, more violent than the first, sending rocks, beams and bullets into the city itself, where several persons were killed and wounded. As the fire continued to spread, it was for a long time feared that the principal store of powder, believed to contain over 200,000 pounds, would become ignited. By strenuous exertions, however, this calamity was prevented.

Regarding the cause of the explosion, nothing conclusive has been ascertained. The fact of the body of an Afghan having been found buried among the *debris* might seem to lend support to the theory that it was the work of an incendiary. On the other hand, the careless manner in which the explosives were stored, quantities of powder being strewed about the floors of the godowns, mixed up with percussion caps and friction tubes, rendered an accident of the kind almost inevitable.

On the 19th October, it was reported from Simla, that the Amir had announced to General Roberts his determination to abdicate, and that, though requested to reconsider his decision, he had subsequently declared his intention to be unchanged. On the 28th of the same month, it was accordingly announced at Cabul that the British Government had accepted his abdication, and the same day the following proclamation was issued, empowering General Roberts to assume the Government of the country:

I, General Roberts, on behalf of the British Government, hereby proclaim that the Amir, having, by his own free-will, abdicated, has left Afghanistan without a Government.

In consequence of the shameful outrage upon its Envoy and his suite, the British Government has been compelled to occupy by force of arms, Cabul, the capital, and to take military possession of other parts of Afghanistan.

The British Government now commands that all Afghan authorities, chiefs, and sirdars do continue their functions, in maintaining order; referring to me, whenever necessary. The British Government desires that the people shall be treated with justice and benevolence, and that their religious feelings and customs be respected.

The services of such sirdars and chiefs as assist in preserving order, will be duly recognised, but all disturbers of the peace and persons concerned in attacks upon the British authority will meet with condign punishment.

The British Government, after consultation with the principal sirdars, tribal chiefs, and others, representing the interests and wishes of the various provinces and cities, will declare its will as to the future permanent arrangements to be made for the good government of the people.

The same day it was discovered that Yakub, who had preiously professed the utmost alacrity to go to England, or wher-

ever General Roberts might send him, contemplated flight, and the stringency of his arrest was in consequence re-doubled. On the 31st October the headquarters and main body of the occupying force moved into the Sherpur cantonment.

For the first three weeks after the advance of General Roberts' force on Cabul, there had been almost constant fighting with the tribes on the line between Ali Kheyl and the Shuturgurdun. The course of events there is thus summarised in the *Indian Daily News*:

The first attack was made on the 27th September, and was on the party of the General himself. He, however, could not stay to chastise the tribesmen, as his business was to prevent a concentration of resistance at Cabul, by troops drawn from Turkestan, Ghuzneen, and the Kohistan. Impunity led to the assemblage of a larger number on the 2nd October, and to a smart action in which they suffered slightly at the hands of the 92nd and the 3rd Sikhs. When the army advanced from Kushi, the tribes looked on with wonder, and soon came to the conclusion that their opportunity had come, Ghilzais, Mangals, Jajis, flocked day after day to the scene of their presumed triumph, and even brought in 200 of their women to see the end of the garrison. By the 19th October, it is said, that no less than 17,000 men had assembled about the Shutergurdun, and it had become a question of hours when their final assault should be delivered.

On the 13th they had an engagement at the Sirkai Kotal, at the foot of the Shutergurdun on the east, brought on by the withdrawal of the garrison and stores from Karatiga, the post about which the Mangals have always been jealous, and which they swore they would destroy. This post was in charge of Allahuddin, the brother of Padishah Khan, but he did not join the camp when the stores were withdrawn. In the action on the 13th, the tribes suffered somewhat, but not enough to check them. Indeed, Lieutenant-Colonel Money, who commanded, was nearly caught. A ridge commanded the camp at the Shuturgurdun on the south, and this he neglected to occupy until he saw the fight at the Sirkai Kotal. He then detached a party to seize this southern ridge, and they found they were just in time, for the Ghilzais in great force had got up to within 50 yards of the crest, and were only beaten back with difficulty. On the 15th, the outposts were abandoned, and the troops all withdrawn under cover of the defences at the Sirkai Kotal, where all went to work with a will to complete the breast-works. On the 16th the Sirkai Kotal was abandoned, and it was reported that a body of some 400 of the regular soldiers of the Amir, armed with Sniders and Enfields, had joined the enemy. The next day, the 17th, the road was occupied, and the tribesmen protected the ground they had gained by *sangahs* or rough stone walls, and assumed so threatening a position that a heavy attack was feared. They kept up an incessant firing and sent a Jirgah under Allahuddin Khan, who proposed first, that the garrison should surrender the pass, returning to Ali Kheyl; second, surrender the position, and retire to Cabul; and third, pay Rs. 2,00,000 for permission to remain unmolested. On the 18th, both parties prepared for what was evidently to be a final struggle. The Ghilzais never ceased to fire on the camp and picquets, and pushed on to within 300 yards, and made themselves masters of the water-supply of the garrison. This made the position critical; but just as they were about delivering their attack on the 19th, it was discovered that General Gough was at Kushi, whence he flashed a welcome message, and then pushed on to the Shinkai Kotal above Dobaud

on the west of the Shutergurdun, and, dispersing the enemy here, on the 20th marched into the Shutergurdun camp. As soon as succour was known to be near, Lieutenant-Colonel Money engaged his enemy, and after shelling their lines, he then attacked them with musketry. The fight lasted all day, but at evening the Ghilzais cleared off, and the long struggle was over. The attitude of Colonel Money is accounted for by the fact that his men had only their regimental ammunition, and that his mountain guns were also short of ammunition. He was not in a position to venture upon an attempt to check his enemy, and had to reserve all his strength for their final attack. His escape was a narrow one, because General Hugh Gough's arrival was accidental. If the Ghilzais had been successful at the Shutergurdun, General Roberts would have been lost in a sea of hostile tribes. The fault is the fault of the Government, which made no attempt to hold Kushi, and no attempt to push up troops in support of the army moving on Cabul.

General Gough, who had been sent back to Kushi from Cabul, on the 17th, to bring up stores, and who had thus, by a happy accident, been able to relieve Colonel Money on the Shutergurdun, returned to Cabul on the 4th November, the Shutergurdun route having in the meantime been closed, as a line of communication with Cabul, a measure rendered necessary by the liability of the Pass to be blocked with snow during the winter.

On the Khaibar side, General Charles Gough occupied Jelalabad on the 14th October; but the Jagdalak Kotal was not occupied till the beginning of the following month, when, General Macpherson, having been sent out from Cabul to open up communications with Bright's Division, met the latter with a flying column at Kata Sung. In the meantime, General Roberts with a small force from Cabul, had, a few days previously, reconnoitred the Khurd Cabul, Lattaband and Chinari passes, the last of which was pronounced impracticable.

In the middle of December, the entire force between Jamrud and Jagdalak was set down by the Government of India at about 12,000 men, including 15 regiments of Infantry, 4 regiments of Cavalry, 6 companies of Sappers and 5 batteries of Artillery, with 30 guns.

At Kandahar little of interest has occurred. General Hughes, who left that place, on the 23rd September, with a Brigade, consisting of the 59th Foot, the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, and wings of the 3rd Gurkhas and 2nd Beluchis, with two guns, reached Khelat-i-Ghilzai by the end of the month. There he disbanded the Governor's levies, and, leaving a garrison, started with the remainder of his Brigade towards Ghazni, but was brought up at Ab-i-Tazi, about thirty miles out, owing to the impossibility of procuring supplies in the country beyond. While encamped at Ab-i-Tazi, he was threatened by Saheb Jan, a notorious free-booter, who had collected a force of Tarakhi Ghilzais and Ghazis, and

occupied a strong position in his neighbourhood. Intelligence having reached General Hughes on the 23rd October that the enemy intended to attack him the following day, he determined to anticipate them, and sent out Colonel Kennedy of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, with 150 men of his own regiment, under Major Lance; 2 companies of the 59th, a wing of the 2nd Beluchis and 2 guns, under Major Harris, to reconnoitre and hold the enemy. Colonel Kennedy's force came suddenly upon Saheb Jan and his men, strongly posted in a village, and attacked them. A brilliant affair ensued, in which the enemy was completely routed, with the loss of Saheb Jan himself and 30 of his men. A party of Ghazis still retained their position in the ruins of an old fort on a steep eminence, which was carried by Captain Sartorius and eighteen men of the 59th, the whole of the Ghazis being killed. Our loss in this action was Captain Sartorius and Captain Broome, wounded, two men killed, and two native officers and twenty-five men wounded.

General Hughes was subsequently called back to Kandahar, which he reached on the 8th November, having left one squadron of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, a wing of the 29th Native Infantry and six companies of the 59th Foot to garrison Khelat-i-Ghilzai.

The work on the Sakkar-Dadur, now the Sakkar-Kandahar, line of railway, was commenced in the beginning of October, and by the end of the year about eighty miles had been completed. In accordance with the recommendation of Sir Richard Temple, who performed a wonderful journey on horseback to Kandahar and back, in connexion with the alignment of the line among other matters, the Government of India has decided on carrying it to Kandahar *viâ* Sibi, Harnai, the Chappur mountain, Gwal, Gulistan Kurez and the Gwaja and Durra Passes, thus avoiding the difficulties of the Bolan.

The force under General Stewart, on the Dadur line, consisted, at the end of the year, of 9,045 troops of all arms, of whom 2,376 were Europeans and 6,669 natives, with 62 guns, including a siege train.

The month of November and the early part of December were chiefly occupied at Cabul in laying in supplies for the winter. Separate commissions were appointed for the trial of the military and political prisoners who were arrested from time to time, and some twenty prisoners, including the city Kotwal and two Risaladars, were executed, some for complicity in the attack on the Embassy, and others for being found with property of the Embassy, or arms, in their possession. Yakub Khan himself and the other political

prisoners of rank were deported to India, there to await the decision of the Home Government in their cases.

The situation at Kabul at the beginning of December was marked by formidable gatherings, both in the Kohistan hills on the North and about Maidan to the South. The information received by General Roberts, from time to time, regarding both the extent of these movements, and the plans of the enemy seems to have been of a most imperfect, if not misleading, character. Matters at length assumed so threatening an aspect, and the probability of a combined attack by these two bodies of the enemy upon the city became so imminent, that it was resolved to make an effort to prevent their junction. Accordingly, on the 10th of December, General Macpherson, with a Brigade marched out from Kilà-afshar across the Chardeh plain with the intention of marching southwards, on reaching the Ghazni Kohistan Road, and attacking the enemy, who were marching northward from Maidan under Mahomed Jan, General Baker, with another Brigade, having, in the meantime, been sent round by Charasiah with the view of striking the Ghazni Road in the rear of the enemy, and thus intercepting his retreat. This combined movement, however, had evidently been planned in ignorance both of the positions and numbers of the forces whose junction it was intended to prevent. For, on reaching the head of the Pass between Chardeh and the Koh Daman, General Macpherson found that, instead of being free to advance southward against Mahomed Jan, his march was threatened by an immense force of Kohistànis, assembled in the Paghman Valley under Mir Batcha. Having to elect between retiring and attacking the enemy, he decided on the latter course, and, advancing against them with four companies of the 67th, six companies of the 5th Goorkhas, and 3 of the 3rd Sikhs, succeeded in driving them off. After this action, General Macpherson encamped at the Kotal for the night. The next morning four guns of the Royal Horse Artillery, escorted by two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, and one of the 14th Bengal Lancers, while advancing across the Chardeh plain, to join General Macpherson, were attacked by about ten thousand of the enemy under Mahomed Jan. The guns, having become entangled in difficult ground, had to be abandoned, after repeated charges by the Lancers, who had twenty-three casualties. Sherpur, which was very weakly held, being apparently the objective of the enemy, General Macpherson, with the Infantry, hurried down from his advanced position, by the Bamian Road; and the enemy, finding his rear thus threatened, turned off from the road to Sherpur, and made straight for the village of Dehmazung.

Here they were checked by a body of the 72nd Highlanders, who had occupied the roofs and walls of the village, and, being thus prevented from entering the city, a large body of them made for the heights to the South of the Bala Hissar, which they succeeded in occupying; General Macpherson, about the same time, occupying the fortified ridge immediately above the Bala Hissar. Here the enemy attacked him in the evening, but were beaten off. On the 12th, General Macpherson made repeated unsuccessful attempts to dislodge the enemy from the heights to the South. In the evening, General Baker with his Brigade, arrived from the Argandeh Valley, having been much harassed by the enemy on the way. The next morning, moving out with the 92nd Highlanders, the Guides Infantry, a wing of the 3rd Sikhs, a squadron of the 9th Lancers, the 5th Panjab Cavalry and eight guns, he stormed and carried the heights, General Macpherson simultaneously attacking from the Bala Hissar ridge, with 200 of the 6th Goorkhas, a company of the 72nd Highlanders, 250 of the 3rd Sikhs and a mountain battery. Mahomed Jan drew off his men towards Chardeh, where they were much cut up by a squadron of the 14th Bengal Lancers, and at the same time a large body of Kohistanis advancing across the plain to the East of the Bemaru ridge were dispersed with great loss by the Guides Cavalry, and another body, who had been shelled out of the Siah Sang ridge, were cut up by squadrons of the 9th Lancers, 5th Punjab Cavalry and 14th Bengal Lancers.

Seeing, however, that, notwithstanding their defeat, the enemy was still collecting in increasing numbers in the surrounding country, General Roberts decided on abandoning the city and the Bala Hissar, and concentrating his entire force within the Sherpur cantonment. This movement, which was carried out on the 14th, was not effected without severe fighting and considerable loss on our side. On the Koh-i-Ismai, General Baker was attacked by the enemy from Chardeh in overwhelming force. The battle in this direction lasted throughout the day, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the enemy were held in check and the General enabled to withdraw by the right of the city to Sherpur, General Macpherson also suffering some loss in retiring from the Bala Hissar between the city and the Siah Sang hills to the East. At the same time, the 12th Bengal Cavalry and part of the 23rd Pioneers were recalled from Butkhak and reached Sherpur without opposition. The city was immediately occupied by the enemy and extensively pillaged, the Hindoo and Kizilbash inhabitants being the principal sufferers. On the 16th, Musa Khan, the son of Yakub Khan, was proclaimed Ameer by Mahomed Jan, and Mushki Allan, the Mullah, to

whose preaching the rising of the tribes appears to have been chiefly due. General Roberts occupied his time in strengthening the defences of the cantonment and the Bemaru ridge, commanding Sherpur, which had been also occupied by him.

On the 17th and following days, the enemy made repeated attempts to establish themselves in the neighbourhood of Sherpur; but detailed accounts of the conflicts which ensued on these occasions, have not been received at the time of writing. In response to General Robert's urgent call for reinforcements, Brigadier-General Charles Gough's Brigade was ordered up from Jagdalak. Owing, however, partly to want of transport, and partly, it would seem, to an exaggerated estimate of the amount of opposition likely to be encountered, this movement was attended with inordinate delay, and it was not until the afternoon of the 23rd that General Gough arrived within sight of Kabul. On that morning, the enemy resumed their attack on General Robert's position in great force, directing their chief efforts against the East corner of the Bemaru ridge. The events of the day are thus described by a correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette.*

"Information had been received on the 22nd that the enemy would attack our cantonments that night or early the following morning, the signal of attack to be a beacon on Asmai heights. The troops were ordered to be on the alert all night, especially at daybreak on the 23rd, the last day of the Mohamedan festival. At 6 A. M. a light was seen and firing immediately commenced; on each of the east and south sides of the cantonment a resolute attack was made by the enemy from a strong village outside of Bemaru which was occupied by us; this was repulsed by a heavy fire from the guides infantry. Throughout the day the fire of the enemy was incessant, especially from the garden which they had occupied on the withdrawing of the 5th Punjab Cavalry therefrom on the previous day; their fire also from a wall running up to the south-west side of the cantonment was particularly heavy. The general disposition for defence was as follows:—General Hills, with the 5th Punjab Infantry, 3rd Sikhs, 5th Goorkhas, one and a half squadron of cavalry, dismounted, held from the west gateway to the gorge in the hill in the centre of the cantonment to the north; thence General Hugh Gough with the 23rd Pioneers and details to the north-east. General Macpherson and Colonel Brownlow held the line and bastions to the south, with wings of the 67th and 72nd Regiments, and the Sappers, the hills on the left; General Baker in reserve in the rear of the gorge with wings of the 67th, 72nd and 92nd: of artillery a nine-pounder was placed in the south-east corner of the bastion, three guns and two heavy, one mountain gun in the bastion on the south-west, two nine-pounders on the crest of the hill under General Hills, sweeping the north-west face. The enemy showing in great force on the east and south-east, two guns and 50 Goorkhas escorting were sent out through the gorge to check the advance, cavalry under Massey were also sent out, making a wide detour towards the north-east, out-flanking the enemy and cutting up about a hundred. This movement caused the enemy to retire into the villages to the east of our position, from when towards the evening they retreated in vast numbers towards Siah Sung heights. During their retreat they were exposed to heavy fire from the 92nd from the south-east corner of the bastion; meanwhile cavalry had reached Siah Sung and succeeded in

blowing up two villages at the foot of the range, during which operation Captain Dundas and Lieutenant Nugent were killed, owing to the premature explosion of the fuze. The enemy appeared on Siah Sung heights, from which they kept up a smart fire on our cavalry; the fire from our nine-pounder guns checked their advance from the north-west; fighting continued till dark; the enemy's loss is computed at four hundred killed; our casualties were thirty-eight. During the night Mahomed Jan and his troops left the city, marching towards Chardeh Valley and Kohistan in thousands."

The discomfiture of the enemy was complete, and by nightfall they were withdrawing on all sides. The following day General Gough marched into Sherpur and preparations were made to re-occupy the city and the Bala Hissar. Three days later a force was sent under General Baker into Kohistan. In the city, the mother and wife of Yakub Khan, who were deeply implicated in the rising, were arrested.

Our loss from the 10th to the 23rd December was a little over three hundred killed and wounded, and the strength of the force with General Roberts on the latter date was about 5,800 effectives of all arms, exclusive of a detachment of 700 men at Lattaband.

The military history of the Quarter would be incomplete without some reference to the Naga outbreak, and the little war it has entailed upon us on our North-Eastern frontier.

Early in October, Mr. Damant, the Political Officer in the Naga Hills appears to have received information that the men of Khonoma were collecting arms and ammunition, and he consequently determined to proceed to the village with a small force from Kohima for the purpose of seizing them. He arrived at Khonoma, on the 14th October, with a guard of eighty men, consisting partly of regulars and partly of police, and having incautiously approached the village, was attacked and killed with upwards of forty of his guard, the remainder dispersing and escaping with difficulty to Kohima. Hardly had the small force stationed there, with the residents and their attendants, had time to retire within the stockade then it was besieged by a large force of Nagas. For thirteen days the party were shut up, and their supply of water being insufficient, they must, in all probability, have surrendered but for the arrival of Col. Johnstone, who, with most praiseworthy energy and promptitude, had marched out from Manipur with a large force of Kukis and Manipuris.

The 44th N. I., which had reached Goalundo, on its way to the seat of war in Afghanistan, when the outrage occurred, was immediately ordered back, and an expedition against Khonoma organised under the command of Brigadier-General Nation. Owing to difficulties in the matter of transport and supplies, the operations which followed were attended with great delay, and

the Nagas thus had time to prepare a most formidable series of defences. At length on the 22nd November a force of about 600 men was assembled at Khonoma, and, after a desperate conflict resulting in the loss of four officers wounded, two mortally, and between forty and fifty men killed and wounded, the village was occupied, the Nagas making good their escape, with a loss of about sixty killed and wounded, to other fastnesses in the hills.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

General Literature.

Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, with an Introduction, prose Versions, and parallel Passages from Classical Authors. By J. Muir, C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D., London, Trübner & Co.: Ludgate Hill. 1879.

Though made up to a great extent of matter previously published by its learned author, this handsome volume forms a most valuable addition to the body of Oriental literature available to English readers. It constitutes in fact, a copious anthology of the Sanskrit classics, and, apart from its purely literary interest, is calculated to fulfil an important moral purpose. For it is impossible to read many pages of it without being convinced that the attainment of the highest ethical truths is independent of any special revelation. We may safely say that there is nothing in the moral code recognised by Christians which is not to be found iterated again and again in this collection of wise sayings of ancient Indian sages. Even those maxims which religious pride, combined with ignorance of facts, or a narrow and unphilosophic conception of the genesis of moral sentiments, leads many persons to regard as peculiar to Christianity, are here laid down in terms so closely resembling those with which they are specially connected in the minds of Christians, as to have induced prejudiced critics to find in the coincidence a proof of plagiarism.

> With meekness conquer wrath, and ill with ruth;
> By giving niggards vanquish, lies with truth.
> *Mahābhārata* iii. 13253; v. 1518; xii. 9972.

> Reviling meet with patience; ne'er
> To men malignant malice bear.
> Harsh tones and wrathful language greet
> With gentle speech and accents sweet.
> When struck, return not thou the blow.
> *Mahābhārata* v. 1270; xii. 11008.

> Hear virtue's sum expressed in one
> Brief maxim—lay it well to heart,
> Ne'er do to others what, if done
> To thee, would cause thee inward smart.
> *Punchatantra* iii. 104.

His action no applause invites,
Who simply good with good repays:
He only justly merits praise
Who wrongful deeds with kind requites.

Punchatantra i. 277.

In an introduction, Dr. Muir discusses the question lately brought into prominence by Lorinser, though not raised by him for the first time, with special regard to the Bhágavad Gítā, of the influence of the New Testament on the moral ideas of the Indians. It is to be regretted that Dr. Muir has not given us any very definite opinion of his own on the subject; but it is easy to see which way his convictions tend, and the weight of the critical opinions quoted by him is strongly in favour of the originality of the Hindu writers in this respect. In forming an opinion on the question, he very pertinently says:—

"We should, supposing the alleged resemblances to be admitted, consider, first, whether the ideas, sentiments, or figures of speech supposed to be borrowed by the Indians from the west, are not such as might naturally arise in the human, or at least in the oriental, mind; secondly, whether they cannot be traced, at least in germ, in Indian writers of such antiquity as to exclude the supposition of foreign influence; thirdly, whether they do not so pervade the Indian writings as to be manifestly indigenous and original; fourthly, whether the writings of any other countries, known to be independent of Christian influences, contain ideas or sentiments supposed to be exclusively or peculiarly Christian; and fifthly, what probability there is that the Brahmans of the period in question could have been brought into contact with foreign ideas, and whether they would have been intellectually and morally open to, and suspectible of, such influences.

The appendix and supplement to Dr. Muir's work in which he gives prose translations of a large number of the passages, and compares them, where they admit of comparison, with passages from the Greek and Latin classics, is most valuable. Many of these parallelisms are very striking.

To the miscellaneous translations are added a series from hymns of the Rigveda. We give that descriptive of Yama, the Indian Pluto, and a future life, which appears to us to possess a singular interest, as indicative, in fourteen out of the seventeen stanzas comprised in it, of a state of faith absolutely inconsistent with, and obviously anterior to, the philosophic doctrine of final absorption in the one immanent spirit; a primitive Aryan belief probably handed down intact from the pre-migration period, and closely resembling the popular Greek views on the same subject.

Rigveda x. 14 ; x. 15 ; x. 16 ; and *Atharva Veda.*

To great king Yama homage pay,
Who was the first of men that died,
That crossed the mighty gulf, and spied
For mortals out the heavenly way.

No power can ever close the road
Which he to us laid open then,
By which, in long procession, men
Ascend to his sublime abode.

By it our fathers all have passed ;
And that same path we too shall trace,
And every new succeeding race
Of mortal men, while time shall last.

The god assembles round his throne
A growing throng, the good and wise,—
All those whom, scanned with searching eyes,
He recognises as his own.

Departed mortal, speed from earth
By those old ways thy sires have trod ;
Ascend, behold the expectant god
Who calls thee to a higher birth.

First must each several element
That joined to form thy living frame,
Flit to the region whence it came,
And with its parent source be blent.

Thine eye shall seek the solar orb,
Thy life-breath to the wind shall fly,
Thy part ethereal to the sky ;
Thine earthy part shall earth absorb.

Thine unborn part shall Agni bright
With his benignant rays illume,
And guide it through the trackless gloom
To yonder sphere of life and light.

On his resplendent pinions rise,
Or soar upon a car aloft,
By wind-gods fanned with breezes soft,
Until thou enterest paradise.

And calmly pass, without alarm,
The four-eyed hounds which guard the road
That leads to Yama's bright abode :
Their master's friends they dare not harm.

All imperfections leave behind :
Assume thine ancient frame once more,—
Each limb, and sense, thou hadst before,
From every earthly taint refined.

And now with heavenly glory bright,
With life intenser, nobler, blest,
With large capacity to taste
A fuller measure of delight.

Thou there once more each well-known face
Shalt see of those thou lovedst here :
Thy parents, wife, and children dear,
With rapture shalt thou then embrace.

The fathers, too, shalt thou behold,
The heroes who in battle died,
The saints and sages glorified.
The pious, bounteous kings of old.

The gods whom here in humble wise
Thou worshippedst with doubt and awe,
Shall there the impervious veil withdraw
Which hid their glory from thine eyes.

The good which thou on earth hast wrought,
Each sacrifice, each pious deed,
Shall there receive its ample meed :
No worthy act shall be forgot.

In those fair realms of cloudless day,
Where Yama every joy supplies,
And every longing satisfies,
Thy bliss shall never know decay.

Dr. Muir's metrical translations are throughout admirable ; at once elegant, simple, and faithful to the sense of the originals.

Modern India and the Indians, being a Series of Impressions, Notes, and Essays. By Monier Williams, D.C.L., Hon. L.L.D. of the University of Calcutta, Hon. Member of the Bombay Asiatic Society, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. *Third Edition, Revised and augmented by considerable Additions.* London ; Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill. 1879.

IT speaks well for the growing interest taken by the British reading public in India that this volume of thoughtful and picturesque essays on the country and its people has, in less than eighteen months, reached a third edition. As we have already noticed the first edition at some length, we shall confine ourselves, on the present occasion, to such parts of the volume before us as consist of new material.

Dr. Monier Williams, in his preface, informs the reader that the chapter on the "Villages and Rural Population of India," and several other sections of the work, are quite new, while the two essays on the "Progress of our Indian Empire" are, in the main, reprinted from the *Contemporary Review*.

The writer's sketch of the general features of village organisation in India is based mainly on the study of Gujarati models, and, though he admits that the details are not uniform throughout the country, we think he displays a tendency, on the whole, to exaggerate the extent of communal self-government still pre-

vailing. Though there is probably no part of India in which the village communities do not still retain more or less of the ancient system and machinery, it is in many parts little more than a survival.

Most undoubtedly he is at fault when he says: "Happily for India, and for our own tenure of the country, our policy has always been to preserve existing native institutions as far as possible intact. We encourage the people to settle their own disputes among themselves in their own way. We make a point of upholding the action of native *Panchāyats*, though we do not, of course, give legal validity to all their decisions."

Where our policy has not been one of pure indifference, the reverse of this is generally the truth; and one of the great defects in our latest schemes of rural self-government is, that they ignore, instead of utilising, not only existing native institutions, but the very principles on which they are based. As to the *Panchāyat* system, the countenance we give it amounts to bare toleration alone. On this side of India, practically, nothing is done to encourage and develope it, though it would furnish the solution of many difficulties.

A very interesting account is given of the different functionaries in the village of Khatraj, which the writer has selected as a typical case:—

1. First comes the Patwārī, or village accountant and registrar, who is a kind of Government land-steward, keeping the Jama-bandī or account of lands, produce, rents and assessments of his village. He sometimes acts as Majmūdār (otherwise Majumdār, corrupted into Mujumdār) or State Record-keeper, and in some parts of Western India is called Talāti. This functionary comes next to the head-man in importance and influence, having often independent authority, irrespective of his office as a Government agent. He usually receives about half the emoluments of the head-man.

2. Then, secondly, there is the village chaplain, or domestic priest (called in Sanskrit Purohita, and in Gujarātī Gor for Guru)—who performs all religious ceremonies for the villagers, the impure castes only excepted. He is supported by fixed allotments of grain, and by special presents of food at caste dinners, or by gifts of money on occasions of births, weddings, and other family solemnities. He often combines supplementary functions of a kindred nature. For example, he may be astrologer, almanac-maker, and schoolmaster. Furthermore, he and his wife are generally the village match-makers, arranging all the marriages of the community with careful attention to caste-usages.

3. Next comes the Nāī, or barber (Sanskrit Nāpit, Arabic Hajjām, sometimes vulgarly called Wārand or Wāland, and in Gujarāt, Ghaengo or Ghaeja)—who, with his kit of primitive razors and implements of the rudest description, does all the work expected of him admirably. No man in India thinks of shaving himself. Hence the barber is an important member of the community. His duties are not confined to shaving. He cuts nails, shampoos the limbs, and often acts as village doctor[1]. In some parts of India he helps to arrange marriages.

[1] His wife is often the village midwife.

4. Fourth on the list may be placed the Kumbhār, or potter (Sanskrit Kumbha-kāra)—who by means of a wheel *(chakra)* of the simplest construction, makes all the earthenware pots and platters of the villagers with a skill truly surprising. He generally uses a donkey to fetch his materials, and from his cleverness in moulding clay into any shape, is facetiously called Prajāpati, 'the creator.'

5. Fifth must be mentioned the Sūtār, or carpenter (Sanskrit Sūtra-dhāra)—who also with the roughest tools does the village carpentering admirably. He ought perhaps to have been named earlier, as he ranks high in the social scale, and in proof of his superior pretensions even claims the privilege of wearing the sacred thread like a Brāhman.

6. Then in close company with the carpenter will always be found the Lohār, or blacksmith (Sanskrit Lohā-kāra). These two useful workmen together make and mend all the village tools and agricultural implements.

7. Next comes the Dhobī, or washerman—an important personage, for no family ever thinks of saving money by washing at home. This operation can only be performed by a man of the right caste.

8. Eighth in the list may be placed the Bhīsti (properly Bihishtī), or water-carrier—sometimes called Pakhāli. He generally carries water in two leather-skins suspended over the back of a bullock, or in one skin suspended over his own back.

9. Next ought to be reckoned the Darzī (often corrupted into Darjī) or tailor –sometimes called Sūī from his use of the Sūchi, or needle, and in the Dekkan Sipī or Simpī. He is not so important a person as in Europe, for the simple reason that an ordinary Indian's clothes need very little stitching. Still such sewing as may be required is always done by the tailor and his wife, never by the women of the family.

10. The tenth personage in the catalogue is the Mochī, or shoemaker—who repairs the shoes of the community, and makes the leather work required in yoking the bullocks. Many of the villagers are content to remain shoeless, but the cultivators require good thick soles, frequently made of rhinoceros-hide brought from Zanzibar.

11. Last but one, but not nearly least in importance, comes the Chaukidār, or watchman (in Gujarāt called Rákhewād, or Pabarī). Of these functionaries there are usually four, and in larger rural communes even fifteen or twenty. Though very poor, their trustworthiness, when in charge of treasure or valuables of any kind, is remarkable. In some places the watchman is also a Government official, who receives as his pay five acres of rent-free land. In Orissa, according to Dr. Hunter, he is generally allowed by the villagers to select the largest sheaf of corn in every field.

12 Under the twelfth head must be placed the impure castes who do all the dirty work of the village:—for example, the Chamār, or tanner (Sanskrit Charma-kāra), who prepares and hands over to the shoemaker all the hides and skins of the sheep, oxen and other animals that die in the commune; the Dhed or Dher; and the Bhangī[2]. These last two personages are the village menials. Their work is absolutely necessary to the comfort, if not to the very health and life, of its population. They are not only sweepers and scavengers; they do other menial work, and are often trusted with the important duty of carrying letters. The Bhangī also shows the road to travellers, carrying a bamboo walking-stick with which he removes thorns and briars from the path. Both Dhers and Bhangīs are gross feeders. They devour the flesh of cows, buffaloes, and all animals that die a natural death in the village. They also drink spirituous liquor, but rarely become

[2] The proper occupation of the Bhangī is said to be that of breaking (Sanskrit *bhanj* to break) reeds to make baskets.

intoxicated. In some parts of Western India, the low caste sweeper population are called Mhārs. In other parts of India the name Dom is common.

The various officials enumerated under the above twelve divisions along with the head-man, form the ordinary complement of servants and handicraftsmen needed for the maintenance of even the smallest rural communities. They are all paid by receiving portions of the grain or other produce in different proportions, according to the character and extent of their services.

Larger villages add other distinct functionaries, such as the *Guru* or schoolmaster; the *Joshī*, or astrologer (Sanskrit *Jyotishī*), who names the lucky days for sowing, ploughing, marriages, journeys, &c., draws out horoscopes and almanacs, and tells fortunes—a most important personage, for nine-tenths of the people of India are slaves to astrological superstition; the *Vaid*, or village apothecary and doctor (Sanskrit *Vaidya*); the *Telī* or oilman (Sanskrit *Tailī*; in some places called *Ghanchī*); the *Kasarī*, otherwise *Kaserā*, or brazier; the *Kolī* or weaver; the *Rangārī* or dyer; the *Halwāī*, or confectioner. Then in some villages there is the *Gāpurgārī*, or hailstorm-charmer, who charms away hailstorms from the crops, and other varieties of charmers, such as the tiger-charmer, the snake-charmer, and above all the demon-charmer, who exorcises devils and other evil spirits.

Mutatis mutandis—the wife of the Chamár, for instance, being substituted for the wife of the Hajám in Behar, as the village midwife—this picture will hold good of most Indian villages.

On the whole, Professor Monier Williams is favourably impressed with rural institutions and character. He says :—

With regard to the general character of the rural population of Western India, I may state that an experienced military officer, for some time Surveyor-General of the Bombay Presidency, recorded, about fifty years ago, the impressions he formed in the course of a minute survey of the country[1]. At that time the villagers of every caste were found by him and his assistants to be 'simple and temperate' in their habits, 'quiet and peaceful' in disposition, 'obedient and faithful' in the fulfilment of duty. It was believed that they 'had the advantage of Europeans of the same class, not only in propriety of manners, but in the practice of moral virtues.' They had no 'conspicuous vices.' The affection and tenderness of parents was returned by the 'habitual dutifulness of their children.' Hospitality towards strangers 'was carefully observed.' Everywhere throughout the country 'there was charity without ostentation.' No beggars were to be seen, 'except those who were religious mendicants by profession.' Though there was no poor law, 'the indigent and diseased were always provided for by the internal village arrangements.' There was everywhere such mutual confidence that 'no written documents in transactions involving money payments were required.' The cultivators paid their rents and took no receipts. Money and valuables were deposited 'without any other security than the accounts of the parties.' On a particular occasion at an immense religious fair on the banks of the Narbadā, two hundred thousand people were collected, yet there was 'no rioting, no quarrelling, no drunkenness nor disorder of any kind.' All were intent on their religious

[1] See Lieut.-Colonel Monier Williams' 'Memoir of the Zilla of Broach,' p. 108. In quoting my father's authority, I may mention that his experience of India extended over twenty-four years of unbroken active service.

duties. The officers employed on the survey had 'no other guard but the village watchmen,' yet no robbery was committed, nor was the smallest article ever pilfered from the tents.

I cannot think that much change has passed over the people since this favourable impression made by their behaviour and general character fifty years ago. It is true, that they now often appear in a very different light to their rulers. In our courts of justice they are constantly guilty of gross deception. But it seems doubtful whether Europeans would be very different in their attitude towards State officials under similar circumstances. Here in England a large number of people see no impropriety in evading the taxes, breaking the laws, and deceiving the police. In point of fact we are apt to judge the natives of India by the character they present to their foreign rulers, rather than by that they bear towards each other in their own homes. The same men who in our courts of law have no idea of the duty of truth, will in their own Panchâyats settle disputes with perfect fairness.

With the above estimate most persons, who have studied Indian village life from a sufficiently close standpoint, will agree.

He is even more favourably impressed with the economic condition of the great body of the people:

And here I may observe that notwithstanding the apparent poverty of the common people of India, they are rarely poor to the point of discomfort. Thanks to the climate they have few wants, and are very thrifty. However small the weekly earnings, a little money is sure to be saved, and that little is never wasted on strong drinks. Instead, however, of being laid by as it ought to be, in the Post-office Savings Bank, it is generally invested in jewellery for the adornment of the women and children of the family. Certainly, after looking at Indian females, whether old or young—their arms, legs, fingers, and toes covered with bangles and rings, generally made of silver and not seldom of gold—it is difficult to believe in the poverty, much less in the alleged bankruptcy of India. Scarcely a woman of the poorest families is without a nose-ring in one nostril, and many of the better classes have also necklaces and earrings. Sometimes the nasal organ is decorated with a small circlet of five or six pearls set in gold, with an emerald in the centre. I once saw a woman who lived in a mud cottage, and earned 20 rupees a month as nurse. She had a double row of chased gold beads round her neck. Her nose-ring had six fine pearls, but she had not yet saved enough money for the central emerald, which is sure to be procured and duly inserted a few years hence.

Again, when I was at Ahmedabad, I was invited into the house of a man who has a large family, and who has been earning about £100 a year as a Government servant for many years. He took me into a private room, opened a deal box in the corner and displayed the jewels worn by his wife and children on festive occasions. I believe I am under the mark when I say that they might have been sold in England for at least £1,500.

So also one has only to go to a railway station when a local train comes in, to see an almost incredible amount of jewellery in the third-class carriages. Men and women are packed like sheep, the sexes being kept separate, but scarcely a woman, except the very poorest, is without a nose-ring in one nostril, or an earring in one ear, or gold or silver ornaments of some kind.

Again we were one day taken by the Collector of Kaira's wife to a girls' school. My companions were ladies who inspected it closely. They informed me that 35 girls were assembled in the class-room awaiting their

arrival with six women superintendents. All the girls, however poor, wore ornaments of some sort or other, and two or three tiny children of three or four years of age, though wholly unencumbered with clothing, were literally bowed down by the weight of thick bracelets, necklaces and ankle-rings. A few, only of the poorest, had necklaces and ornaments made of straw. The teachers, too, were profusely decorated, only one poor widow in sombre attire, and undecorated by a single ornament, stood aloof as if apologizing for being present in the room, or indeed, for being present in the world at all.

Had the writer travelled in Behar, he would probably have felt it necessary to warn the reader against confounding weight of female jewellery with value, and altogether, we suspect, would have come to a widely different conclusion regarding the condition of the people.

Hindu Tribes and Castes; together with an Account of the Mahomedan Tribes of the North-West Frontier and of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces. By the Rev. M. A. Sherring, MA., LL. B., Lond.; Fellow of the Calcutta University; Corresponding Member of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Vol. II, Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. Ludgate Hill. London: Trübner and Co. Bombay: Thacker and Co. Madras: Higginbotham and Co. 1879.

MR. Sherring's previous volume exhibited the tribes and castes of India as represented in Benares. Thus, most of the principal Brahmanical tribes, and the Hindu, inferior and non-Aryan tribes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh came within its scope; but few of the other tribes of the Peninsula were included in its range. The present volume proceeds upon a more scientific principle, and discusses the tribes of well-defined geographical areas according to their habitats. The tracts of country thus dealt with are the Panjab and its North-Western Frontier; the Central Provinces and Berar; the Bombay Presidency and the Province of Scinde; and, as regards the North-West Frontier and Central Provinces, it includes the Mahomedan and Aboriginal tribes, respectively.

In a work of this comprehensive character exhaustive treatment is hardly to be expected, and in many cases, Mr. Sherring gives little more than the names and occupation, or character, of the tribes catalogued. In the case of tribes of importance, however, more detailed, and often highly interesting, information is given.

The introduction, which contains a critical dissertation on the Brahmanical and Rajput tribes and their mutual relations, with very copious lists of their names and the localities inhabited by them, deserves more than a passing notice.

In connexion with the Brahmans, Mr. Sherring lays great stress upon the remarkable fact that, while making claim to community of origin, and while basing on that origin a common title to special sanctity and superiority over all the other tribes, they exhibit among themselves, not only extraordinary physical diversity, but a degree of mutual exclusiveness and intolerance not surpassed by what obtains between the most widely-separated castes.

"The Brahmanical tribes in some of their leading divisions are as rigidly opposed to mutual social intercourse as to intercourse with inferior castes. There is no communion whatever between Brahmans of the North and Brahmans of the South. The five great tribes in the North, known as Gaur, though they may meet and acknowledge each other's Brahmanical rank, can form no close alliances with one another, and would be excommunicated if they partook of a meal sitting together on the same carpet. A similar intense and hostile exclusiveness does not prevail among the five Drâvira tribes of the South, nevertheless marriage between them is utterly forbidden.

The tribes, therefore, are isolated. But even their sub-divisions are not always allowed free intercourse. For example, the five chief branches of the Kanoujiya Brahmans are under considerable restrictions. The members of the principal branch will only permit their sons to contract alliances with the women of the other branches, but will not give their daughters to their sons. The three great Brahman families of Mysore are separated widely from one another, and take the utmost pains to keep apart."

Thus they give the lie in practice to their profession of unity and display a want of solidarity, and an incapacity for community of action, only equalled by the pride with which they keep other castes at a distance.

"Hundreds of these tribes, if not at enmity with one another, cherish mutual distrust and antipathy to such a degree, that they are socially separated from one another, as far as it is possible for them to be,—as much as Brahmans are from the lowest outcastes,—neither eating nor drinking together, nor intermarrying, and only agreed in matters of religion, and in the determination to maintain the pride and secular dominancy of their order. The Brahmans display all the vices of a family divided against itself with more than ordinary intensity, for each one presumes on his purity of caste and birth, and affects the airs and ostentation of an eldest son and heir.

There is no feature of the Brahmanical priesthood more supremely characteristic of the entire race than this, that the Brahmans have utterly lost their federalism, and are now split up into an infinite number of divisions, with no common bond of

brotherhood between them beyond the conviction that, while they do not agree among themselves, they, to the same extent precisely, do not agree with all other castes below them. So far as their separation from other Hindu castes, and their assumed superiority over them are concerned, they are Brahmans of the same fraternity, and yet internally they are, at the same time, distracted by all the feuds, antipathies, and jealousies of all the castes combined.

Could there be again in India, as there used to be in former times, assemblies of Brahmans from all parts of the country, for the discussion of some important subject connected with religion and philosophy, such assemblies would be of the most motley character, and would be marked by discord and suspicion. Indeed, the absence of such assemblies, and their impossibility in these days, are a proof, if any were needed, of the universal disintegration of the Brahmanical race.

So far as their supreme attachment to Hinduism, and their intense belief in the superiority of their order, are concerned, but in no other sense, they are one family—a family, however, as shown above, divided into hundreds of factions through internal dissension and corruption."

The family is divided into two great branches—the Gaur and the Drâvira—each, again, separated into five tribes, *viz.*, the Gaur into the Kanoujiya; the Saraswat; the Gaur; the Maithila, and the Utkala, Brahmans; and the Drâvira into the Maharashtra; the Tailanga; the Drâvira; the Karnata, and the Gurjar Brahmans. The five Gaura tribes are again divided into an enormous number of sub-tribes, of which Mr. Sherring has catalogued more than two hundred.

The Drâvira tribes are less numerously sub-divided, and they also, on the whole, exhibit more mutual tolerance.

The dissertation closes with a discussion of the question how far the two great Brahmanical families of Gaurs and Drâviras are ethnologically connected. On this point Mr. Sherring says: "Two of the principal Drâvira tribes—the Maharashtra and the Gurjar—may at once be disposed of. It is beyond all dispute that these Brahmans are from North-Western India, and consequently were formerly one with the Gaur tribes. Moreover, the two languages spoken by them—Mahratti and Gujerati—like the languages of the Gaurs, are both derived from Sanskrit. In other words, the five Gaur tribes, and also the Maharashtra and Gurjar tribes, are all Aryan in origin.

The remaining three Drâvira tribes,—namely, Tailanga, Drâvira, and Karnata,—speak Dravidian languages, having no affinity whatever with Sanskrit and its derivative tongues. Nevertheless, their sacred language, which they all more or less study, is Sanskrit;

and in this respect, therefore, they resemble the Brahmans to the north, north-west, and West of themselves. The common belief, based on good grounds, is that, languages of Northern India derived from Sanskrit have acquired many of their peculiar dialectic changes through contact with the languages of aboriginal tribes which they eventually superseded, and yet that in their strongest features they have continued to retain their original Sanskritic type. The aboriginal races of Southern India, on the contrary, by reason of the comparative sparsity of Aryan immigration from the north, were able to hold fast their own languages, which became in fact the languages of the primitive Aryan settlers, alike of Brahmans and of castes below them. It has thus come to pass, that Dravidian, in some form, whether Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, or Maliyâlim, is spoken and written by the inhabitants of Southern India, aboriginal and non-aboriginal, Hindu and non-Hindu, Brahmans, Paria, and Shânâr.

If this were the only guide we had, we should be led to the belief that the Brahmans of Southern India were not Aryans, but Dravidians. In cast of countenance and general *physique*, they are, however, manifestly akin to Northern Brahmans, and not to the Dravidian races. Although differences will be seen, still there is confessedly a much closer resemblance between Southern and Northern Brahmans than between Brahmans of Bengal, who are frequently of dark complexion and of small stature, and Brahmans of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, who are light in colour, and of tall and commanding figure. But this statement is not merely true in regard to Brahmans, but is also true in respect of a large proportion of Hindus,—that is, of castes below Brahmanical, within the pale of Hinduism, in Southern India. Physically they approach much more nearly to Aryan types than to Dravidian. When it is added, that the prevalent traditions in the south show that Brahmans and other Hindus immigrated thither in small batches from the north and north-west of India during a considerable period in primitive times, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion, that nearly all this great class of the community is in fact ethnologically allied to the Hindus of the north.

We may consequently look upon the Brahmans of the south, in spite of their rigid exclusiveness, of their differences in language and customs, and of other peculiarities, as of the same family originally as Brahmans in the north. Not a few spurious Brahmans are to be found in both regions; yet I believe that, in the main, the great Brahmanical community, of many tribes and languages, scattered over the whole of India, is one and the same people, who have preserved the purity of their blood with, on the whole, wonderful success."

The Rajputs are distinguished from the Brahmans by their comparative solidarity, all the tribes, with few exceptions, eating and drinking together and intermarrying, though in many cases such unions between different tribes can be entered into only on payment of more or less heavy penalties. Unlike the Brahmans, too, they are chiefly confined to certain large divisions of the country, *viz.*, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Rajputana, the Panjab, Central India, the Central Provinces, Gujarat and Cutch. This is Mr. Sherring's enumeration, but surely, it should include Behar.

Of their character the author forms a very high estimate. He says: "The Rajputs, while of haughty bearing, yet less proud than the Brahmans, are a chivalrous people, naturally fond of war and strife, noble and generous in demeanour, free from meanness and subtlety, delighting in deeds displaying strength and courage, and the most manly of all Hindu races. Tall, well-made, muscular, with a powerful arm and an expressive countenance, rulers and aristocrats by birth, resentful of wrong, impatient of change, they command at once the respect and homage of all classes of native society. Their influence on such classes is not only very great, but as a whole, is very good. They are loyal and well-disposed to the British Government, as they have a thorough conviction that their rank, wealth, and existence, as a separate class, are largely dependent on the position they hold in relation to their rulers.

We note that Mr. Sherring promises a third volume, which will deal with Rajputana and the Madras Presidency, and be accompanied by an index of the entire work.

Notes on the Agriculturists of the District of Aurungabad, His Highness the Nizam's Dominions. By Furdoonji Jumshedji, Superintendent, Revenue Survey and Assessment, North-Western Division. Bombay: Published at the *Times of India* Office.

This is a painstaking account of the condition of the agricultural community in one of the Haidarabad districts, by a thoroughly competent native, whose position in the district for the last nine years has specially qualified him for the task. It possesses a particular interest at the present moment, as furnishing exact data for a comparison between the state of the cultivators in a well managed native State and in adjacent British territory.

Chapters IV and V, describing the relations between the agriculturist and the money lender, and furnishing copious statistics of the extent of individual holdings, amount of revenue paid, cost

of cultivation, outturn of grain per acre, profits of cultivation, and the like, are the most valuable parts of the book.

Though, judging by the average area of their holdings—about fifty acres,—the agriculturists of Aurungabad, as a body, must be much more substantial than those of the neighbouring British districts, much the same condition of general indebtedness prevails. On a rough estimate, the writer assumes that about eighty per cent. of the cultivators are in debt. Detailed statistics of five villages show 63·64 per cent. in debt. The average amount of the debt did not, however, exceed two years income, while in no case, was it in excess of five years income, and more than half those indebted had become so within the last year or two, "from which it may reasonably be inferred that the larger portion were driven into debt by the distress that prevailed in 1876-77."

Mr. Furdoonji Jamshedji gives an interesting account of the different terms on which the cultivator borrows money from the Sâvkâr.

Terms on which the cultivator raises a loan in cash.

When the cultivator is prosperous and thrifty, he does not trouble to ask for petty loans, from time to time, but borrows a lump sum from the Sâvkâr, for the payment of Government assessment, or for any other purpose, and the interest to a borrower of this class does not usually exceed one per cent. per mensem. The cultivator agrees to repay the loan at the next rabi or kharif harvest, but the agreement is generally verbal, and not written. If, at the harvest time, the cultivator sees that the prevailing prices of grain are low, and if he thinks that there is a prospect of obtaining better prices further on, he reserves his stock of grain until such time, and asks the Sâvkâr to allow the loan to stand over till then. Where the cultivator's credit does not stand very high, he has generally to pay more interest,—say about Re. 1-8-0 per cent. per mensem. When any one of this class resorts to a Sâvkâr, he has, in the first instance, to pass a bond, but when he becomes known to the money-lender, this formality is no longer necessary. Very frequently the Sâvkâr takes payment in grain, which is sold to him at the market rate, the only difference being that, in weighing, about four or five seers (8 or 10 lbs.) is added to a pulla (240 lbs.) as *hussur*. Cultivators of this class do not generally borrow anything under ten rupees; nor do they, as a rule, borrow seed-grain, or grain for consumption, from the Sâvkâr.

If a cultivator does not enjoy good credit, the Sâvkâr lends him money on any of the four following terms:—

Interest and compound interest.

1. *On interest and compound interest.*—The borrower passes a bond to the Sâvkâr, say for one hundred rupees. For this he receives Rs. 98 in Cash, Rs. 2 being deducted as *munnoti* by the Sâvkâr. The cultivator agrees to pay interest at a rate which varies from Re. 1-8 to Rs. 2 per mensem, and to repay the advance at the next kharif or rabi harvest. If he fails to do this, and defers payment till the subsequent harvest, compound interest is charged. The Sâvkâr, after having the bond executed, does not pay down the amount in a lump sum, but lets the cultivator have it, from time to time, in sums sufficient to pay the Government assessment, or to buy cattle, or to expend in similar purposes. The Sâvkâr frequently pays the Government assessment direct to the Patel and Patwadi in Halli Sicca rupees, but he recovers the

amount from the cultivator in British rupees, making a profit of one or two per cent. in the rate of exchange.

2. *Buttà Mubâdlâ.*—The Sâvkâr pays the Government assessment direct to the Patel and Patwadi in Halli Sicca rupees, and recovers from the cultivator at harvest time the same amount in British rupees. The profit he makes in the difference between the value of Halli Sicca and British rupees is considerable, because the rate of exchange varies from Rs. 14 to Rs. 22 per cent., and the period of the loan seldom or never exceeds three months. If the loan is not repaid at harvest time, interest at one or one and a half per cent. is allowed to run on the sum till it is repaid at next harvest.

Râgwâadâ or *Loâni.*—The cultivator raises a loan, passing a written agreement to repay it from the produce of his fields. The Sâvkâr forms an estimate of what would be the probable ruling prices at harvest time, and, leaving a margin of ten or fifteen per cent. profit, agrees to purchase the crops at certain prices fixed between them. This contract is generally entered into four or five months before harvest time. If prices fluctuate meanwhile, either the Sâvkâr or the cultivator loses, but the former is generally the gainer by this transaction. If the cultivator fails to make over the grain at the allotted time, according to one of the terms of the contract, he has to give the Sâvkâr, in the year following, twenty-five or fifty per cent. over and above the quantity of grain originally agreed upon.

Suvvâi.—The cultivator raises a loan, promising to repay it within a year, by two instalments, the first falling due on the kharif, and the second on the rabi harvest. The bond is executed for a sum of twenty-five per cent. over and above the amount actually paid; this is equivalent to a rate of about two per cent. interest per mensem. Besides this, when paying the cash down, the Sâvkâr deducts two per cent. as *munnoti.* One of the terms of the agreement is, that if the amount of the bond is not repaid within the time specified, interest at the rate of about one or two per cent. per mensem is to run on until such time as the loan is repaid.

It may be mentioned here, that in bonds of this sort the cultivator mortgages to the Sâvkâr the produce of his field, his cattle and house. Sometimes the fields themselves are mortgaged. It need not be stated that the property so mortgaged remains in possession of the owner the Sâvkâr merely keeping an eye on him to see that he does not dispose of it in any way.

Loans of seed-grain.

Besides loans in cash, some of the cultivators take loans in seed-grain, on condition that it is to be returned at harvest with fifty per cent. over and above the quantity lent; but if the loan is contracted at a time when prices are high, the quantity is doubled. In transactions of this nature, written agreements are seldom entered into, the cultivator considering it a religious debt, which he is anxious to pay at the first opportunity. Hence, suits for transactions of this nature seldom or never come into Civil Courts.

Loans of grain for consumption.

When the cultivator raises a loan in grain for home consumptiom, he has it on condition of returning the loan at twenty-five or fifty, and in seasons of scarcity, at one hundred per cent. over and above the quantity lent. A bond is generally passed for this loan. The borrower does not carry away from the Sâvkâr the whole amount of the grain at once, but receives it in such quantities as may be required. If unable to return the loan at the time agreed upon, the debtor is allowed to repay it at next harvest, with fifty per cent. over and above the total quantity due.

How bad debt are recovered.

When the cultivator breaks down, and is unable for a period of four or five years to repay his Sâvkâr's debts, his accounts are made up, and a settlement is generally effected in this way: the cultivator enters into an agreement, by

which he binds himself to till, for a certain number of years, certain portion of his holding, and, after sowing it at his own cost, to make over the field to the Sâvkâr, who takes charge of it, and reaps the crops when they are ready. And so, at a small cost, the Sâvkâr gets a part of the produce of the cultivator's fields, and is thus enabled to recover what would have been a bad debt.

It will be seen that the system bears a very close resemblance to that prevailing in—say—Behar.

The average revenue assessment of the district appears to be 14 annas 4 pie per acre on dry crop, and Rs. 5-8-1 on garden land.

Archæological Notes on Ancient Sculpturings on Rocks in Kumaon, India, similar to those found on Monoliths and Rocks in Europe, with other Papers. Prehistoric Remains in Central India. Rough Notes on the Snake Symbol in India, in connection with the Worship of Siva.
Descriptions of some stone Carvings, collected in a Tour through the Doub, from Cawnpore to Manipore. By J. H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., Bengal Civil Service, C.I.E., F.U.B., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., F.G.S., etc.

This interesting series of papers by Mr. Rivett-Carnac, reprinted from the journal of the Asiatic Society, form collectively no mean contribution to Indian Archæological literature.

The first on the list is occupied with a discussion on the forms, relations and import of the cup, ring and other markings found by the writer on the rocks of Kumaon, and shown by him to be similar in character to the marks found on the stone circles and monoliths of Northern Europe. Some of the more elaborate forms of marks Mr. Rivett-Carnac is disposed to connect with *lingam* worship. The meaning of the simple cup marks, variously arranged in groups, and frequently in rows, is undecided, though there can be no reasonable doubt, we think, that they had a meaning.

The subject of these marks again crops up in the second paper on the list, in connexion with the barrows discovered in Central India and other parts of the Peninsula, the marks frequently being found sculptured on the stones by which the barrows are surrounded, and Mr. Rivett-Carnac suggests that they may be either a form of writing, or a means of denoting the age of the deceased, or the number of his children, or the enemies slain by him. We ourselves incline to the view that they are numerical records of some kind. The fact of their being so generally found in connexion with tumuli suggests the question whether those on the rocks also may not refer to burials in the neighbourhood, advantage having been taken of rocks *in situ* to dispense with the necessity

of placing blocks about the graves themselves. It might perhaps be worth while to examine the localities where such marks occur in the rocks, with a view to ascertaining whether ancient graves do not exist in their neighbourhood.

In connexion with the barrows Mr. Rivett-Carnac establishes four points, *viz.*, that (I) the shape of the tumuli in India and in Europe is the same.

(II) The barrows in India and in Europe always face towards the south.

(III) The remains found in the Indian barrows resemble almost exactly the remains dug out of similar burial-places in Europe.

(IV) The cup-marks on the boulders which surround the Indian tombs are identical with the marks found on the stones placed around the same class of tumuli in Europe.

Engravings are given of the principal objects found in the barrows near Junapani in the Nagpur District, the greater number of which are of iron, thus, assuming the remains to be pre-Aryan, as tradition, as well as comparison seems to imply, showing the extreme antiquity of the use of that metal in India. In the paper on the Snake Symbol, Mr. Rivett-Carnac contends strongly for regarding the snake (the nág, or cobra) as a phallic symbol; and the forms in which it is repeatedly found, as well as the representations associated with it, lend strong support to this view. We hesitate, however, to accept Mr. Rivett-Carnac's view that the nág is intended to serve as a form of the *linga* itself. Rather we regard it as the symbol of life, in which aspect its significance, when associated with the combined linga and yoni, encircling the former and terminating with its caudal portion lying along the groove of the latter, is obvious. Here, again, Mr. Rivett-Carnac points to the close resemblance between the markings on the menhirs and monoliths of Europe and the well-known Mahadeo symbols, and finds in it proof of the ancient prevalence of phallic worship even in places so remote from India as Brittany and Scotland.

Missionary Life among the Villages in India. By Rev. T. J. Scott, D.D., Twelve years Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India. Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden. New York: Nelson and Phillips. 1876.

These pages contain an account of missionary life, as experienced by Mr. Scott among the villages, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Budaon and Bareilly, embodied in the form of a diary. Graphically written, they contain much of interest, though marred by a tone of intolerance and contempt for the unconverted

native which renders them at times somewhat unpleasant reading. If Mr. Scott works in the spirit in which he writes, we are afraid he is likely to do quite as much harm as good to the cause in which he is engaged. Not to be a Christian is in his eyes to be "vile," and he makes no attempt to conceal the feeling. Viewing a village "situated on an elevated bluff, and the green wheat fields, stretching away below" him, "with their groves and winding river, in the calm, delightful evening," he cannot help thinking of the couplet of Heber,

> "Though every prospect pleases,
> And only man is vile."

For, as he goes on to record, "we seemed not to have the slightest access to the hearts of our hearers, and their vileness was even more manifest when they utterly refused to assist us with a pony over the river. This was outrageously uncivil on their part to us as strangers. Almost any other white man in the country than a missionary would have taught them good manners and civility with a heavy boot or cane; but our weapons are not carnal, and when we cannot persuade men, we must shift for ourselves."

The ill-success of spiritual inducements seems sometimes to have led Mr. Scott into holding out to his hearers temptations of a more tangible, if also a more questionable, nature. At one village, for instance, he stopped at a rude sugar manufactory. "They were pressing out the juice and boiling it down into a kind of damp, compact sugar. I spoke to the workmen of the facilities and extensive scale on which sugar is made in America. To them it seemed fabulous. I then insisted that when they become Christians and cast off their thoughts and works of darkness, they, too, will make sugar and other things on such a scale."

It is, perhaps, scarcely to be wondered at that "some smiled at such a result of accepting a new faith."

In another village, "a number of villagers came together, and among them a loquacious, broken down, old zemindar, who displayed a frightful scar, from a wound received in the mutiny. Of course he paraded it as a memento of his loyalty in withstanding the rebels; but much more likely he got it in an attempt to pillage some weaker village in those days of anarchy."

One cannot help feeling that the "broken down, old zemindar" owed this uncharitable surmise to his ill-timed "loquacity."

In a third village, where there was a Muhammadan teacher, Mr. Scott could make no "satisfactory headway in trying to talk, so persistent were a number of impudent 'fellows of the baser sort' in thrusting impertinent questions on him." He was about to "quit," when "the teacher called for some coarse, brazen-faced

fellow in the crowd to reply to what" he "had said," etc. Ultimately he was hooted out of the village; but when he told the crowd that if "the English rulers" were informed of their conduct "they would get very severely punished," they desisted, and "the teacher, with one of the villagers, followed for some distance, and with an air of most abject submission, disavowed emphatically, all part in the uproar or any intention to be uncivil."

At Shikarpur about a hundred villagers gathered round the missionary; but "almost every statement" he "made, met with some frivolous objection or contradiction, and it was soon apparent that" his "audience were of the swine type."

At Ismaelganj "a large crowd assembled in the chaupal, where we read the Scriptures, and tried to instruct them in the way of life. Several rude fellows manifested an almost insufferable amount of impudence in asking impertinent, and even insulting questions, in such a way as to interrupt our talk. A silly attempt at ridiculing some doctrines was made. At last I thought that by singing a hymn, such as often had pleased the natives, I might arouse in them a better spirit; but to my confusion, when I had sung a verse and looked off the book, I found my hearers 'laughing in their sleeves' at the attempt. I laid down the book in despair, and began to tell them that they seemed lost not only to their want of salvation, but to all courtesy (on which every well-bred native prides himself), when the very fellow whom I had caught winking at the rest and laughing at my attempt at singing, impudently asked me to sing another song, affirming that I was a most excellent singer, accompanying his request with a sly, fun-making look at the crowd. It was manifest that our hearers were of the swine type, and that instruction would only be trampled under foot. I asked James to close the meeting with a word of friendly exhortation, which he did, telling our rude audience that their wickedness would lead them to hell, to which ready reply was made that it would be no improvement to become Christians, as there was Moses Peters (a native Christian living in the village), the greatest liar, rogue, and most licentious man in their midst. They were told that he was of a lawless character, not recognized by us as a Christian now at all. But making a good impression seemed a hopeless task, and we turned away. I felt heart-sick at the brazen hardiness and self-satisfied blindness of these villagers, and went to my tent to pray for them and for grace to preach the Word in the spirit of Christ."

The most wonderful part of the whole matter to us is Mr. Scott's surprise at what he considers the hardness of heart of his hearers. We should have supposed that, however strong his own convictions might be, a very little intelligent reflection on the character of the

doctrines which he preaches, or of the evidence by which they are supported, would have been sufficient to show him that, bias of every kind aside, it would be in the highest degree unreasonable to expect honest conversions from casual harangues to unprepared villagers. Let him consider for a moment the difficulties felt by honest thinkers of his own faith, anxious to retain the belief in which they have been educated. Conversion at once sudden and sincere would presuppose either extreme credulity or miraculous interposition. But the credulity of Mr. Scott's hearers is precisely what weds them to their own faith, and we can hardly suppose that he hopes for miracles.

ART. II.—THE DIWALI AT AMRITSAR.

A FORMER Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, in a preface to his pamphlet of twenty-five pages on the life of the God Rama, hero of the "Ramayana" and seventh incarnation of Vishnu, announced that his "object was to rescue a great name from oblivion." If Mr. Cust's thoughtful and charitable historical object has been attained, some few people at least are aware that Rama was son of the King of Ayudhya (the modern Oude), and that it was his fortune in early life to win as his bride the adopted daughter of the King of Mithila, the fair Sita, offered, according to the early Indian as well as Greek custom, to him who bent a certain bow at a great public tournament held for the occasion. Whether it was that Sita did not marry for love, as can well be imagined, and, realizing the foreboding of Penelope on a similar occasion, remembered, even in her dreams, her happy home,* or that she partook in an unusual degree of the fickleness which some dissatisfied poets have attributed to the race of women, certain it is that she involved her too athletic husband in a whirlpool of troubles and anxiety. Hindu sacred history states that she was carried off by Rawan, King of Lanka, or Ceylon; but, when the story is read between the lines, and the episode of the beautiful deer, or of the mendicant Brahmin, carefully considered, it becomes tolerably clear that the fair lady eloped with the handsome and powerful monarch of Lanka.† The story of the military expedition in which the Simian race, our earliest known progenitors according to Lord Monboddo and Mr. Darwin, took a very prominent part, and which led to the death of Rawan and the recovery of Sita, need not be here related.

It is said that, when Rama was returning victorious to Ayudhya, his brother Bharat proclaimed that on the night of the new moon Rama would enter Ayudhya in triumph. It was therefore ordered

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* Penelope's language on the occasion is softly mournful. Greek students will not object to be reminded of it.

Ὃς δέ κε ῥηΐτατ' ἐντανύσῃ βιὸν ἐν παλάμησιν,
Καὶ διοϊστεύσῃ πελέκεων δυοκαίδεκα πάντων,
Τῷ κεν ἅμ' ἑσποίμην, νοσφισσαμένη τόδε δῶμα,
Κουρίδιον, μάλα καλὸν, ἐνίπλειον βιότοιο,
Τοῦ ποτὲ μεμνήσασθαι ὀίομαι ἔν περ ὀνείρῳ,

Odyssey Book, XXI.

† See Coleman's "Mythology of the Hindus," pp. 24-5.

that all the houses of the great city should be garlanded with lamps. The proclamation was carefully obeyed, as behoved that of a despotic king; and from every casement, cornice, roof, and turret brightly shone the gay fires which were to light homeward the divine hero and his resplendent bride. Whether it was that the monarch's subjects were parsimonious, or that there was a scarcity of oil in the land, by midnight the lamps of all save one of the houses of the city were extinguished. The illuminated house belonged to a pious, liberal, and god-fearing buniya, probably the only one of the class that has since adorned this lower world. Queen Sita was charmed with the pretty shop-keeper's munificence and supply of oil, and, not having yet relinquished her love of roaming and adventure, went in disguise to his humble abode. When she knocked at the door, however, the buniya ungraciously refused her admittance, declaring that at that hour all well-regulated people should be wrapt in virtuous slumber. Queen Sita's experience of life and of the male sex was profound. She continued to knock at what less observant persons would have deemed an inhospitable portal. Vanquished at length by her uproar and importunity, the buniya appeared and inquired the name of his untimely visitor. The interesting fair one answered—"I am Lakshmi," that is, the goddess of wealth. The buniya took her in, and, with his wife and family, worshipped her, decking her with fresh flowers, giving her boiled rice and sweetmeats to eat and milk to drink, and lighting incense to surround her with heaven-aspiring perfume.

A Brahmin was summoned to perform the ceremonies suitable to the unwonted occasion. A sufficient pecuniary present induced him to apply the saffron *tilak* to the foreheads of the worshippers of the goddess and extemporise verses in her praise. Her heart grew glad as a garden in its prime, and, when in the morning she thought it convenient to return to her conjugal duty, it was but to leave in her place in the buniya's house a pile of gold. The report of the miracle spread through the city, and at last reached her royal husband's ears. He chafed at the incorrigible roaming proclivities of his bride, but his anger was soon changed to delight in the soft presence of penitent beauty. To commemorate the honor paid her and her renewed restoration to his home, he ordained that the day should for ever be the anniversary of the worship of Lakshmi, and that wealth should for ever abide with him who made her devout and becoming sacrifice—light to pale the stars and the choicest fruits of the season. Hence the festival known in Upper India as the Diwali.*

**Dip* a lamp, and *Mala* a garland.

The popular accounts of the Hindu theogony are perhaps as numerous as the gods of the Hindu pantheon. The following version of the birth of Lakshmi is given me by a Sikh friend. The Maha Shakti, or great female creative energy of the world, called by some Bhawani, or Nature, resolved to undertake the great achievement of the propagation of gods, and true to her purpose gave birth to Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. In this legend the Brahm, or Hindu Supreme Being, of learned treatises finds no place; and the father of the Maha Shakti's divine sons is not specified, if, indeed, they had a father. There being no daughters born, a difficulty arose regarding wives for the stripling gods; and the mother thought it not unbecoming the dignity and morality of a goddess to offer herself as wife to each of her sons in turn. Brahma, with a fine natural scorn, spurned the incestuous alliance. The Maha Shakti breathed a curse upon him and reduced him to ashes for the slight. She next addressed Vishnu, who, in a similar manner, declined the proposed honor, and was requited with a similar punishment. Her advances to Shiva were not equally unsuccessful. Hardened by his functions as the evil agent of the world, he promised to take the Maha Shakti as his consort, provided she resuscitated his beloved brothers. She acceded to this proposal, and Brahma and Vishnu were restored to the youthful glory of life. A second difficulty arose in getting wives for them, now that Shiva had found a partner. The task was, however, easy to their divine parent. The goddess of Love, according to Greek poetry, was born of the kisses of the sea-foam. The Maha Shakti, however, had not read Greek poetry, and indeed does not appear to have cared for poetry in any sense. She took the first moisture that presented itself wherewith to fashion wives for her sons. The climate of India is warm, and at certain seasons perspiration flows apace. She gathered some from her neck, and moulded from it the fair goddesses Saraswati and Lakshmi. The former became the wife of Brahma, and the latter, of Vishnu. The two goddesses the Maha Shakti made alike in all respects, and, so as not to offend the natural instincts of Shiva, she altered her own shape to counterfeit theirs, and gave herself under the name of Parwati to him as his wife—the alliance of sin and death of Milton's imaginative genius. Parwati became the goddess of nature and fecundity; Saraswati of learning and poetry; and Lakshmi of wealth and prosperity—at once the Fortuna and Ceres of Ancient Roman mythology. Lakshmi made a most dutiful and submissive wife to Vishnu, for is there not in the great temple of Rama a figure of Lakshmi shampooing the feet of her husband as he reposes at full-length on the serpent, Ananta, engaged in contemplating the creation of the visible universe?

In Upper India the principal times for religious fairs and pilgrimages are the Baisakhi and Diwali festivals, the former in April and the latter in November. The Baisakhi is in honor of the new year, the pleasant hour of flowering spring, celebrated by most poets since, at least, the days of Meleager.* Even native Indian writers, generally so apathetic to the beauties of external nature, have softened at that genial season when the sun's rays are temperate, the moon shines with unclouded lustre, the perfumed breath of heaven is gently wafted over the plains, and every thing invites to love and tranquil enjoyment.†

The Diwali festival is held at the close of autumn, and may be considered to symbolize the death, as the Baisakhi symbolizes the birth, of animal vegetation. But at the Diwali time also the climate of Northern India is pleasant as in spring, and perhaps the most delicious to be found in any country in the world.

The Diwali festival, is held on the day of the new moon in the Hindu month of Kartik, according to the native system of chronology. At the approach of the festival, it is the duty of all Hindus to attend to the cleanliness of their dwellings, and purify them with a due recital of prayers and a due application of cowdung, the holy ointment of the Brahmans, corresponding to the holy water of the Latin and Greek churches. On the afternoon of the festival men go forth to buy lamps and toys of sugar or clay, fashioned into the semblance of gods, men, and animals. The images of Ganesh, the god of wisdom, and Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, are the favourite objects of worship on such occasions. On the return of the purchasers they call together their wives and children and summon a Brahman. The Brahman arrives with his sacred book, or without it, if he can recite from memory the prayers proper for the occasion. The Brahman having read or recited certain Sanscrit verses, distributes to the assembled family spiritual favours in the form of rice or sweetmeats. Thereupon incense is lighted, and *gur*, or unrefined sugar, eaten, in honor of Ganesh, while flowers are offered to the minor deities of heaven.

After the satisfactory completion of these ceremonies, the proprietor of the house sends for money to worship it on the

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* See in the Greek Anthology his idyll.

Εἰς τὸ Ἔαρ.

† The poet Thomson has in his poem of Spring amplified an idea which an Indian poet has presented in a few expressive lines.

جنکـــو وصل گلرخان هی اونکو بهائي هی بهـار
هم سے مہجوروں کو لیکن کب خوش آتی هی بہار

occasion. Men cannot always regulate their worldly affairs by the strict rules of prudence, and Fortune must consequently find a niche in the Hindu as well as in the Latin pantheon.

Nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia ; nos te,
Nos facimus; Fortuna, Deam cœloque locamus.

The silver coin, bright and new, adorned with the head and bust of the Indian Empress, is placed on a silver, or copper, tray. At one side of the tray is placed an image of Ganesh and at the other the image of Lakshmi. If the course of true love had run smooth, and if gods and goodesses were not sometimes as difficult to mate properly as mortals, Ganesh and Lakshmi ought to have been wedded. A union of wisdom with good fortune would ensure success in any world which our fancy can pourtray. But Ganesh and Lakshmi were not wedded either in earth or heaven. Their lives were passed apart. Their images are associated at the Diwali by the Brahmans for a safe-guard against the ills of fate, as two tonic medicines are blended by physicians to ensure a perfect recovery of the patient.

Though the Sikh religion aimed at the abolition of Brahminical absurdities, it was not the object of even the most zealous Gurus altogether to break with ancient and deeply-rooted superstition. Even Gobind Singh, the tenth and last high apostle of the Sikhs, who had done more than any of his predecessors to abolish caste distinctions and inaugurate a more intelligent worship, laid down some strange rules for the guidance of his followers. And, as on that fatal morning on the banks of the Godavery, lying wounded at the hands of the youths whose father he had killed in a paroxysm of rage, he resigned himself to the inevitable lot of man, his last promise to his attendant disciples was that he would for ever abide with the Khalsa or Sikh community, and that any of its members who wished to behold him in the spirit, should visit the Amritsar temple during the Baisakhi and Diwali festivals.* True to this reputedly divine precept, Sikhs and even Hindus throng on these occasions to meet the spirit of the holy Guru at the Darbar Sahib, or great temple of the Sikhs. The Baisakhi festival is a very important one at Amritsar, but, as mortals are generally more enamoured of the gold and silver of the mine than of the bright and many-hued raiment of the earth in the vernal season, the Diwali, sacred to the goddess of wealth, is the greatest festival of the Sikhs and the peculiar time to see Amritsar in all its glory of thronging multitudes, of fair women, of streaming nightly lamps and gorgeous illuminations, of light and aimless pleasure, or of high religious exaltation.

* This latter is a popular tradition. It is not given by Cunningham in his History of the Sikhs.

On my way by railway train from Lahore to Amritsar, I could not avoid the reflection, on observing so many cheerful and well-dressed natives of both sexes, that, however much men may occasionally grumble at the undoubted faults of our administration, British rule in India has had, on the whole, a happy and beneficent effect. There were natives revelling in high spirits, exchanging with one another banter and raillery, many rich, and all possessing sufficient of the world's wealth to render them contented with their lot—no restraint on their public worship, as in the days of the Delhi Emperors—none fearing that, as under Sikh rule, a richly embroidered turban or lungi would become the illicit prize of a casual Government official, or that the subject's domestic happiness would be destroyed by the forcible abduction of the wife of his bosom; but, on the contrary, well knowing that men can come and go as they like, pray to any object of adoration they please, from the great mirror of the Almighty in Heaven to the shapeless god carved out of the stump of a tree by a village carpenter, and aware that, if a wedded Zulaikha were to desert her husband's side, she must be fairly won by the flatteries and charms of a paramour rather than be forcibly abducted by the myrmidons of some powerful chief.

As for the native females, there they were tastefully and picturesquely attired; generally huddled, it is true, into carriages by themselves, but rather, in several cases, by orders of station-masters than at their own request;* sitting for the most part with uncovered faces, bright-eyed, confident and cheerful, and not the fluttering doves of a by-gone age, endeavouring to shut out the light of heaven from their glad eyes and lively features, trembling at their own shadows, and dreading the approach of some unlawful love in every zephyr that wooed them. Some of them, too, were women of culture and polish, skilled in the mysterious angles and curves of the curious Gurumukhi character, and able to profitably peruse in it the sacred writings of the great Sikh apostles, the Gurus of the Khalsa.

Notwithstanding great social progress, however, it would be idle to suppose that caste distinctions do not still retain all their cohesive firmness. In the carriage in which I travel, I find a native who, from his peculiarly bound turban, his up-turned whiskers, and his general bearing, I at once recognise as a scion of Sikh aristocracy. A native cavalry officer entitled to travel in a second class carriage, but who finds no accommodation there, is

* I have known native station-masters so mistake the use of separate carriages for females, as to hinder native women from travelling in the same carriage with their husbands.

introduced into our carriage by his commanding officer. He cautiously and tentatively seats himself by the side of the Sikh Sardar. The latter, resting on his seat in the attitude of Krishna, with his feet tucked under him and with motionless figure, says not a word, but casts from his large limpid eyes a beseeching glance on the soldier, who at once interprets it as deprecating the contamination of his touch and the humiliation of having a native of low caste occupying a contiguous seat. It is such a glance as I have seen men, on the point of being flogged, cast towards their executioners, beseeching them to spare their rods and the muscles of their right arms. The soldier rises from his seat, makes his way to the window of the compartment, out of which he stares vacantly for a few moments, and then takes a seat as far as possible from the high-bred and high-caste Sikh.

As we journeyed on, I thought what beneficial changes had been wrought in the province during the thirty years of British occupation, and how it had adopted luxuries and appliances unknown even to the Romans in the zenith of their power. Here was a railway train bearing us all, Christians, Jews, Sikhs, Hindus, Musalmans, on different errands, to the holy city of Amritsar, some to purchase horses, some in quest of pleasure, some to worship the goddess of wealth, some to obtain converse with the spirit of holy Guru, some to pray for children to perpetuate their name and rescue their souls from the terrors of degraded transmigration, or Narak itself, and some on other different errands, of a more or less worthy, or unworthy, character. What would the Romans have given, in the splendour of their power, could they have gone by railway train from the Aventine mount to consult the Sybil of Cumæ, to offer sacrifices to Hecate at Lake Avernus, worship the *lingam** in the graceful temple of Venus at Pompeii, or witness the splendid games in its spacious amphitheatre. England can bequeath to India more than Rome ever could to Britain, inasmuch as England is heir of all the ages, the type and symbol of the latest and most advanced civilization; and not only does England offer more to India than Rome ever offered to Britain, but what it offers, it offers as an imperishable heirloom. The spirit of progress is on the wing; the invention of steam engines has triumphed over distance and the elements themselves; the invention of type has rendered it impossible that the present knowledge of mankind can ever be lost to the

* I felt much interested on seeing the lingam in the temple of Venus at Pompeii when I visited the place some years ago. Anxious to ascertain local opinion on the subject, I asked my Italian guide the meaning of the little pillar. He replied that it was *una pietra sulla quale le donne sterili sedevano.*

world, and the West, in the persons of Englishmen, gives back to the East, multiplied a hundred-fold, the wealth of knowledge it gave in the indistinct dawn of the world. It restores, cut and fashioned, with all the graces of Art, the shapeless diamond lavishly bestowed on it by the wealthy Orient, while yet Time was young and gods walked upon the face of the earth.

By the way, it is no figure of speech to identify the railway system with a part of the Anglo-Indian administration. The shortcomings of the Railway Department are, by a great majority of the people, set down as shortcomings of the Government itself. When a native in the crowd at a station between Lahore and Amritsar cannot, owing to want of space, get a seat in the railway carriage, although he has already purchased his ticket, he jeeringly says in a loud voice intended for the hearing of the Europeans:—*Mahsul sarkar leti; log dhakke khake phirte,* that is to say, the Government sells us tickets, and its officials, instead of giving us seats, knock us about at their pleasure. This identification of railway management with imperial administration should be generally understood. It could be wished that the control of the Government over Indian railways were even more stringent than it is, and that several reforms indispensible to the comfort and convenience of native passengers were effected. This, however, is not the place for a further discussion of the question.

The worship of Lakshmi, and illumination in her honour, were to be performed on the night of the new moon of the 4th November, but the day before and the day after were considered sacred to her. When the Holi and Diwali festivals fall on Sunday or Tuesday, it is believed by a primitive people, who still see portents in the skies, to indicate famine, pestilence, or war, according to the old Punjabi couplet:—

> Holi ya Diwali je rav ya mangal hoe,
> Prithivi chakar charhaiye virla jiwe koi;

that is, if the Holi or Diwali fall on Sunday or Tuesday, set the earth a rolling, few will survive. Another superstition regarding the Diwali is that, if it rains during the festival, it is a prognostic, as well as a cause of a good harvest:—

> Je minh pia Diwali,
> Jiya phus jiya hali.

according to the Punjabi proverb. It is not necessary for my narrative, but I may mention that the Indians divide the days of the week, as they divide medicine, therapeutically into hot and cold. Sunday, Tuesday and Saturday are sacred to the sun and hot days; Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are sacred to the moon and cold days. Tuesday, of all days of the week, is

deemed the most unlucky, corresponding to Friday in the British sailor's estimation. There appears to be no universally lucky day in this part of India. But certain days are deemed lucky for certain purposes, for instance jewels had better be first worn on Sunday and clothes on Wednesday or Saturday, according to the popular adage :—

Budh Sanichar kapra, aur gahna Itwar,

In like manner a horse had better be purchased on one day and cow on another.

In my description of the Diwali festival at Amritsar it is impossible to avoid some account of the Sikh religion and Sikh observances. What Jerusalem is to the Christian, what Makka is to the Musalman, that Amritsar is to the Sikh, the fount of all holiness and worship. The worship of Lakshmi takes place at night, but there is much that is essentially Sikh to be seen before then, and we will direct our steps from the railway station towards the Darbar Sahib or great Sikh temple, which the holy Guru is still believed to haunt, in the spirit, if not in the body.

On my way the streets are crowded with people, and one's carriage can barely proceed at walking pace. In the crowd are seen Akalis or Sikh priests, with blue-pointed turbans adorned with quoits of polished steel, carrying in their hands small hatchets of th same metal; *Sádhus* or mendicants, with yellow robes and wild demeanour; singing girls, with hands to their cheeks, to assist them in straining their voices to impossible musical altitudes; and the other usual tag rag and bobtail of Indian religious festivals. In the balconies of the shop-keepers' houses along the streets are seen fair women in all the bravery of tinkling ormaments about thefr feet, with chains and bracelets, and head bands, and tablets, and earrings, and rings, and nose jewels, and glasses, and fine linen, and other such ornaments as were obnoxious to the jealous eyes of the son of Amoz, the rapt seer of Judah and Jerusalem. I was told, as Lady Canning was once in Peshawur, by a facetious or puritanical guide, that these women were the shop-keepers' wives, who thus sat in European fashion surveying the surging crowd and the manifold objects of interest it presented. I have since read an article in the Urdu newspaper, *Rofah-i-am*, lavishing extravagant praise on an official of Amritsar for having allowed the expulsion of these females, who are of course in reality dancing women, from the main streets of Amritsar. Oriental opinion willl probably ever be the same as that of the prophet Isaiah on the subject. Students of Islam are well aware that the Moslem purdah custom had its origin in a superstitious and unintelligent reverence for the denunciations

of Isaiah among the Jewish people from whom Muhammad obtained the main ideas of his religion. *

Baron Hügel, in his book of travels in the Punjab and Kashmir, remarks that the women of the Punjab are renowned for the singular whiteness and regularity of their teeth, for the beauty of their hands and feet, and the symmetry of their figures. Excepting, indeed, the women of the lower Himalayas, bordering on the Punjab plains, the women of the middle and lower classes of Amritsar seem the most beautiful even among the women of the Punjab. This is due as well to the fact that the town contains a large admixture of Kashmiris, as to its favourable climate and soil and the prosperous condition of its inhabitants.

My guide will persist in saying that many of the women I see at the windows are really married and of respectable position. Near the entrance to the Darbar Sahib I see a very fair Sikh woman at a window, and, to soothe Oriental jealousy, I speedily withdraw my gaze.

σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα

Though she makes no effort to hide her face, she is chastely dressed and apparently belongs to the upper classes. To put my guide's assertion to the test, I enquire who she is, and am favoured with a small insight into the conjugal luxury of the Sikh chiefs. She is the property of the Sirdar of ——————, his wife by a morganatic marriage. She is merely employed to accompany him to fairs, public gatherings, and on shooting excursions, where he would shrink from taking his lawful wives of higher social rank. In other respects the holiday wife does not seem to have the worst of it. She is said to be thirty-five years of age; but, thanks to out-door exercise and the free light of heaven, she looks more rosy and healthy than a *purda* woman of twenty.

I had hardly time to admire the graceful Sikh temple, rising from the water, when a Sadhu, or yellow-robed Sikh mendicant, approached me, and said that, if I were not displeased, he would make a representation to me which would be to the advantage of my countrymen. I bade him speak. He took me aside and asked me to sit down with him on the steps of the neighbouring clock tower. When we had both sat down apart from the crowd, he again begged me not to be offended at what he was going to reveal to me. I re-assured him on the point. He then told me the Guru had appeared to him in a vision and declared that if the British were in difficulties with Kabul, they had only to send to England for Maharaja Dulip Singh, and he would

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* Seen Sale's Kuran, Chapter XXIV.

raise the Sikh Commonwealth, when the mysterious virtue of the Sikh cold iron would certainly prevail. It made no difference that Dulip Singh had become a Christian, or Kirani, as my holy friend phrased it. Dulip Singh's presence and assistance would in any case be a shield to my countrymen. The Sadhu, in return for this miraculous advice, asked me for alms, and it was of course impossible to refuse him.

My casual acquaintance told me he was a "Nirmillah," which means pure *(Nir* and *Mail,)* without moral spot or blemish. The Nirmillahs are baptized Sikhs, and constitute one of four classes of "Sadhus," or holy mendicants of the Hindu persuasion, in Northern India. The remaining three classea are *Udasis*, followers of Sri Chand, the son of Nanak, and, though dissenters, readers of Nanak's Granth; *Bairagis*, readers of the Granth, but not Sikhs by profession; and *Sanyasis*, or mendicant Brahmans, who yield no allegiance to the reformed religion of Baba Nanak, but visit his temple as an item of their religious duties.

My friends and myself are taken by a policeman to a seat, where we are disengaged from our boots, leather being considered, the modern Sikhs say, impure. We are clothed as to our lower extreties with hideous moccasins made out of cloth, which might have been purchased as part of his first wardrobe from the wandering Jew—moccasins sufficient to humble any man in his own and general estimation—moccasins which only admit of progress with a poverty-stricken hobble—moccasins which make one feel that he is being persecuted for the religion of guru Nanak.

An aged Sikh ministrant attaches himself to us as our cicerone. He is toothless, and can hardly articulate a word of his laboriously nasal dialect. He gabbles away, however, and with great volubility points out to us the sights of the temple, and gives us an excursus in Sikh ceremonial. He belongs to a class of men called Pujaris, attached to the temple, corresponding to the Mujawirs of Musalman shrines.* The Pujaris live in large, solidly constructed mansions, called *bungahs*, around the sacred tank and temple. They are said to be as lazy, greedy, and worldly as any class of men performing similar functions. At this and the Baisakhi festivals neophytes are received into the Sikh faith. The ceremony on the occasion is called Pahul † or initiation.

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* Pujari is derived of course from puja, worship. I have made allusion to the Mujawirs in a preceding article in this *Review*. (The Fair of Sakhi Sarwar, *Calcutta Review*, January 1875.)

† Pahul, notwithstanding the broad pronunciation of its vowels, I believe to be derived from the Hindi *pahlá* first, and to mean simply initiation. Cunningham supposes Pahul to be connected with the Greek πύλη, a door or entrance, and, following other writers, translates the word *baptism*.

The first form of Sikh initiation was drinking water in which the guru, or Sikh Apostle, had bathed. This ceremony is said to have been instituted by Baba Nanak, the first guru, on the following occasion. When Baba Nanak's end was approaching, he bathed, and, wishing to test the devotion of his followers, asked his eldest son, Sri Chand, to drink the water in which he had performed his ablutions. Sri Chand refused. The guru thereupon asked his second son, Lachmi Chand, who also refused. Upon this the guru asked his disciple, Lehna, to comply with his request. Nothing daunted, the enthusiastic disciple swallowed the repulsive draught, and thereby, according to the Sikhs, obtained the gift of prophecy and a knowledge of the secrets of existence. The guru then gave him the name Angad, or body of himself (Ang-i-Khud), signifying thereby that Lehna's devotion had made him "bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh." Thus Angad became the apostolic successor of Guru Nanak.*

Angad thought it sufficient to give neophytes water to drink in which he had bathed his feet, not his entire body. This was termed *Charanghol*,† or initiation by the feet. It lasted up to the time of Gobind Singh, the tenth and last apostle. He, with his heroic belief in the virtue of cold iron, introduced the *Kande ka pahal*, or initiation by the dagger, on the following occasion.

Guru Gobind Singh conceived an invincible desire to behold the Hindu goddess worshipped as Naini Devi in the Kangra Valley. This supreme reward was granted to his fearless virtue and laborious austerity. He offered her *Kara Parshad* or consecrated food. She was so pleased with all his devotions, that she conferred on him a sword, a quoit, a bow, a quiver of arrows, and a dagger. Hanuman, the monkey god, appeared as Devi's servant, and brought the guru a *Kach* or covering for the loins. She promised him that the disciples of his religion would be strong as lions (*tera panth ka bal singh jaisa howega*) and that, united, they would form the powerful Khalsa,‡ or Sikh Commonwealth.

* Cunningham gives a totally different version of this circumstance. Doubtless both stories have received currency. I have followed Cunningham, McGregor, and other writers on the Sikh religion in deriving the the name Angad from Ang-i-Khud. The etymology is tempting, but it is, however, totally incorrect. Angad is a most ancient Hindu name, and was given to a general in the army of Sugrivu, an ally of Rama, when he warred against Lanka.

† *Charun* the foot, and *Gholna* to stir.

‡ Khalsa is derived in the Sakhi book written by a Sikh from *Khal* a (*lion's*) skin. Cunningham derived it from the Arabic *Khalis*, meaning pure. There may be some connexion between the root of the word *Khalsa* and the area of land coverable by a skin, which, in former times, men begged from monarchs. Compare the tract of land which might be enclosed by a bull's hide, purchased by Queen Dido in Africa, which afterwards became a great monarchy, what a Hindu writer would style the Khalsa of the Queen.

Her final injunction was that the Sikhs should wear a Kes, or long hair, which is still a distinguishing peculiarity of the Sikhs, and known as the seal of .Guru Gobind. After distributing, further blessings and favours on him, she left his ecstatic gaze for her heavenly dwelling. The guru, upon this, distributed the remnant of the sacred food to his disciples, and bestowed the *Kande ka pahal*, or initiation by the dagger, on five of them. They then, in turn, initiated him. Upon this he congratulated himself on being at once apostle and disciple.*

This initiation is thus performed. On the wide balcony called the Akali's throne are seated the Akalis, or Sikh priests. Attached by a rope to the railing of the balcony, is a pot of water in which pitasa, a common Indian sweetmeat, is dissolved. The ministering priest stirs this water with a dagger, and meanwhile repeats certain verses from the Granth, or sacred Volume of his religion. The neophytes, who are never to be less than five in number, are called upon to repeat the words "*Wah Guruji ka Khalsa! Siri wah Guruji ka fatah! Hail to the Guru's followers! Victory to the holy Guru.*" These expressions are several times repeated with great alacrity by the neophytes. The priest sprinkles water on their eyes, their faces, and the tops or their heads. A neophyte then puts his hands together so as to form a cup. The priest pours water into it, and it is greedily drunk. The same ceremony is performed in the case of the others. The priest then gives them the spiritual injunctions peculiar to their newlyadopted religion—injunctions which, according to the custom of most religions, attach far more importance to ceremonial than to purity of heart or genuine devotion. The neophytes are to wear bracelets, drawers *(kach)*, long hair, a comb, or Kanga, wound upon the hair, and they must not commit fornication with Musalman women (Musli nal judh na karna †

Kara Parshad, or sacramental food, is then distributed. The novices take it from the guru's hand, and cram it into one another's mouths in token of fraternity. This is the symbol for some natural, though perhaps misplaced, merriment, and cheerful is the laugh as the yokels miss one another's mouths, or as some one of them guzzles down too large a pill of the consecrated abomination. Money is then given to the priests, and the five neophytes are declared to be as one brother.

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* Wah, wah, Gobind Singh aphi gur chela!

† In Patna, where there are numerous Sikhs, this injunction is phrased or euphemized into *Mohammad ke bakri ke sath judh na karna.* Do not enter on a duel with the goat of Muhammad.

A greater religious teacher than Gobind said that wherever two or three are gathered together in my name, I am in the midst of them. In the Panjab, from of old, five has been the sacred number, which could count on the presence of the Divinity. *Panjon men Parameshar hai.* Long before Gobind Singh's time, punchayets, or councils of five elders, in Northern India, adjusted claims for debts, settled disputes relating to violations of caste or sacred customs, and inflicted fines for torts of various descriptions. Gobind, therefore, while prescribing that Sikhs should be baptized in groups of five, was simply utilizing an ancient predilection for that mysterious number; while at the same time baptizing men in such large bodies as five was clearly a device which assisted in wholesale proselytism.

The fee payable by each neoptyte for initiation is five, or some mutiple of five, articles of value. These articles may be according to the position of the initiated, toothpicks, cowries, pice, annas, or rupees. Very rich men pay Rs. 125, while a very poor man, who cannot afford to pay even toothpicks, is held to have discharged his debt by five times shampooing the ministering priest. The ordinary fee for initiation is, however, two rupees eight annas, or five shillings of English money, if the rupee of gradual monetary evanescence were to remain at par. The five shillings need not, however, be paid at once. The priests are accommodating. Life is long. There is no hurry. *Aj na ho, kal hojaega,* The first flush of religious zeal is not to be blurred by base pecuniary considerations. There are annually recurring festivals which will often bring the convert to the holy temple, and the gladness of the festal hour, the chanting of the inspired strains of the holy Granth, and the glittering jubilee lamps and illuminations will open his heart for further pecuniary sacrifices. Hence, at the time of initiation, an earnest money of a few annas will suffice, but the neophyte is warned that until the complete payment of the five shillings, the convert's sins will all remain on his devoted head, and there can in his case be no spiritual regeneration. If a Sikh goes out of India, commits fornication with a Musalman woman, or is imprisoned for an offence reprobated by the Khalsa, down must come another five shillings to obtain absolution from the Guru, still popularly believed to reside in the holy temple.

Such was the Sikh initiation, as I witnessed it at the Diwali festival. I was told the ceremony would have been far more elaborate if the neophytes had not been lowly Jats. Had they been men of consequence, instead of the service being hastily mumbled over and a few scraps of spiritual advice hastily hurled at their heads, they would have been taught the sixty-four

precepts of Gobind, contained in his celebrated Sakhi, or Acts.* But religious luxuries cannot be obtained without substantial consideration, and the lenten stock of advice and injunction, doled out in proportion to the attenuated pecuniary subsidy offered, is deemed good enough for ordinary nephytes. It is only at the birth of a new religion or religious reformation, that Ebionism or poverty is blessed. In all old established religions it is wealth that is blessed—nay, like Mercy, according to Portia, it is twice blessed—it blesses him that gives and him that takes; and it is potent with the beneficent, as well as the maleficent, spiritual agencies. Sikhism was, at its origin, a religion of humility and devotion. In its next great phase it was a highly militant caste. And now it appears to have become a deification of the good things of this world.

The verses recited, or which ought to have been recited, by the ministering priest at the initiation were composed by Gobind Singh for the ceremony. They inculcate the transitoriness of life, contempt of the world, and the importance of the worship of God, the Lord of creation. They may be thus translated in prose :—

I.

I have seen the different sects of Sarógis,†—Sudhs, Sidhs,‡ Jogs, and Jatis;§

Heroes, heroic armies, and holy men of various classes and descriptions.

I have seen every country and found none equal to the Lord of life.‖

Without the mercy of Sri Bhagwan (God) nothing is of any avail.

II.

Stately elephants, whose incomparable howdahs are studded with precious stones, and which are themselves gaily painted to enhance their beauty;

* His book has been translated by Sirdar Attar Singh, Chief of Bhadan. It is very creditable to this excellent chief to have attempted an English translation of Guru Gobind Singh ki Sakhi, but it is a pity he did not take the precaution of having the manuscript revised by some member of the race for whom the translation was intended.

† Sarogi is a devotee who wears a cloth over his mouth, so that no insect may enter, and the holy man be thus saved from the crime of taking life. The Sarogis may not eat after sunset. They appear to be a sect of Jains.

‡ Devotees who are supposed to be able to vanish and appear again at their pleasure.

§ Men who preserve perpetual chastity.

‖ This is a hit at pantheistic Jogis, who say that they themselves, being a part of God, are equal to God. Baron-Hügel, who has given a translation of this stanza, understands this line differently.

A million steeds, fleet as hinds, which leave the scudding wind behind;
Strong armed Kings, whose number cannot be computed, marched in proud array.
It mattered not that they were all so great, they departed barefooted at last.

III.

They conquered countries in every direction, beating the drums of war.
Troops of elephants were in their stables, and thousands of bright swans glided in their lakes.
Who can tell the kings of the present, the future and the past? They surpass enumeration.
Without worshipping Sri Bhagwan, the Supreme, all at last depart to their everlasting abode of sorrow.

IV.

I have met those who bathe at sacred tanks, men compassionate, charitable, pure, in fastings exceeding.
I have studied the Vedas, the Puranas, the Kuran; the earth and the world, all have I seen.
Men who live on air, Jatis who preserve their chastity, thousands have I seen and contemplated.
But without worshipping Sri Bhagwan they are all of no account.

V.

Ripe heroes, strong and mighty in the panoply of war, will cast down their enemies.
Sooner would mountains retreat than they whose hearts are filled with martial pride.
They will destroy and crush the foe, and like furious elephants trample on rebels' pride.
Without the favour of Sri Bhagwan, the Supreme, the fools will depart from this world.*

Some Nihangs and Akalis have their wives baptized in the temple, but ordinarily Sikh women are not baptized. Gobind Singh appears to have been as uncertain regarding the future of women as the prophet of Makka was, and no orders have been left either in writing or tradition for their baptism or initiation. In lieu of this, however, a practice has in late times obtained of sending them

* Each stanza is called a Sawaya by the Sikhs. Sawaya, properly speaking, means a quarter added, but is used to mean a stanza of four lines (tak). Each of the lines above tarnslated has four feet (Bisram) of four syllables each. The stanzas open with a series of double iambics, but the ditrochee is the prevailing foot. The language in which the stanzas are written is old Panjabi, and is very difficult to translate.

Kara Parshad from the temple. This is accompanied with spiritual advice suitable to their sex and station in life.

Kara Parshad* was sacred food offered to idols long beforet he Sikh reformation was thought or heard of. It was the special *bonne bouche* of Lakshmi, the devi, or goddess, *par excellence.* The Sikhs somewhat modified its ingredients and manufacture, rendering it more elaborate and more suitable to an improved religion. But alas! for the tendency of all human institutions to degenerate, Kara Parshad is no longer cunningly contrived by skilful cook and holy guru. It is bought now at confectioners' shops in the bazars and thus shorn of the pristine glory of its sanctity.

The ancient recipe for the manufacture of the Sikhs' Kara Parshad was the following:—The maker of the food first bathes. He then, with a piece of the ever sacred cow-dung, cleanses a spot called a *chauka.* A pot of clean water is then brought, while clarified butter, unpurified brown sugar, and fine flour, are laid out in equal quantities. The brown sugar is thrown into the water, which is then boiled. While this is being done the clarified butter and fine flour are kneaded and heated over a fire. This mixture is then put into the mixture of the water and brown sugar. During the whole process the priest recites the Japji, which is a long chapter of the holy Granth repeated on certain solemn occasions. The mixture produced from all these sacred and material influences is called Kara Parshad, and is, I am told, actually worshipped by several classes of the Sikhs.

The Sikhs trace the recipe for the manufacture of their Kara Parshad to Baba Nanak, the first apostle of their religion. When he visited Sangladip he debated with certain Sidhs, or holy men, who thought to arrest his religious career. He vanquished them in theological combat. They confessed their defeat and begged him to set their hearts at rest by giving them the recipe for his *Kara Parshad*, which evidently possessed such wondrous virtue. He answered them allegorically in the manner of most inventors of new religions:—

There should be placed in your dish three things: truth, contentment, and foresight.

The name of God is Ambrosia, which ensures salvation.

These things should not be abandoned; continually bear them in mind.

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* Kara Parshad (*karai*, confectionery, and *parshad*, good-will) means the sweetmeat of good-will The feminine word *karai* is changed into a masculine form according to a seemingly virtuous liberty taken with words by the more puritanical Sikh priests.

Following thy steps, O omnipresent God, I can wade through the dark ocean of the world.

When Nanak uttered these verses, he ordered his attendant, Bala, to lay a cloth and prepare Kara Parshad for the holy men. Bala replied that the place was a desert, where no materials for Kara Parshad could be obtained. The guru replied, "Repeat the veritable name of God; and divide among the guests what you find beneath the cloth." When the cloth was removed, lo! Kara Parshad sufficient for the whole company was found. The Sidh deemed the clever manipulation of Bala a miracle, and, it is almost needless to relate, lived afterwards, and died, true followers of the holy guru.

(To be continued.)

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Art. III.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANISHADS.
Part V.

A REVIEW of primitive Indian philosophy would be incomplete if it omitted to lay before the reader some at least of the poetico-philosophical dialogues of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad. These are among the most interesting and impressive of the records of primitive Indian theosophy. The reader of the earlier articles of this series is prepared to understand these dialogues, and they will very fitly close this examination of the philosophy of the Upanishads. The earlier articles have unfolded the general conception of things formed by the ancient Indian inquirers, and have discussed the antiquity of the doctrine of Māyā, and the relations of Buddhist nihilism and sensationalism, and of the Pradhānavāda of the Sānkhyas, to the original Indian philosophy. A translation of the principal dialogues of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad will supply all that is wanting to a fairly developed exposition. A word of explanation from the scholiasts may be interposed here and there.

The earlier portions of the Brihadāranyaka, treating of the mystic significance of the Asvamedha, and of the creation of things by Prajāpati, may be passed over. The first extract shall be taken from the fourth book of this Upanishad. It is as follows :—

"Once upon a time there lived the proud son of Balākā, the eloquent Gārgya. He visited Ajātasatru, the Raja of Kāsi, and said, Let me declare to thee the Self, Brahman. Ajātasatru said :—

"I will give thee a thousand kine as the meed of thy speech. For people think that it is a giver that should be a hearer.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha, that same person, that is in the sun.

"The person, Sankarāchārya says, that the Gārgya here views as the Self is the transmigrating sentiency that knows, that acts and suffers, the Self that has already illusively identified itself with the deity in the sun and in the eye, and that through the eye has entered into the heart of the sentient creature. This personal soul is regarded by the Gārgya as the Self, and worshipped by him as residing in his body and his senses. The Raja puts aside such insufficient teaching.

"Ajātasatru said, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as that that stands the head of all beings, yea, the king. He that meditates upon the self in this manifestation, stands himself the head of all things, yea, the king.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the moon. Ajātāsatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate on that rather as the white-robed Soma, the king. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, his Soma is pressed and poured out day by day, and his food never fails.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the lightning. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the resplendent being. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, himself becomes resplendent, and his children are resplendent.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the ethereal expanse. Ajātāsatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as that that fills all things, and never acts. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, has children to the full, his posterity is never cut off upon the earth.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that *Purusha* that is in the air. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as Indra, as Vaikuntha, as the never-vanquished host of the Maruts. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, becomes a victor, unvanquished, the vanquisher of the aliens.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the fire. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the sustainer. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, becomes himself a sustainer, his children become sustainers, of things.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the waters. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the fitness of things. To him that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, that happens that is fit, not that that is unfit. To him fit progeny is born.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in a mirror. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the luminous. He that meditates upon the Self as luminous, himself becomes luminous, his children are luminous, he is more luminous than any that he meets with.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that noise that rises behind one as one walks. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the

breath of life. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation has his whole life in this world. His breath fails him not before his time.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the regions. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the companioned, the unforsaken. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, has companions, and they are not parted from him.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is a shadow. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, tell me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as death. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, has his whole life in this world. Death comes not to him before his time.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the mind. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, tell me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the intelligent. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, becomes intelligent in this world. His children are intelligent.

"The Gargya was put to silence."

Bālāki the Gārgya has thus shown that he knows only the *amukhyam brahma*, the Self in its various manifestations or illusory presentments in the gods, in the forces of nature, in the hearts of living creatures, not the *mukhyam brahma*, the Self beyond the phenomenal, the Self in itself, unmanifested, unconditioned. Ajātasatru has pointed out the inadequacy of each successive view of the Self, and the particular reward that follows each such view. For it is a maxim of the Indian religion that the worshipper becomes assimilated to the divine manifestation under which he worships the one impersonal, spiritual reality. *Tam yatha yathopāsate tad eva bhavati.*

"Ajātasatru asked, Is this all, It is all, said Báláki. Ajātasatru said, this is not enough to make known the Self. The Gārgya said, Let me wait upon thee as a disciple.

"Ajātasatru said, It is inverting the order of things that a Brahman should come as a disciple to a Kshatriya to be taught about the Self. Nevertheless I will offer thee my explanation. So saying, he rose, and took him by the hand. They went to a place where a man lay asleep. The Raja called to him by the name, Great king, white-robed Soma, and he did not rise. He pushed him with his hand, and the man sat up.

"Ajātasatru asked, where was this cognisant person when he lay thus asleep? And whence did he come hither? Gārgya knew not. Ajātasatru said, when this cognisant person was asleep, he lay within the ether, the spiritual reality, in the heart, receiving

knowledge by means of idealion from the senses. When he receives such cognitions, the person is said to dream. In dreaming he assumes vital breath, he assumes a voice, he assumes the organs of vision and of hearing, he assumes the thinking faculty.

"So when he passes through his dreams, spheres of fruition present themselves to him, he appears to become, it may be, a great Raja, or a great Brahman, or proceeds to higher or lower embodiments. When he appears to be a great Raja, he has his subjects, he lives as he choses in his kingdom. Thus it is that he takes to himself the ideations and energises freely within his own organism.

"But when he passes into dreamless sleep, and is no longer conscious of anything, he retires into the parts about the heart, through the two and seventy thousand arteries that ramify from the heart, and there reposes. He rests in the height of bliss, like a young child, like a great Raja or a great Brahman. It is thus that he reposes in dreamless sleep."

The mind says, Sankarāchārya has its seat in the heart. The external organs, the organs of motion and sensation, are dependent on the mind there situated. In sleep the mind withdraws the external organs from their several localities into the heart, the organ of hearing from the inner chamber of the ear, and so on. In the waking state the Self in its cognitional involucrum, the *vijnānamayah purushah*, irradiates the mind with its pure intelligential light. In sleep the Self irradiates the mind into which the exterior organs have been retracted. In dreamless sleep the Self follows the mind that has retired along with the ideal residues of its waking experience into the heart, and reposes in the parts around the heart, or in fact, throughout the body, permeating and pervading it as fire permeates and pervades a red-hot lump of iron. It is said to repose within the body, though it really abides in its own essential nature as the undifferenced spiritual reality, because it is still attached to the mind of the sentient personality implicated in transmigration for the fruition of deserts. But, strictly speaking, in dreamless sleep, the Self has no connection with the body, as it has then for a time passed beyond all the miseries of metempychosis. Dreamless sleep is a daily resolution into the fontal essence.

"As the spider protends itself in threads, as little sparks issue on all sides from a fire,—even so do all the organs, all spheres of fruition, all gods, all sentiencies proceed out of that Self. The mystic name of that Self is the truth of the true. The organs are true, and the Self is their truth.

"The Self is enounced as not this, not that, for there is no other name for it but No. Its name is the truth of the true. The organs are the true, and the Self is their truth."

"Hegel's work," says Dr. Stirling in his Secret of Hegel, "is this: the spider of thought—a point spinning its web of thought around itself: the bombyx of eternity, the cocoon of eternity, and their unity in eternity itself."

Brahman, Sankarāchārya says, is the truth of the true, the verity of the real. The five elements of the world are made up of names and forms, and names and forms are sometimes spoken of as real. The reality of this real, elemental world, is Brahman. Brahman can only be enounced as not this, not that, inasmuch as there is in it no particularity, no name, no form, no action, no difference, no community, no attribute, and it is these things only that are expressible in speech. In its own essence it is exempt from all the semblances that constitute the order of transmigratory existence. Every predicate must be denied of it.

The next dialogue is that between the Rishi Yājnavalkya and his wife Maitreyī. Yājnavalkya is about to quit the life of a householder for that of a religious medicant, that he may meditate at leisure on the vanity and unreality of the world, and put away his personality by reunion with the impersonal Self. The dialogue is as follows:—

"Yājnavalkya said, Maitreyī, I am about to depart from this my home. Let me divide my property between you and my other wife Kātyayanī. Maitreyī said, If all this earth, filled with wealth, were mine, should I be immortal? No, said Yājnavalkya, thy life would be as the life of the wealthy, but of immortality there is no hope by wealth.

"Maitreyī said, What shall I do with that which will not make me immortal? Holy sir, tell me that that thou knowest.

"Yājnavalkya said, Dear indeed thou art to me, and speakest dearly. Come sit down. I will tell thee. Think heedfully of what I tell thee.

"He proceeded:—A husband is dear, not for the sake of the husband, but for the sake of Self. A wife is dear, not for the sake of the wife, but for the sake of Self. Children are dear, not for the children's sake, but for the sake of Self. Wealth is dear, not for wealth's sake, but for the sake of Self. The Brahmans are dear, not for Brahmans' sake, but for the sake of Self. The Kshatriyas are dear, not for the Kshatriyas' sake, but for the sake of self. The spheres are dear, not for the spheres' sake, but for the sake of Self. The gods are dear, not for the gods' sake, but for the sake of Self. All things living are dear, not for the sake of those living things, but for the sake of Self. The world is dear, not for the world's sake, but for the sake of Self. Ah, Maitreyī, it is the Self that must be seen, that must be heard, that must be thought about, that must be meditated on. It is by seeing the Self, Maitreyī, by

hearing it, by thinking about it, by knowing it, that all that is is known."

It is the Self only, says Sankarāchārya, that is desired in and for itself. This is dearer than wife, or child, or wealth, or all the world. All other love is summed up in the love of the real Self. other love is imperfect, the love of the spiritual absolute within is perfect. Therefore it is that the ultimate spiritual reality of things, the impersonal Self, is to be seen. First it is to be heard in the teaching of the spiritual guide, and in revelation; next it is to be thought about by the exercise of the understanding; then it is to be meditated on in prolonged ecstasy. The real self within is seen, when the pure inner vision rises clear within the soul, the vision of the unity of all things in the impersonal Self; and that rises when all things have been resolved into their fontal unity by hearing, thinking, and ecstatic meditation. These are the means of suppressing the world of semblances illusorily overspread upon the Self, like the unreal snake that overlies the rope, when a piece of rope is mistaken by the belated wayfarer for a snake. "It is the Self that must be seen, that must be heard, that must be thought about, that must be meditated on,"—is one of the most frequently cited texts of the Vedanta. *Atmá vá are drashtavyah srotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyah.*

"The Brahmans would reject any one that should view the Brahmans as other than the Self. The Kshatriyas would reject any one that should view the Kshatriyas as other than the Self. The spheres would reject any one that should view the spheres as other than the Self. The gods would reject any one that should view the gods as other than the Self. All living things would reject any one that should view the living things as other than the Self. The world would reject any one that should view the world as other than the Self. The Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the spheres, the gods, the living things, the world, are all the Self.

"As when a drum is beaten, one cannot catch the several external sounds, but the total sound can be seized by hearkening to the drum or the beating of the drum;

"As when a conch-shell is blown, one cannot catch the several external sounds, but the total sound can be seized by hearkening to the conch-shell or the blast upon the conch-shell;

"As when a lute is touched, one connot catch the several external sounds, but the total sound can be seized by hearkening to the lute or to the playing of the lute."

So the things that emanate from the fontal unity are various, conscious and unconscious. They are all contained in that one idea in its state of pure indetermination, the *prajnánaghana*, just as the

several partial sounds of the drum, the shell, and the lute, are comprehended in the total sounds of those instruments. Such is Sankarāchārya's explanation of these verses, and it is thus, he says, that if we know the one impersonal Self, we shall know all things, all things proceeding out of it, reposing upon it, and being withdrawn into it again.

"As from a fire laid with moist fuel smoke issues forth in all directions, even so from that infinite Being rise as an exhalation the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvāngirasa, the sacred colloquies, the legends, the theory; the mystic lore, the slokas, the brief texts, the precepts, the explanations. All these are exhalations of the Self.

"As the ocean is the one receptacle of all waters, as the skin is the one receptacle of all sensations of touch, as the tongue is the one receptable of all tastes, as the nose is the one receptacle of all odours, as the eye is the one receptacle of all colours, as the ear is the one receptacle of all sounds, as the sensory is the one receptacle of all volitions, as the heart is the one receptacle of all cognitions, as the hands are the one receptacle of all actions, as the feet are the one receptacle of all motions, as the speech is the one receptacle of all the Vedas.

"As a lump of salt thrown into water melts away into the water, and no one can take it out, but wherever he may take it up it is all salt alike,—even so is this great being, infinite, illimitable, one pure indifference of thought *(vijnānaghana eva)*. One rises from these elements, one is resolved into them again as they are resolved into the fontal unity. After one has passed away there is no consciousness. This I say, Maitreyī. Thus spoke Yājnavalkya."

The sixth book of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad repeats the dialogue of Yājnavalkya and Maitreyī with certain variations. The last verse is given thus:—"As a lump of salt has nothing inside it or outside it, but is a uniform mass of savour,—even so this Self has nothing within it or without it. It is one pure indifference of thought. One rises from these elements, and is resolved into them again. There is no consciousness when one has passed away." This is a very celebrated simile in the Vedānta. All things, says Sankarāchārya, are made up of names and forms, emanating as organisms, organs, and their environments, like waves, foam, bubbles, from and upon the ocean of the undifferenced spiritual reality, the impersonal Self. They may all be made to disappear again into it, like rivers disappearing in the sea, by the knowledge of the one underlying reality. Their being is transient and evanescent, as the reflections of the sun and moon playing upon the waters, or as the semblance of redness in pure crystal upon which a red tint has been thrown from without. The living things, individual-

ised and personalised by their semblances of bodies and of organs, perish along with those bodies and those organs, along with the elements that have transformed themselves into organisms and environments of organisms, so soon as these semblances have been resolved into the fontal unity of the undifferenced Self, by the teaching of revelation and of its exponents, so soon as they have been melted away by *brahmavidyā*. Their bodies thus passing away, the individual sentiencies cease to have any being, in the same way as the images of the sun and moon pass away when the waters they were imaged on have passed away, or as the redness of the crystal passes away when the red object reflected upon it has been removed. Then there abides alone the undifferenced idea, the infinite, illimitable, pure reality. There is no consciousness of difference and plurality for the sage that is once for all freed from the body. *Na tatra pretya viseshasanjnā'sti kāryakaranasanghātebhyo vimuktasya.*

"Maitreyī said, Holy sir, thou hast bewildered me by saying that there is no consciousness after one has passed away. Yājnavalkya replied, I have said nothing that is bewildering. This is possible to understand. For where there is, as it were, duality, there a man sees another, smells another, hears another, speaks to another, thinks of another, knows another. But when all this is Self alone, how should a man see another, hear another, speak to another, think of another, know another? How should one be conscious of that whereby one knows all this? How should one know the knower?"

Such is the dialogue of Yājnavalkya and Maitreyī. It contains texts and phrases of importance in the philosophy of the Upanishads, and the student of this philosophy would do well to mark the following, as of frequent occurrence in Vedantic literature. "It is the Self that must be seen, that must be heard, that must be thought about, that must be meditated on." "All these are exhalations of the Self." "One pure indifference of thought." "Where there is, as it were duality." "With what should one know the knower?"

The rest of the fourth book of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad is taken up with the Madhuvidyā, or simile of honey, in which the following verses may be noted:—

"The body is the honey of all sentiencies, and all sentiencies are the honey of this body. And this same luminous, immortal Purusha that is in this body, and this same luminous, immortal Self, are one. Purusha is Self. This is immortal, this is Brahman, this is all that is.

"This same Self is the overlord of all living things, the ruler of all living things. As all the spokes of a wheel are fixed into the axle and the felly, even so are all beings in this Self, all these

living souls are fixed into it. This is that honey that Dadhyach, the son of Atharvan, proclaimed to the Asvins. Seeing this, the Rishi said, This took upon itself the form of every form that it might manifest itself Indra, the Demiurgus appears, multiform by his illusions. Yoked are his horses, hundreds and ten. This is the horses (the senses), this is the ten (the organs), this is the many thousands, the innumerable (sentiencies). This same Self has nothing before it or after it, nothing within it or without it. Brahman is the Self that knoweth all. Such is the revelation."

The dialogue next to be presented is that of Yājnavalkya with the priests of Janaka, Raja of Videha. It forms the fifth book of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad, known as the Yājnavalkyakānda.

Janaka, the Raja of Videha, was offering a sacrifice in which he gave large fees to the Brahmans. The Brahmans of the countries of the Kurus and Panchālas had come thither, and Janaka of Videha wished to know who was the most learned of them all. He shut up a thousand kine in a pen, and the horns of each cow were overlaid with ten measures of gold.

He said to them, Holy Brahmans, let him that is the most learned among you drive off these cows. None of the Brahmans presumed to do so. Yājnavalkya said to his disciple, Sāmasravas, Drive off these cows. He drove them away to his master's house. The Brahmans were angry, and began to say among themselves, How can this man assert that he is the most learned of us all? Now Asvala was the Hotri priest of Janaka of Videha. He asked Yājnavalkya, Yājnavalkya, art thou the most learned? He replied, I offer my respects to the most learned, I only want the cows. Then Asvala, the Hotri, undertook to question him.

Yājnavalkya, he said, thou knowest how all these sacrificial things are filled with death and subject to death? Wherewithal shall the sacrificer escape beyond the reach of death? Yājnavalkya replied, by this Hotri priest, Agni, and by the voice. The voice is the Hotri of the sacrifice, and what the voice is, that Agni is also. Agni is the Hotri. This is the escape, the escape beyond the reach of death.

Yājnavalkya, he said, thou knowest how all these things are overspread by day and night and subject to day and night? Wherewithal shall the sacrificer escape beyond the reach of day and night? Yājnavalkya replied, By his Adhvaryu priest, the eye, and by the sun. The eye is the Adhvaryu priest at the sacrifice, and what the eye is that the sun is also, the sun is the Adhvaryu. This is the escape, the escape beyond the reach of day and night.

Yājnavalkya, he said, thou knowest how all these things are overspread with the dark and light halves of the lunar month, nad are subject to the periods in which the moon waxes and wanes?

Wherewithal shall the sacrificer escape beyond the light and the dark periods of the lunation? Yājnavalkya replied, By his Udgātri priest, the air, and by the vital breath. The vital breath is the Udgātri priest at the sacrifice. What the vital breath is, that the air is also, the air is the Udgātri. This is the escape, the escape beyond the dark and light semi-lunations.

Yājnavalkya, he said, thou knowest how yonder sky seems to be unsupported, what support shall the sacrificer climb up by into the sphere of Svarga? Yājnavalkya replied, By his Brahman priest, the sensory, and by the moon. The sensory is the Brahman priest of the sacrificer. What the sensory is, that the moon is also, the moon is the Brahman. This is the escape, the escape beyond the sky. Such are the escapes beyond death. Therefore these preparations.

Next Ārtabhāga, the Jāratkārava, began to question him.

Yājnavalkya, he said, How many organs are there, and how many objects? There are eight organs, he replied, and eight objects of those organs. What are they? asked Ārtabhāga."

Asvala, the scholiasts say, had examined Yājnavalkya about the persons and things used in the sacrifice about to take place, the knowledge of this kind of symbolism being regarded as a help to escape beyond the reach of death, that is to say, to escape from further implication in metempsychosis. Ārtabhāga proceeds to interrogate him about the nature of death or implication in metempsychosis. The nature of this bondage to repeated embodiments is to be learned from that of the organs of sense and motion, and from their objects. It is to be feared that these portions of the dialogue will have little to interest the general reader, but they could not well be left out, as they are part of the picture of the proceedings at the sacrifice. We shall come to more important matters further on.

"Yājnavalkya replied, smell is an organ, and it is linked to the exhaling thing as its object, for it is by reason of the exhaling substance that one smells an odour.

The voice is an organ, and it is linked to the utterable word as its object, for it is with the voice that one utters words.

The tongue is an organ, and it is linked to the sapid thing as its object, for it is with the tongue that one tastes sapid things.

The eye is an organ, and it is linked to colour as its object, for it is with the eye that one sees colours.

The ear is an organ, and it is linked to sound as its object, for it is with the ear that one hears sounds.

The common sensory *(manas)* is an organ, and it is linked to the thing desired as its object, for it is with the sensory that one desires the things desired.

The hands are an organ and are linked to the thing palpable, for it is with the hands that one handles things that can be handled. The skin is an organ, and is linked to the thing tangible as its object, for it is with the skin that one is sensible of things tangible. There are eight organs and the eight objects.

Yājnavalkya, he said, thou knowest that all these things are food for death, what is that divine being of which death is the food? Fire, he replied, is the death of death, and fire again is food for water. One may overcome death, may extricate himself from metempsychosis.

Yājnavalkya, he said, when the man thus extricated dies, do his organs issue upwards (to pass into another body), or not? They do not, replied Yājnavalkya. They are melted away within him. He swells, he is inflated with the air, he lies a corpse."

When the finished theosophist dies, the organs and the objects that made up his living personality return into unity with, are melted away into, the one Self, from which they sprang. He is liberated from his journey from embodiment to embodiment.

"Yājnavalkya, he said, when the man thus extricated dies, what is it that does not forsake him? His name, replied the Rishi. His name is endless, endless are all the gods, and thereby he gains an endless sphere.

Yājnavalkya, he said, what becomes of the man still implicated in metempsychosis when he dies, and his voice passes into fire, and his breath is withdrawn into the air, his eyes into the sun, his sensory into the moon, his ears into the regions of space, his body into the earth, his soul into the ether, the hair of his body into plants, the hair of his head into trees, his blood into water. Yājnavalkya said, Give me thy hand, good Ārtabhāga, we will find out the answer to thy question, but this is no theme to discuss in an assembly. So they went out and took counsel together, and pronounced that it was the retributive fatality of works that they had sought for (as the cause of continuous re-embodiments.) They pronounced it to be the retributive fatality, *karman*. A man becomes holy by holy works, unholy by unholy works.

Hereupon Ārtabhāga, the Jāratkārava, ceased from questioning." Thus Artabhaga has examined Yājnavalkya about the nature of metempsychosis. There are sixteen constituents, *kalā*, of the transmigrating personality, the eight organs and the eight objects. On the death of the liberated sage these elements of his personality are resolved into the fontal unity of the impersonal Self, like rivers that have disappeared into the sea. On the death of the ordinary man these elements of his personality are resolved into the things of the outer world, till the retributive fatality of his works in former states brings them together again to form for him a new

embodiment. The organs can never depart from the individual sentiency until its extrication from metempsychosis. The words "A man becomes holy by holy works, unholy by unholy works," are one of the principal texts of the Vedānta. The words must not be taken in too moral or spiritual a significance. Their real import is that by a life according to sacred prescription a man may rise to be a god in his next embodiment, and that by neglect of immemorial usages his soul may come to be confined in a vegetable or animal body. The range of transmigration is from a tuft of grass up to the highest divinity of Indian worship. In examining such documents at the Upanishads we must carefully set aside all the ideas with which western religion and philosophy have enriched the mind and widened the associations of our thoughts. The student of ancient thoughts cannot be too cautious in this regard. He is dealing with thoughts that are but the rudiments of thoughts to come.

"Next Bhujya Lāhyāyani began to question him.

Yājnavalkya, he said, when we were itinerating as sacred students in Madra, we came to the house of Patanchala the Kāpya. He had a daughter possessed of a spirit more than human, of a Gandharva. We asked the Gandharva who he was. He said that he was Sudhanvan, an Āngirasa. Next, when we asked him about the ends of the worlds, we asked what had become of the descendants of Pārikshit. Now I ask thee, Yājnavalkya, what has become of the Pārikshatas.

Yājnavalkya answered, They have gone where the offerers of a horse-sacrifice, an Asvamedha, go. And where do men go that offer a horse-sacrifice? asked Bhujya. This world, said Yājnavalkya, is equal to two and thirty journeys of the sun-god's chariot. This is surrounded on every side by a land of twice that size. That land is encircled by a sea of twice its size. Beyond this is an ethereal space of the width of a razor's edge or a midge's wing. There Indra, the Demiurgus, taking the shape of a bird, handed over the Pārikshitas to the air, the air took them to itself and conveyed them to the seats of former sacrificers of an Asvamedha. Thus it was that the Gandharva proclaimed to you the air as the place whither the Pārikshatas had gone. Thus it is that air is everything, and air is all things, and he that knows this has conquered death once for all.

Hereupon Bhujya Lāhyāyani ceased from questioning.

Next Ushasta Chākrāyana began to question him.

Yājnavalkya, he said, tell me plainly what is that immediate and actual Self that is the Self within all living things. Yājnavalkya replied, that very Self of thine is the Self that is within all things. And what is that that is within all things, asked Ushasta. Yājnavalkya replied, that Self of thine that is within all things

is that Self that breathes with the breath. That Self of thine that is within all things is that Self that descends with the descending air of life. That Self of thine that is within all things is that Self that circulates within with the circulating air of life. That Self of thine that is the Self within all things is that Self that ascends with the ascending air of life. That is that Self of thine that is within all things. This is that Self of thine that is within all things.

Ushasta Chākrāyana said, Point out to me plainly what is that immediate and actual Self that is within all living things, as plainly as a man might say :—This is a cow, this is a horse : thus is this designated. Yājnavalkya said, That very Self of thine is the Self that is within all things. Ushasta asked again, And what is the Self that is within all things, Yājnavalkya? Yajnavalkya replied, It cannot be so pointed out. Thou canst not see that that sees the sight. Thou canst not hear that that hears the hearing. Thou canst not think the thinker of the thought. Thou canst not know the knower of the knowledge. This is thy Self, the Self that is in all living things, and everything else is misery.

Hereupon Ushasta Chākrāyana ceased from questioning."

So far, says Sānkarāchārya, the dialogue has treated of metempsychosis and its causes, of the nature of implication in metempsychosis, of the sentiencies implicated in it, and of the existence and reality of the Self. The dialogue now proceeds to treat of the knowledge of the one ultimate spiritual reality that underlies all things, as the path of extrication from metempsychosis, and to treat also of the renunciation of all things that must be preliminary to such knowledge.

" Next Kahola, the son of Kushītaka began to question him.

Yājnavalkya, he said, tell me plainly what is that immediate and actual Self that is the Self within all living things. Yājnavalkya replied, That very Self of thine is the Self that is within all things. And what is that that is within all things? asked Kahola. Yājnavalkya replied, that that passes beyond hunger and thirst, and grief, and stupor, and decay and death. Knowing this Self it was that Brahmans have arisen and quitted love of children, and of wealth, and of further spheres of fruition, and have wandered abroad as holy mendicants. For desire of children is desire of riches, and desire of riches is desire of future spheres of fruition,—for there are both these kinds of desire. Therefore let a Brahman learn wisdom, and stand firm in the power of wisdom. And having made an end of wisdom and the power of wisdom, let him become a quietist. And having made an end of quietism and non-quietism he shall become a Brahman, a Brahman, indeed.

Whatever his school and race may be, this shall he become. Everything else than this is misery.

Hereupon Kahola, the son of Kushitaka, ceased from questioning."

The translation follows the gloss of Sankarāchārya, but if looked at independently, the text might be rendered, "Let a Brahman renounce learning and become as a child. And having renounced learning and childishness, let him become a quietist. And having renounced quietism and non-quietism, he shall become a Brahman, a Brahman, indeed."

"Next Gārgī, the daughter of Vachaknu, began to question him.

Yājnavalkya, she said, thou knowest how all this earth is woven upon the waters warp and woof. What are the waters woven upon, warp and woof. Upon the air, Gārgī, replied the Rishi. What is the air woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the regions of middle space, Gārgī. What are the regions of middle space woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the spheres of the Gandharvas, Gārgī, What are the spheres of the Gandharvas woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the lunar spheres, Gārgī. What are the lunar spheres woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the starry spheres, Gārgī. What are the starry spheres woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the spheres of the gods, Gārgī. What are the spheres of the gods woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the spheres of Indra, Gārgī. What are the spheres of Indra woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the spheres of Prajāpati, Gārgī. What are the spheres of Prajāpati woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the spheres of Brahma. And what, said Gārgī, are the spheres of Brahma woven upon, warp and woof? Yājnavalkya answered, Grāgī, push not thy questioning too far. Thou goest too far in asking questions about the divinity that is beyond the reach of interrogation. Gārgī, push not thy questions too far.

Hereupon Gārgī ceased from questioning."

Here we have the phrase so often repeated in the Vedānta, *otam protancha,* woven warp and woof. The whole illusory order of transmigratory existence, all the spheres of fruition through which the individualized spirit may have to pass in obedience to the law of retribution, are woven like so many webs of finer and finer tissue, *Sūkshmatāratamyakramena,* across and across the impersonal Self. The whole world is but the unreal vesture of the Self, within that is the sole reality. The Fichtean philosophy exhibits a similar idea in a richer form, as when Carlyle says, "So that this so solid-seeming world, after all, is but an air-image, over Me the only reality; and nature with its thousand fold production and destruction, but the reflex of our own inward force, the

phantasy of our dream; or what the earth-spirit in Faust names it the living visible garment of God:—

> In Being's floods, in Action's storm,
> I walk and work, above, beneath,
> Work and weave in endless motion!
> Birth and Death,
> An infinite ocean;
> A seizing and giving
> The fire of living:
> 'Tis thus at the roaring loom of time I ply,
> And weave for God the garment thou seest him by."

And further on in Sartor Resartus: "But deepest of all illusory appearances, for hiding wonder as for many other ends, are your two grand fundamental world-enveloping appearances, Space and Time. These, as spun and woven for us from before birth itself, to clothe our celestial Me for dwelling here, and yet to blind it,—lie all-embracing, as the universal canvas, or warf and woof, whereby all minor illusions, in this phantasm existence, weave and paint themselves. In vain, while here on earth, shall you endeavour to strip them off; you can, at best, but rend them asunder for moments, and look through." And, elsewhere: "The thing visible, nay, the thing imagined, the thing in any way conceived as visible, what is it but a garment, a clothing of the higher celestial invisible, unimaginable, formless, dark with excess of bright."

The same idea of an unreal vesture of the sole spiritual reality appears in the doctrine of the successive *involucra* of the Self, clothed upon with which it manifests itself in the fictitious world as a plurality of personalities passing from birth to birth, from sphere to sphere. These are enumerated in the Taittirīya Upanishad, as translated in the second article of this series, as the beatific cognitional, sensorial, respiratory, and nutrimentitious *involucra*, the last or nutrimentitious *involucrum* being the visible, tangible organism, made and re-made with food, the *annamayakosa*. These have to be stripped off one by one till we reach the underlying Self. This doctrine re-appears in the Alexandrian philosophy. To quote Zeller (Philosophie der Griechen, vol. v. p. 736): "Even in its pre-existence the soul, equally with the dæmons and the intramundane deities, cannot exist without a body, inasmuch as it belongs to its essence to animate a body; only this is further, as Proclus and Jamblichus assume, an immaterial, ethereal body, that accompanies it in its return to a higher world, and is, like the soul itself, an immediate emanation out of the world-creator. Between this immaterial body and the earthly body, Proclus introduces a third or even a whole series of such bodies, which the soul takes to

itself before its advent upon earth, as well as at its entrance into the world of the becoming, and retains after death so long as it is imprisoned in the region of the phenomenal."

To return to the text of the dialogue.

"Next Uddālaka, the son of Aruna, began to question him. Yājnavalkya, he said, we lived in Madra, in the house of Patanchala the Kāpya, studying liturgics. He had a wife possessed of a spirit more than human, a Gandharva. We asked the Gandharva who he was. He said, I am Kabandha, the son of Atharvan. He said again to the Kāpya and the liturgists, Kāpya, dost thou know what is that thread by which this embodiment and the next embodiment and all living things are strung together? Patanchla the Kāpya said, Venerable spirit, I know it not. The Gandharva said again to Patanchala the Kāpya and the liturgists, Kāpya, dost thou know that internal ruler that actuates this embodiment, and the next embodiment, and all living things from within? Patanchala the Kāpya said, Venerable spirit, I know it not. Again the Gandharva said to Patanchala, the Kāpya, and the liturgists:—He that knows that thread, Kāpya, and the internal ruler, knows the Brahman, knows the spheres of fruition, knows the gods, knows the Vedas, knows the living things, knows the Self, knows all things. The Gandharva proclaimed it to them. I know it. If thou, Yājnavalkya, hast driven off the cows of the Brahmans without knowing that thread and that internal ruler, thy head shall fall off. Yājnavalkya said, I do know that thread, Gautama, and that internal ruler. Uddālaka rejoined, Any one can say, I know it, I know it. Tell me how thou knowest it.

The dialogue has hitherto, according to Ānandagiri, treated of all that lies on this side of Hiranyagarbha or the thread-soul, the Sūtrātman, the totality of sentiencies invested in the tenuous *involucra*. It now proceeds to treat of the thread-soul and of the internal ruler that actuates it from within, the Demiurgus that determines the actions of all living beings, keeping them each to its appointed actions like wire-drawn puppets. For it is a tenet of the Vedānta that the Demiurgus, acting through all sentiencies, directs their actions, according to their works in their earlier embodiments, in conformity with the fatal law of retribution.

"Yājnavalkya said, The air, Gautama, is that thread. This embodiment and the next, and all living things are strung upon the air as on a thread. Therefore it is that they say of a dead man that he is bloodless, that his limbs are unstrung. Therefore all things, Gautama, are strung upon the air as upon a thread. Uddālaka said, It is even so, Yājnavalkya. Tell me of the internal ruler."

The air, says Sankarāchārya, here signifies that invisible, ethereal basis of the elements, of which the tenuous *involucra* of transmigrating sentiencies are formed. It is in these tenuous *involucra* that the abiding influences reside of the works done in former states of being. It is these tenuous *involucra* that clothe the living soul in its passage from body to body. Next follows a description of the Demiurgus as the one spirit animating nature and all living beings.

"Yājnavalkya said, That that dwells in the earth, within the earth, which the earth knows not, of which the earth is the body, which rules the earth from within, —that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the waters, within the waters, which the waters know not, of which the waters are the body, which rules the waters from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in fire, within fire, which fire knows not, of which fire is the body, which rules fire from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in mid space, within mid space, which mid space knows not, of which mid space is the body, which rules mid space from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the air, within the air, which the air knows not, of which the air is the body, which rules the air from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the sky, within the sky, which the sky knows not, of which the sky is the body, which rules the sky from within, —that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the sun, within the sun, which the sun knows not, of which the sun is the body, which rules the sun from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the regions of space, within the regions, which the regions knows not, of which the regions are the body, which rules the regions from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the moon and stars, within the moon and stars, which the moon and stars know not, of which the moon and stars are the body, which rules the moon and stars from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the ether, within the ether, which the ether knows not, of which the ether is the body, which rules the ether from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the darkness, within the darkness, which

the darkness knows not, of which the darkness is the body, which rules the darkness from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the light, within the light, which the light knows not, of which the light is the body, which rules the light from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

Such is it in things divine. Now for what it is in living beings.

That which dwells in all things living, within all things living, which all things living know not, of which all living things are the body, which rules all living things from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the breath of life, within the breath, which the breath knows not, of which the breath is the body, which rules the breath from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the voice, within the voice, which the voice knows not, of which the voice is the body, which rules the voice from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the eye, within the eye, which the eye knows not, of which the eye is the body, which rules the eye from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the ear, within the ear, which the ear knows not, of which the ear is the body, which rules the ear from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the sensory, within the sensory, which the sensory knows not, of which the sensory is the body, which rules the sensory from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the skin, within the skin, which the skin knows not, of which the skin is the body, which rules the skin from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the consciousness, within the consciousness, which the consciousness knows not, of which the consciousness is the body, which rules the consciousness from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That is the unseen seer, the unheard hearer, the unthought thinker, the unknown knower. Other than this there is none that sees; other than this there is none that hears; other than this there is none that thinks; other than this there is none that knows. This is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal. Every thing else is misery.

Hereupon Uddālaka, the son of Aruni, ceased from questioning."

The Demiurgus is the first manifestation of Brahman. It is Brahman, the Self, fictitiously overspread with the totality of illusion as a *kāranasarīra*, or body out of which all things emanate It is, Sankarāchārya says, only by the presence and light of this Demiurgus within them that the deities presiding over earth and water and fire, and other natural agents, operate and cease to operate. The same Demiurgus is present in all living things from a tuft of grass up to the highest god, and it is in virtue of his presence and his light that they are in movement or at rest. He is invisible, and vision is his being, incognizable, and the eternal power of cognition is his being. He is himself exempt from the various experiences of metempsychosis, and it is he that metes out to the transmigrating sentiencies their several lots of happiness and misery.

"Next Gārgī, the daughter of Vachaknu, spoke again.

Holy Brahmans, I will ask this man two questions. If he can answer them, no one among you can excel him in exposition of the Self. Ask him, Gārgī, they said.

Yājnavalkya, said Gārgī, I rise to put two questions to thee. I rise as some Raja of Kāsi or Videha might present himself before thee, a father of heroes, with his bow strung and two threatening arrows of cane in his hand. Answer me these questions. Ask me them, Gārgī, said Yājnavalkya.

Yājnavalkya, she said, what is that that is above the sky, below the earth, within which are this earth and yonder sky, and all that has been, all that is, and all that is to come? What are all these woven across, warp and woof?

Yājnavalkya replied, Gārgī, that that is above the sky, below the earth, within which are this earth and yonder sky, and all that has been, all that is, and all that is to come, is the ethereal expanse. All these things are woven, warp and woof across and across the ethereal expanse.

She said, Glory to thee, Yājnavalkya, that thou hast solved this first question of mine. Now prepare thyself for the second question. Ask it, Gārgī, he said. She said, Yājnavalkya, what is that that is above the sky, below the earth, within which are this earth and yonder sky, and all that has been, all that is, and all that is to come? What are all these woven across, warp and woof? Yājnavalkya replied again, Gārgī, that that is above the sky, below the earth, within which are this earth and yonder sky, and all that has been, all that is, and all that is to come, is the ethereal expanse. All these things are woven, warp and woof, across the ethereal expanse. And what is the ethereal expanse woven across, said Gārgi, warp and woof?

Yājnavalkya answered, Brahmans proclaim that across which

the ethereal expanse is woven to be the imperishable. It is neither great nor small, neither long nor short, neither red like fire, nor fluid like water. Shadowless it is, and there is no darkness in it, but it is not air, nor is it ether. It touches nothing, is colourless, odourless, without eyes, or ears, or voice, or thinking faculty. It receives no light from without. It has no breath, no mouth. It is immeasurable. It has nothing within it or without it. It eats nothing, and is eaten of none.

It is under the dominion of this imperishable principle, Gārgī, that the sun and moon stand established. It is under the dominion of this imperishable principle, Gārgī, that the sky and earth stand fixed in their places. It is under the dominion of this imperishable principle, Gārgī, that moments and hours, and days and nights, and fortnights and months, and seasons and years, are fixed in their periods. It is under the dominion of this imperishable principle, Gārgī, that some rivers flow eastward from the snowy mountains, others westward, others in other directions. It is under the dominion of this imperishable principle, Gārgī, that men praise their benefactors, that the gods are dependent on the sacrificer, and the Pitris on oblations.

He, Gārgī, that makes burnt offerings and sacrifices in this embodiment, or tortures himself, without knowing that imperishable principle, though it be for thousands of years, yet his reward shall have an end. He, Gārgī, that departs this life without knowing that imperishable principle, is miserable, but he that departs this life and knows it, he is a Brahman indeed.

This same imperishable principle, Gārgī, is that which sees unseen, hears unheard, thinks unthought, knows unknown. Other than this there is none that sees; other than this there is none that hears; other that this there is none that thinks; other than this there is none than knows. Over this imperishable principle, Gārgī, the ethereal expanse is woven, warp and woof.

Gārgī said, Holy Brahmans, you may think it a great matter if you can save yourselves, giving glory to this Rishi. Never will any one among you excel this Rishi in the exposition of the Self.

Hereupon Gārgī, the daughter of Vachaknu, ceased from questioning."

The Self, Sankarāchārya says, is not seen, it cannot be an object, but it is that that sees, it is the vision itself that acts through the eyes of all things living. It is not thought, it cannot be an object, it is the thought itself that acts through the thinking faculties of all things living. It is not known, it cannot be an object, it is the knowledge itself that acts through the mind of all things living. It is the Self that is within all sentiences, that is exempt from hunger and thirst and all the evils of metempsy-

chosis, upon which the ethereal space is woven. It is the goal, the final term.

"Next Vidagdha, the son of Sakala, began to question him. Yājnavalkya, he said, how many gods are there? Yājnavalkya answered him according to the following Nivid (enumerative) text. There are as many, he said, as are enumerated in the Nivid of the Vaisvadevasastra, three and three hundred, and three and three thousand. Yes, said Vidagdha. He asked again, How many gods are there, Yājnavalkya? Three and thirty, he replied. He asked again, How many gods are there, Yājnavalkya? Six, he replied, Yes, said Vidagdha, and asked again, How many gods are there, Yājnavalkya? Three, he replied. Yes, said Vidagdha, how many gods are there, Yājnavalkya? Two, he replied. Yes, said Vidagdha, how many gods are there, Yājnavalkya? One and a half, he replied. Yes, said Vidagdha, how many gods are there, Yājnavalkya? One, he replied. Yes, said Vidagdha. Which are those three and three hundred, and those three and three thousand?

Yājnavalkya said, The glories of these are three and thirty. Which are those three and thirty, asked Vidagdha? The eight Vasus, said Yājnavalkya, the eleven Rudras, and the twelve Ādityas, are thirty-one, and Indra and Prajāpati make up the thirty-three.

Who are the Vasus? The earth, the air, the welkin, the sun, the sky, the moon, and the stars,—these are Vasus. In these all this world is contained, and therefore they are the Vasus.

Who are the Rudras? These ten organs of sense and motion in the living thing, and the common sensory as the eleventh. When these quit this mortal body, they make men weep, and because they make men weep they are the Rudras.

Who are the Ādityas? The twelve months of the year are the Ādityas, for they as they move onwards take along with them all living things, and because they take away with them all living things, they are the Ādityas.

Who is Indra, and who is Prajāpati? Indra is the thunder, and Prajāpati is the sacrifice. What is the thunder? It is the thunderbolt. What is the sacrifice? It is the sacrificial animals.

Who are the six gods? They are fire, and earth, and air and welkin, and sun and sky; these six, for all these are six.

Who are the three gods? They are these three worlds, earth, air and sky, for in these are all the gods. Who are the two gods? They are food and the breath of life. Who is the god one and a half? The wind that blows.

Then they cried, This wind that blows seems to be one, how sayest thou that it is one and a half? Yājnavalkya replied, It is

one and a half *adhyardha*, because all this world grows up (*adhyardhnoti*) in it. Who is the one god? It is the breath of life. It is the Self, they call it That."

Thus all the gods are shown to be only particular and local manifestations of the one life that lives in all things. All things are full of gods, and permeated by one divine life. One divine being, says Sankarāchārya, manifests itself as many to fulfil a plurality of functions under the diversity of name and form, of attribute and power.

"He that knows that living being, whose body is the earth, whose eye is fire, whose sensory is light, the final goal of every spirit, he indeed may be said to know. Vidagdha said, I know that living being, the final goal of every spirit, of which thou speakest. It, is this very embodied personality, the incarnate soul. Tell me? Sākalya said, Yājnavalkya, what is the deity of that incarnate soul? It is ambrosia, said Vidagdha.

Yājnavalkya said, He that knows that living being whose body is the colours, whose eye is the world, whose sensory is the light, who is the final goal of every spirit,—he indeed may be said to know. Yājnavalkya, he said, I know that living being, the final goal of every spirit, that thou speakest of. It is the living being in the sun. Tell me, Sākalya, what is the deity thereof? It is the eye, he said.

Yājnavalkya said, he that knows that living being whose body is the darkness, whose eye is the heart, whose sensory is the light, who is the final goal of every spirit,—he indeed may be said to know. Yājnavalkya, he said, I know that living being, the final goal of every spirit, that thou speakest of. It is the living being seen as a shadow. Tell me, Sākalya, what is the deity thereof? It is death, he said.

Yājnavalkya said, he that knows that living being whose body is the colours, whose eye is the visual organ, whose sensory is the light, who is the final goal of every spirit,—he indeed may be said to know. Yājnavalkya, he said, I know that living being, the final goal of every spirit, that thou speakest of. It is the personality seen on a reflecting surface. Tell me, Sākalya, what is the deity thereof? It is the breath, he said.

Yājnavalkya said, he that knows that living being whose body is the waters, whose eye is the heart, whose sensory is the light, who is the final goal of every spirit,—he indeed may be said to know. Yājnavalkya, he said, I know that living being, the final goal of every spirit, that thou speakest of. It is the personality seen in the waters. Tell me, Sākalya, what is the deity thereof? It is Varuna, he said. Then Yājnavalkya said, Sākalya, surely these Brahmans have made thee their ash-pan. (Thou knowest not how my words consume thee.)

Yājnavalkya replied, the son of Sākala, since thou hast outspoken these Brahmans of the Kurus and Panchālas, surely they have made thee an ash-pan for burning embers. Dost thou know Brahman? Yājnavalkya said, More than that, I know the regions, and their deities, and their supports. If, said Vidagdha, thou knowest the regions, their deities and their supports, what deity becomest thou in this eastern region? The sun, he said, is my deity. What is that sun supported on? On the eye. What is the eye supported on? Upon colours. What are the colours supported on? Upon the heart. It is even so, Yājnavalkya, said Vidagdha."

And so the dialogue proceeds, Vidagdha putting repeated questions till Yājnavalkya again teaches how all these things, and the ethereal space in which they are contained, are woven across and across the sole reality, the impersonal Self.

"This Self is that, not this, not that: imperceptible, for it cannot be perceived, indiscerptible; for it cannot be rent asunder; absolute, for it cannot be related; inviolable, for it cannot be pained or hurt. These that I have spoken of are the eight bodies, the eight eyes, the eight gods, the eight living beings. Now I ask thee who is that living being revealed in the Upanishads that actuates them, that abides beyond them. If thou canst not tell me that, thy head shall fall off. The son of Sakala knew not his head fell off, and thieves made off with his bones, as his disciples were carrying them home, mistaking them for some other things.

Then, said Yājnavalkya, Holy Brahmans, let any one of you who chooses question me, or you may all of you question me. Or I will question any one you choose among you, or I will question all of you. But the Brahmans did not dare to answer him.

Then Yājnavalkya questioned them in these verses. Man is indeed like a tree of the forest, his hair is the leaves, his skin the outer bark. The blood trickles from his skin, as the sap trickles from the bark; wound him and the blood will flow like sap from a cloven tree. His flesh is the inner bark, the flesh about his bones is the membrane about the wood, his bones the wood within, his marrow is the pith. A tree is cut down, and a fresh tree grows up out of its root. Man is cut down by death. From what root does he grow up again? Say not from procreation, for that comes from the living, not the dead. The seed-sprung tree that has passed away, soon springs up again, unless it be torn up with its roots, for then it cannot grow again. Man is cut down by death, from what root does he grow up again? If you say, he is already born again, I say, no, for who can have begotten him again? The Brahmans were unable to answer.

The Self is intelligence, it is beatitude, it is the final goal of

the wealth-giving sacrificer, contemplating it and in ecstatic union with it."

Thus ends the discussion at Janaka's sacrifice. The sixth book of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad consists of two dialogues between Janaka and the Rishi Yājnavalkya. They both contain texts often quoted in the Vedānta.

"Janaka, the Raja of Videha, was sitting to give audience, and Yājnavalkya came before him. He said, Yājnavalkya, what art thou come for? in quest of more cows, or in quest of subtle disputation? In quest of both, great king, said the Rishi."

Yājnavalkya proceeds to question Janaka about the instruction he has received from his teachers, and to point out that they have taught him about the Self only in its particular and local manifestations, a knowledge of which leads only to transitory rewards, not to liberation from metempsychosis.

"Then Janaka, the Raja of Videha, came down from his seat, and said, Glory to thee, Yājnavalkya. Teach me more, great king, replied the Rishi, thou art equipped with these mystic doctrines, like a man that has taken a carriage or a boat to set out on a long journey. Thou art great and rich, versed in the Vedas and instructed in mystic doctrines, but when thou departest from this life whither wilt thou go? I know not, said Janaka, whither I shall go. Then I will tell thee whither, said the Rishi. Say on, said the Raja.

The Purusha, said Yājnavalkya, that is in the right eye, men call Indha, but this same Indha they mysteriously call Indra, for the gods love mystery and hate publicity.

The Purusha that is in the left eye is his wife Virāj. Their habitation is the ether inside the heart. Their food is the blood within the heart. Their covering is the network of arteries in the heart. Their path of ingress and of egress is the artery that ascends upwards from the heart. The arteries, minute as a hair split a thousand times, are centred in the heart. The food proceeds along these, and thus it is that the tenuous involucrum has a more tenuous nutriment than the body.

When the sage has passed through the body and the tenuous involucrum within the body to the living spirit within the heart, the breath is the east, the left vital airs are the south, the hinder vital airs are the west, the upward vital airs are the north, the upper vital airs are the upper region, the downward vital airs are the nether region of space. The vital airs are the regions of space."

The sage, Sankarācharya says, 'has thus reached the living spirit, the *prānātman*, Hiranyagarbha, the soul of the world, *sarvātman*. This soul of the world has further to be resolved

into the innermost, the unmanifested, Self, the *pratyagātman*, that it may attain to the original unity beyond the three states of waking, dreaming, and dreamless sleep.

"This same Self is not this, not that: imperceptible, for it cannot be perceived; indiscerptible, for it cannot be rent asunder; inviolable, for it cannot be pained or hurt. O Janaka, thou art there arrived where there is no more fear. Janaka, the Raja of Videha, said, May this salvation come to thee also, Yājnavalkya, for teaching me this reality beyond all fear. Glory to thee. Thine be this kingdom of Videha, and thine be I.

Brahman is the reality beyond all fear, as on attaining to it there is no further fear of birth, and of the miseries of life and death. Janaka has reached the final goal. The text, O Janaka, thou art there arrived where there is no more fear, is one of those most often quoted in the Vedānta. *Abhayam vai, Janaka prāpto'si.*

"Yājnavalkya went again before Janaka, the Raja of Videha, and thought, as he went, that he would not say anything this time. Now Janaka of Videha and Yājnavalkya had formerly talked together at a sacrifice to Agni, and Yājnavalkya had granted Janaka a boon. Janaka now chose to be permitted to question him at will, and Yājnavalkya assented. The Raja first asked him :—

Yājnavalkya, what light has man? He has the light of the sun, O king, replied the Rishi. It is in the light of the sun that he sits down, and rises up, and goes about, and does his work, and goes home again. But when the sun has set, Yājnavalkya, what light has man? The moon is then his light, replied the Rishi. It is in the light of the moon that he sits down, and rises up, and goes about, and does his work, and goes home again. It is even so, Yājnavalkya, said the Raja.

But when the sun has set, Yājnavalkya, and the moon has set, what light has man? A fire is then his light, replied the Rishi. It is by the light of a fire that he sits down, and rises up, and goes about, and does his work, and goes home again.

But when the sun has set, and the moon has set, and the fire has gone out, what light has man, Yājnavalkya? Speech is then his light, replied the Rishi. It is by the light of uttered sounds that he sits down, and rises up, and goes about, and does his work, and goes home again."

Sankarāchārya explains this last verse thus :—In the rainy season, in a cloudy night, a man cannot see his hands before him. He is guided in what he has to do by the voices of those about him, or it may be, by the barking of a dog, or the braying of an ass, by the sounds of village life around him.

"But, Yājnavalkya, when sun and moon are set, and the fire is out, and all sounds are hushed, what light has man? The Self within him is then his light, replied the Rishi. It by the light

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of the Self that he sits down, and rises up, and goes about, and does his work, and goes home again.

What Self is that? asked the Raja. It is, replied the Rishi, this knowing, living being, in the vital airs, the light within the heart. This is always alike in all, and it passes through this embodiment and the next. It seems to think, it seems to move. It passes into dreams, it passes beyond the world, beyond the forms of metempsychosis. This same Self at birth attaches itself to a body, and is implicated in imperfections. It passes out at death and quits those imperfections. Of this same Self there are two places, this life and the next. There is also a third, the junction of the two, the place of dreams. When it abides in the place of junction, the dreaming state, it sees both this and the next embodiment. Then, according to the path it has made for itself, it passes to its next embodiment, it reaches that path and sees pains and pleasures. Then, when it passes into dreams, it takes with it the residues of all its various waking experiences, it lays aside the body, it makes for itself a dreaming body, it dreams by its own light, and then the Self is its own light. No chariots are there, no horses, no roads, but it creates for itself chariots, horses, roads. No pleasures are there, no joys, no raptures, but it creates for itself pleasures, joys, raptures. No houses are there, no pools, no rivers, but it creates for itself houses, pools, rivers: for it is the creator.

Therefore there are these verses. In sleep it lays aside the body. Sleepless itself, it looks upon the visions of its sleep. Taking its light along with it, it passes into another embodiment, the luminous Self, the sole spirit that passes onward.

Preserving with the breath its vile nest, the body, it passes away beyond that nest, immortal. Immortal, it goes whither it lists, the luminous Self, the sole spirit that passes onward.

In the place of dreams it passes upward, passes downward, luminous, it makes for itself countless forms, dallying with women, laughing, or, it may be, seeing perils.

Men see the garden that it walks in, but no man sees the Self itself. Men, they say, cannot wake it when it sleeps.

Hard to heal is that part of the body to which this comes not back again. It is blind, or deaf, and lifeless.

Some indeed say that its place of dreams is the same as its place of waking, because it sees in dreams the same things that it sees awake. But this is not so. In dreams the Self is its own light.

Holy sir, said Janaka, I will give thee a thousand cattle. Teach me yet again, that I may be liberated from metempsychosis.

This same Self, said Yājnavalkya, after rejoicing and going about in its dreams, and seeing good and evil, passes into dreamless sleep and thence again fleets, as it came, into the place of dreams it came

from, to other dreams. It is not followed by any good or evil that it sees in dreams, for this Self is never implicated. It is even so, Yājnavalkya, said Janaka. Holy sir, I will give thee a thousand kine. Teach me yet again that I may be extricated from metempsychosis.

This same Self, said Yājnavalkya, after rejoicing and roaming in the waking state, and seeing good and evil, fleets again into the place of dreams.

Like as a great fish swims from bank to bank of a river, from side to side,—even so this Self passes from dreams to waking and from waking back to dreams.

Like as a kite or falcon flies about in yonder sky, becomes tired, folds its wings and cowers in its nest, even so this Self passes into the state of dreamless sleep, in which it desires nothing and sees no dreams. There are in man arteries minute as a hair split a thousand times, filled with fluids white, blue, yellow, green, and red. It is in these, ramifying through the whole body, that the tenuous involucrum is lodged. Now, whatever peril a man sees awake, that he may see asleep. Enemies seem to kill him or to take him captive, or an elephant seems to chase him, and he seems to fall into a pit. This he thinks in his illusion. But when he knows that he is all that is, as he had in his dream seemed to be a god or a king, this is his highest state.

This sameness with all things (transient in dreamless sleep and permanent in liberation) is his state exempt from all desires, and freed from all imperfections (from merit and demerit which prolong metempsychosis). This is his state of perfect satisfaction, without desire, without sorrow. In this state a father is no more a father, a mother is no more a mother, the spheres no longer spheres, the gods no longer gods, the Vedas no longer Vedas. In this state the thief is thief no more, the Chandāla a Chandāla no more, the Paulkasa a Paulkasa no more, the holy mendicant is a holy mendicant no more, the anchorite an anchorite no more. He is no more followed by his good works, no more followed by his evil works, for he has at last passed beyond all the miseries of his heart."

This extract may fitly close these illustrations of the philosophy of the Upanishads. We have seen how the Upanishads, as the latest and the highest utterances of S'ruti or Vedic revelation, have superseded, for the initiated few, the religion of the hymns of the Rishis, and the primitive *sacra*,—already lifeless forms of words,—with a new religion of that of ecstacy and self-induced catalepsy, or Yoga. The religion of immemorial usages, and of liturgic rites, has been pronounced to belong to the people of the world, and to tend, like every other form of activity, only to prolong the miseries of metempsychosis. Good works, no less than evil, are imperfections, that have to be put away. They lead only to

new embodiments, to higher spheres indeed, but still to spheres tainted with misery, for the pleasures even of a paradise are fleeting and unequally allotted. Not exertion, but inertion, is the way to liberation. So long as the living being acts, so long must he suffer the results of his good and evil acts in body after body. But from the true point of view taught to the initiated, action and passion, works and the fruits of works, the religion of rites and immemorial usages, the sacrifices, and the gods sacrificed to, are alike unreal; for the finished theosophist they have no existence. They belong to the world of semblances, the dream of souls as yet unwakened. Nevertheless these things have their fruits in the phantasmagory of metempsychosis, and to taste these the unawakened soul must pass from body to body, from sphere to sphere, as through dream after dream. They that neglect the prescriptive *sacra* pass along the evil path, again and again, to ephemeral insect lives. This is the *kashtā gatih.* They that live in the village obedient to the religion of rites and immemorial usages, ascend after death to the lunar sphere, along the path to the Pitris, the *pitriyāna.* There they dwell for a time with the gods, till their reward is over, and they return to fresh embodiments. They that add a knowledge of the significance of these rites to their obedience to them, ascend after death to the sun along the path to the gods, the *devayāna.* Thence they proceed to the sphere of Brahmā, the supreme divinity, to abide there till the close of the æon, and to be sent back into the world at the next palingenesia. These have obeyed the religion of rites and sacrifices, the *karmamārga,* a religion which has its highest use in purifying the mind of the votary, it may be through several embodiments, till he is ready for initiation into the religion of knowledge, the theosophy of the anchorites of the forest, the *jnānamārga, brahmavidyā.* Moral and religious excellence is valuable only as preliminary and purificatory, as tending to fit the intellect for the reception of liberating light and knowledge. Such excellence consists chiefly in conformity to the prescriptive routine of life, and Vedic ritual. The Brahman, it must be noted, comes into the world laden with three debts,—his debt to the Rishis, to repeat and transmit their hymns and traditions,—his debt to the Pitris, or ancestral spirits, to beget children, to offer cakes and water for them to live upon,—and his debt to the gods, to make oblations to them for their sustenance, that the gods in their turn may be able to send rain to fertilise the fields. It is true that these debts belong to the world of semblances, the phantasmagory of metempsychosis, and yet, as a rule, it was not till he had paid these debts that the Brahman was to retire to the jungle, to meditate at leisure upon the vanities of life and the miseries of the long process of birth and death,—birth and death, through successive

æons,—and there also to strive by self-torment, by suppression of all thought and feeling, to attain to vacuity, apathy, isolation,—to refund his personality into the original unity of the impersonal Self. There is no truth in things many, in things finite; no truth where the thinker is not one with the things around him. Truth, existence, reality, belongs to the one, the infinite, the absolute. This one existent is the Self, that is the inmost essence of all things, that gives life and light to all things living, and permeates everything from a tuft of grass up to the highest divinity of Indian worship. This Self, this highest Self, the impersonal spiritual essence, Brahman, Ātman, Paramātman, is the existent, the idea, the bliss, other than which nothing is, and other than which all things only seem to be. It dwells within the heart of every sentiency, seated in the ether, in the interior of the heart. The light within the heart is the light that lightens all the world. If it were withdrawn, all things would lapse into blindness, darkness, nothingness. To see it, to become one with it, to pass away into that light of lights beyond the darkness, is the highest end of aspiration. It is only when this light within shall reveal itself to the sage, only when his every thought and feeling shall have melted away in the strenuous contemplation of it, that his personality shall pass away into its impersonality, into the everlasting peace. The personality has to be put away. The darkness of the cosmical illusion passes, the light alone remains, the one existence, thought, and bliss. To pass away into this light, to become one with it, a man must put away all the desires of his heart, part from his family, renounce the world, repair to the solitudes of the forest, and there devote himself to a prolonged suppression of thought and feeling that shall end in ecstacy, in self-induced catalepsy. There is little that is spiritual in these old doctrines of the Indian theosophists. They sought for participation in the divine life, not by pure feeling, high thought, and strenuous exertion, not by a ceaseless effort to see things as they are, and to make them as they ought to be, but by the repression of every faculty, by inertion, vacuity, apathy, and trance. The sole perfect being was for them formless thought, not the supreme ideal of thought, the unattained perfection intimated in the idealising tendencies of the human mind. Thought in a state of pure indetermination, not in its highest type, was the object of contemplation. "Being in itself," says Vacherot, "being infinite, absolute, universal,—what can be contemplated as more sublime, more vast, more profound? It is the god Pan evoked to the confusion of the idols of the human imagination and the self-consciousness. But what imperfections, what miseries this loving god implies, if I regard the world as its unceasing manifestation! And if I wish to see it in itself, in its inmost essence, I

find it to be nothing more than being in potentiality, without light, colourless, formless, without determinate essence, the dark abyss in which the East believed it saw the supreme verity, but in which the admirable Greek philosophy found nothing but chaos and nonentity." Such as they are, and have been shown to be, the Upanishads are the loftiest utterances of the ancient Indian mind. They are the produce of a rude age, and of a barbarous community. They are of interest chiefly as showing how the world imaged itself to the minds of the thoughtful few in such a society. They are further interesting for their occasional poetical beauty and metaphysical elevation. It is probably impossible for a modern thinker to place himself in the position of the old Indian theosophists, and to see things altogether as they saw them. The man cannot revert to the child, the civilised man to the barbarian. It is difficult to recover the ideas, and after they have been recovered so far as may be, it is still more difficult to put them into words. Anything like a precise reproduction of Indian thoughts in Western language is impossible. A high language has to be applied to a low order of thoughts, and the new words impart a wealth of analysis and association foreign to the old. However vigilant the exposition may be, it is perhaps impossible for him to say neither too little nor too much, and to speak altogether without prejudice and without predilection.

Whatever may be their value, these conceptions have been the highest product of Indian intelligence, and are almost the only elements of interest in Indian literature. Indian literature, in every stage, is saturated with them.

The account thus offered of the primitive philosophy of India cannot be more fitly closed than with the following verses of Emerson, which breathe the very spirit of the movement. The text is emended, that printed in his poems being evidently incorrect:—

If the red slayer think he slays,
  Or the slain think he is slain,
They little know the subtle ways
  I keep, and pass, and turn again.
Far, or forgot to me is near,
  Shadow and sunlight are the same;
The vanished gods to me appear;
  And one to me are shame and fame.
They reckon ill who leave me out;
  Me when they fly, I am the wings;
I am the doubter and the doubt,
  And I, the hymn, the Brahman sings,
The strong gods pine for my abode,
  And pine in vain the sacred Seven;
But thou, meek lover of the good,
  Find me, and turn thy back on heaven.

A. E. GOUGH.

Art. IV.—CÆSAR: A SKETCH.
By James Anthony Froude, M.A.

"THERE will be among those yet unborn," Cicero foretold, in addressing Cæsar before the Senate, "the same controversy that has prevailed among us; when some will extol your actions to the skies, others will find in them something defective." The discussion which the great orator anticipated has certainly been maintained up to the present time, and after nineteen centuries of duration it shows no sign of slackening. But it has been carried on in a spirit somewhat different from that which Cicero, in his respect for posterity, ventured to prophesy, when he told Cæsar to reverence his future judges, as they would be impartial, neither biassed in his favor by partisanship and affection, nor prejudiced against him by hatred and envy. Observers of every generation have seen in the events of Cæsar's time something which reminded them of their own party struggles, and they have imported into historical criticism the heat of political feeling. The men of letters who lived in the early days of the Roman Empire, in particular, seem to have considered that their zeal for the memory of the republic required that they should lose no opportunity of attacking the character of the man who was supposed to have destroyed it, and their testimony as to the events of the period must be taken with great reserve, where they are not supported by contemporary evidence. In England, too, there was for many generations a disposition to attack Cæsar, as a rebel against an established and aristocratic government. Two celebrated tragedies prove that Brutus was the favourite with the classical play-goers of Shakespear's time, Cato in the days of Addison. Dr. Arnold only expressed the prevailing sentiment among scholars of his day when he declared it a matter of doubt whether the life of any individual had been productive of greater misery to his fellows, or whether there was even a career marked with a deeper stain of wickedness, than that of Cæsar. In our own days English opinion has come round to that which has always prevailed on the Continent. This may be due in some measure to the progress of historical research, which has shewn that some of the familiar charges against Cæsar rest on no solid foundation, but it must be mainly attributed to a change in political feeling. Froude's present work introduces a new element into the controversy, the hero-worship of a school which glorifies mere success, independent of the merits of the cause. His brilliant and enthusiastic sketch leaves us in

doubt whether, if Cæsar had been pierced by a javelin when he attempted to rally his legions at Dyrrachium, on the occasion of his only defeat, our author's adoration would not have been transferred to the victorious Pompey. But, in spite of this defect, his work is certainly the clearest and ablest expression of the present English feeling as to the character of the founder of the Roman Empire. Froude has, like the late Emperor Napoleon, prefaced his account of Cæsar by a brief summary of the party struggle and civil war which was commenced by Tiberius Gracchus, continued by his brother, revived by Marius, and apparently finished by the death of Cinna and the massacre of his supporters. But it seems doubtful whether he gives sufficient importance to the influence of this contention on the position of Cæsar when he entered upon public life. Up to the age of eighteen, or, if we adopt Momsen's theory as to the date of his birth, to the age of twenty, he was under the immediate protection of relatives who were at the time the leaders of a civil war. His uncle, Marius, and after the death of that popular champion, his father-in-law, Cinna, must have looked upon him as a possible heir to their power. He might reasonably have expected to succeed in early manhood to their place at the head of the State, and meanwhile he enjoyed all the advantages of their position. His prospects were most brilliant, and to render them certain, nothing was wanting but the success of his side in the war. Thus his earliest hopes, his first pleasure in success, were associated with the ascendancy of the popular party. The victory of Sylla, again, plunged him into difficulty and distress. His friends and connexions were massacred and their property confiscated. He himself was offered his life only on condition that he would divorce his wife, the daughter of Cinna, and marry some one who would connect him with the conquerors. Pompey had just complied with a similar demand, and it was expected that Cæsar, who had so much more to dread, would be equally subservient. But, as Froude forcibly puts it, "Cæsar displayed always a singular indifference to life. He had no sentimental passion about him: no Byronic mock heroics. He had not much belief in God or the gods. On all such questions he observed from first to last a profound silence. But one conviction he had. He intended, if he was to live at all, to live master of himself in matters that belonged to himself. Sylla might kill him, if he pleased. It was better to die than to put away a wife who was the mother of his child and to marry some other woman at the Dictator's bidding. Life on such terms was not worth keeping." His estate was confiscated, and his name was added to the long list of those upon whose heads a price was set. It was only by chance and skill that he kept himself concealed, until

powerful friends obtained his pardon from the reluctant Dictator. "Take him," Sylla is reported to have said, "since you will have it so, but in this young Cæsar I see many Marii."

The injury suffered by Cæsar from the success of the Senatorial party was of a kind not to be forgotten, even after the lapse of years. The Constitution established after the revolution was, moreover, of a kind which must have been distasteful to him, as thwarting his early ambition. Every precaution was taken to prevent a popular leader from acquiring predominant power. It was enacted that no one should be elected Consul until the age of forty-three, and as the career of a Roman as a statesman or general of the first rank only began with his consulship, this deferred Cæsar's hopes until comparatively late in life. The Senate was filled with new recruits, adherents of Sylla, and to the assembly, as thus re-constituted, was entrusted the control of all public business. The party in power was kept together by a strong bond, the possession of the confiscated estates of the Marians, while the descendants of those executed were excluded from the rights of citizenship. Cæsar was not among these, his father having died before the war, but his situation was so similar to that of the sons of the proscribed as to make him a marked man. He had refused to give the pledge demanded by the conquerors and to enter their confraternity on their own terms. He had therefore little to hope from them. On the other hand the people still retained the power of rewarding their favourites. Sylla did not take away from them the right of choosing the chief officers of the city, to whom reverted the government of the provinces, and some of the other prizes of public life were also in their gift. Though Sylla had introduced among them the emancipated slaves of the proscribed, to the number of ten thousand, they were still, as a body, hostile to his system, and disposed to elect those who showed a power of thwarting its administration. They wished to take, as formerly, the principal part in the government, leaving to the Senate only the control of details, and their active support was given to those who worked with them to this end. It was, moreover, a matter of common observation in Rome, that a leader of the democratic party was a greater man than a leader of the other faction. He was not surrounded by competitors claiming equality, and could, like Marius and Cinna, exercise almost absolute power. Thus Cæsar found that his interest, as well as family tradition, and early associations, was on the side of the people. He could calculate with confidence that his abilities and his connexion with their old leaders would secure their support and favor, while from the nobles he could expect only distrust and hostility. His course was, therefore, mark-

ed out for him by circumstances, and for entering on it he deserves neither praise nor blame.

If we accept the position that Cæsar was, during the first part of his career, a partisan, we must admire the skill, courage and fidelity with which he served his party, and also the strictness with which he observed the rules of political contests. He was not, under the constitution of Sylla, able to enter on public life, in the subordinate position of Questor and Senator, until the age of thirty-two, and nine years later he had, in the ordinary course, to depart from the city to his province. During the short interval, he had, by means strictly constitutional, raised his party from its state of prostration, and placed it in at least temporary ascendancy. Among the means by which this success was achieved, we may notice the detaching Pompey from the Senate, thus making a breach in the solid ranks of his opponents. Pompey's alliance gave to him some security from the violence by which the nobles were accustomed to overawe the popular assembly. The comitia could not be dissolved by bands of gladiators, led by the young patricians, nor would it have been safe to have seized and killed the leader of the opposition, while Pompey was ready to vindicate the law at the head of his veterans. In return for this support, the people voted Pompey, against the will of the Senate, the most extensive powers for foreign war and the suppression of piracy, thus establishing a precedent for interfering in the distribution of patronage of the highest kind. At the same time Cæsar raised the spirit of his party by reviving the memory of Marius, whose trophies he restored to the city. He instituted enquiries into the murders committed in the days of Sylla; and Catiline, among others, was brought before his tribunal. Going further back, he condemned Rabirius, a Senator who, thirty-seven years previously, had killed the popular leader of the day after the Senate had proclaimed military law. Froude says that Rabirius was acquitted, which is not quite accurate; he was found guilty by the Judges, and appealed to the people, who would have upheld the conviction, had not the assembly been dissolved, and then the matter was suffered to drop. Cæsar had thus gained his object, in securing a declaration of the illegality of these proclamations of military law for party purposes, while he avoided the unpopularity of actually punishing an old man for a political crime committed in his youth and in which all the principal men of the State had shared.

The merits of a political leader are, perhaps, best guaged by his conduct in adversity, and we think that Cæsar's action during the Catiline conspiracy proved his courage and his fidelity to the principles of his party. The plot itself was not formed by the old

adherents of Marius, but arose among the victorious followers of Sylla themselves, some of the worst of whom wished to revive the massacres and confiscations with which the Dictator had cemented his power. Cæsar was, therefore, opposed to the conspirators, and he gave the authorities such support as he could, affording the Consul the earliest information, and undertaking the guard of some of the prisoners. But he was placed in a most delicate position when the fate of those arrested had to be determined. The legal course would have been to commit them for trial, and from the verdict there would have been an appeal to the people at large. This procedure would not have been suitable to the circumstances of the case, and no one advocated its adoption. The Consul, Cicero, proposed that the prisoner should be put to death without trial, under the authority of a vote of the Senate, and this suggestion found general approval in the assembly. Cæsar could not join such a vote without acknowledging the right of the Senate to inflict capital punishment in cases of treason, thus renouncing the principle he had vindicated by the condemnation of Rabirius, and handing over to his enemies a power which they might at any moment use against his own life; and yet open opposition to a Government still under the influence of a deadly fear of the conspirators, and also flushed with triumph over the rebels, could not be unattended with danger. Most men in his position would have observed silence, leaving the administration to deal with insurgents at discretion and on its own responsibility. Cæsar had the courage to adopt the bolder course, by maintaining, in the face of the angry Senate, that the conspirators could not properly be put to death without trial. In his clear, logical style he explained that the best punishment for any crime is that prescribed by law, which in this case was the confinement of the prisoners for life and the confiscation of their goods. He reminded the assembly of the evils which followed when governors were hurried by fear or passion into exceeding the law, and he suggested that, if the Consul's proposal were adopted, the greatness of the offence would be forgotten by the people, the illegality of the sentence only remembered. His speech, on this occasion, is the only one made by him before the Civil War of which we have even a meagre report, and it appears to be of the highest excellence. It had the singular effect of convincing some of his opponents; the Consul elect withdrew his vote for death, and Cicero himself wavered, saying:—"If you adopt the opinion of Cæsar, who has attached himself to the party which passes in the Republic as being that of the people, it is possible that a sentence of which he will be the author will expose me less to popular storms." The determined spirit of Cato at length revived the courage of the Senators, and the decree

of death was passed. Cæsar was of course accused of defending the lives of the Conspirators from a perverse sympathy with all treason, or a guilty complicity, and the very calmness of his demeanour was made a cause of reproach, Cato remarking that, if, in their general alarm, Cæsar alone showed no fear, the others had more cause to fear. The knights who formed the guard at last broke into the meeting, and drew their swords on Cæsar, who was saved by Curio and Cicero. This scene must have raised the enthusiasm of the people for a leader who thus dared to maintain one of their favourite principles at the immediate risk of his life, and could do so with serenity and effect when even those strong in their majority and their guards were agitated. The position, he maintained, was afterwards vindicated by the banishment of Cicero for executing the capital sentence which the Senate then pronounced.

During the year following Cæsar held the office of Prætor, and had further opportunities of showing his skill in defending the weaker cause. The unsuccessful conspiracy of Catiline had strengthened, for the time, the hands of the administration, while the popular party was weakened by the absence of Pompey. The Senate carried things with a high hand, and Cæsar had to resist a double attack. He was, by order of that body, deposed from his office as Prætor, because he had supported a motion that Pompey should be recalled to restore order, and a formal accusation was brought against him of having shared in the conspiracy of Catiline. He repelled both assaults with his usual success. At his instigation, the Tribune Metellus, who had also been degraded from his position by a decree of the Senate, fled to the camp of Pompey, to appeal to the representative of the military power of the State, on the part of the people whom he represented, against what was declared to be an illegal assumption of authority by the executive. Cæsar himself remained at his post, and continued to hear judicial cases as Prætor, until the Senate was about to exclude him from his Court by force, when he voluntarily resigned office, and shut himself up in his house. Two days afterwards the people assembled at his doors, and he had to restrain them from revenging the insult by violence. The position was an awkward one for the nobles; the popular leader intrenched in his house, which, like that of all Romans of his rank, was fortified against sudden attack, riots in the streets, a tribune on the road to call in an army, headed by Cæsar's friend, to vindicate order. It was resolved to make an act of submission; the Senate thanked Cæsar for his respect for the law, and reinstated him in his office. As soon as the fear caused by the disturbance had subsided, the accusation of treason was brought forward, both before

a regular Court and in the Senate. Mobs were again assembled on Cæsar's behalf, as in all Roman contentions a display of force was an element, and to such an extent that Cato secured a grant of more than a quarter of a million sterling a year for distribution of corn to the poor, with the object of buying off opposition.

It may be remarked that Cæsar afterwards, when in power, reduced this grant, thereby showing his superiority in real statesmanship. In the Court and in the Senate he gained a complete victory, securing not only a declaration of his innocence, but also the punishment of his accusers, and even the arrest of the magistrate who, it was found, had no jurisdiction to entertain the charge. The mob, though fed with the Senatorial corn, nearly tore the prosecutor to pieces as he was being conveyed to prison. He thus held his own, repelling all attacks, with loss to the enemy, until Pompey's triumphal return with the army of Asia freed him from danger. He then departed for Spain, to spend the year which had to pass between his prætorship and the time when he could be elected as Consul in the government of that Province.

Cæsar had, when he held subordinate offices, shown how he could conduct a constitutional and yet enterprising opposition. During the year of his chief magistracy he was able to prove his ability in a different position. Since the days of Sylla, there had been many Consuls who, like Pompey and Crassus, had leaned on the people for support, and were denounced as opposed to the Senate, but they had all originally belonged to the Dictator's faction, of which they still, in reality, formed the left. Cæsar was the first member of the party of Marius who reached the highest official rank, and his power during the year of his consulship was necessarily great. He had a majority in the popular assemblies, whether of the tribes or the comitia, an ascendancy over the mob, and, through Pompey, the support of what we may call the army resources, which his official position enabled him to use with effect. His power was, however, limited by certain obvious restrictions. In the first place, it depended, in one essential department, on the co-operation of Pompey, who would not agree in any strong reactionary measure, not even in the restoration of the children of Sylla's victims to their rights as citizens. His office was tenable for one year only, at the expiry of which period he would have to retire to a Province, abandoning to other hands the leadership of the party at home. The Senate, with the support of his colleague, Bibulus, could, according to law, prevent him from carrying any measures displeasing to the nobles, and in practice they could and did make

it very difficult for him to do so. The skill with which he surmounted these obstacles, and succeeded in becoming master of Rome during the year of his office, appears in all the acts of his consulship.

In his first edict he ordered the publication of the Acta Diurna, or official minutes of the daily proceedings of the Senate. "The light of day," writes Froude, "being thrown in upon that august body, might prevent honourable members from laying hands on each other as they had lately done, and might enable the people to know what was going on among them on a better authority than rumour." Such control as Cæsar could exercise over the assembly, rested on public opinion, and, to enable him to bring the weight to bear with effect, it was desirable that the best means of obtaining information should be afforded. Having got this hold over the Senate, he proceeded to introduce his celebrated agrarian law. He can scarcely be held responsible for the principle upon which this measure rested, that the *ager publicus* might be re-distributed among the poorer citizens at the pleasure of the State, as it had been accepted for generations by the party to which he belonged. There existed a special reason for applying it at the moment, as the veterans of the armies of Pompey and Metellus had to be provided for, and this could be most easily done by settling them on the land as small proprietors. The details of the law, which were Cæsar's own, were acknowledged to be excellent, and they were framed in the most conciliatory spirit. Cæsar, for the first time, had an opportunity of showing that, though he was obliged, by the very nature of his position, to curtail the power, the abuses, and some of the privileges of the nobles, he had no wish to do them any wrong, and the policy he thus indicated, he adhered to during the remainder of his life. He even made advances to individual Senators, such as Cicero, and to the party generally, with a view to procure their concurrence. But the very name of an agrarian law was odious to the nobles, who could not forget that under the Gracchi such measures had almost ruined their ancestors. They were in actual occupation of the *ager publicus*, which had been held by their predecessors in title for generations, and naturally protested against its being treated otherwise than as their private property, even though they might receive compensation in money for all that was to be taken from them. It is remarkable that Froude does not refer to the particular expedient adopted by Cato in order to prevent the measure from passing, as illustrating his theory that the Republic in its last days presents curious parallels to the England of our own times. Cato had deprived Cæsar of the honour of a triumph for his victories in Spain by talking out the Bill introduced for

the purpose of enabling him to enter the city as a General without forfeiting his right to become a candidate for the Consulship, and he had recourse to the same tactics when the agrarian law was under consideration. Cæsar, as the Consul presiding over the assembly, had him arrested on a charge of what we would now call obstruction, but, finding that he only lost ground by putting his opponent in the position of a martyr, immediately cancelled his mandate. He had to withdraw the Bill from the Senate, and to submit it directly to the people, with the addition of some new clauses more favorable to the needy than the original measure, and consequently more injurious to the interests of the nobles. When Tiberius Gracchus brought forward his agrarian law, the opposition of the nobles took the form of an armed attack, in which the tribune and his principal followers were killed. To prevent any such attempt on this occasion, Cæsar asked Pompey before the meeting what he would do if the proposal were met by violence, and received the reply that, if others drew the sword, Pompey would bear the shield. The second Consul, Bibulus, and three tribunes interposed their vetos, but the law was nevertheless passed by acclamation, and a resolution that every Senator should be bound by oath to observe it. There was certainly a flaw in the proceedings, inasmuch as the vetos could not properly be overruled; and as Bibulus, by a well-known expedient, put his veto on all Cæsar's subsequent acts, this objection applied to all the legislation of the Consul. The difficulty was removed by a vote which Cæsar obtained from the Senate before his year of office expired.

It was now evident that Cæsar could carry any law which found favor with the people, in spite of the opposition of the Senate, and no further opposition was offered to his acts, except the vetos of Bibulus. The agrarian law had trenched upon the privilege of the Senate, as it contained clauses for compensation which imposed charges on the Exchequer, and Cæsar followed it up by another money Bill, relieving the contractors for the revenue of Asia from a part of their obligations, the produce of the taxes having proved inferior to expectation. He obtained from the people what the Senate had refused, the confirmation of Pompey's acts in the East. He assumed, through the comitia, the control of certain foreign affairs, declaring the King of Egypt and Ariovistus of Germany allies of Rome. He also passed quite a code of laws, most of which have unfortunately perished, designed, and with success, to reform that much needed change. "There was a law," Froude states, "declaring the inviolability of the persons of magistrates during their term of authority, reflecting back on the murder of Saturninus, and touching by implication the killing

of Lentulus and his companions. There was a law for the punishment of adultery, most disinterestedly framed, if the popular accounts of Cæsar's manners had any grain of truth in them. There were laws for the protection of the subject from violence, public or private, and laws disabling persons who had laid hands illegally on Roman citizens from holding office in the Commonwealth. There was a law against defrauders of the revenue; laws against debasing the coin; laws against sacrilege; laws against corrupt State contracts; laws against bribery at elections. Finally, there was a law, carefully framed, *De repetundis*, to exact retribution from pro-consuls or pro-prætors of the type of Verres, who had plundered the provinces." We should also attach importance to the law as to accounts, which obliged Governors to deposit two copies of their accounts in the principal cities of their provinces. Cicero explains how, "if the ancient right and antique usage were still in force," he would not have been obliged to render any account until he had arranged everything at Rome in a friendly way with the auditors, and he seems to lament that under Cæsar's more strict statute he was obliged to settle on the spot what charges he would debit to the State. Another law freed protected States from the interference of provincial authorities.

With the enactment of these laws ended the first part of Cæsar's life, that which was devoted to the ordinary political contests of the city. His conduct has been attacked by many on the assumption that he was, in all his actions, animated by a desire to pave the way for his future accession to empire. "Such an interpretation," writes a biographer, who had himself gained a throne, "results from the common defect of not being able to appreciate facts in themselves, but according to the complexion which subsequent events have given them." Every act of Cæsar explains itself, for, as all his efforts were successful, the object of each can be understood from the result. He was a partisan, aiming at power for himself and his connexion, and, as a necessary incident, at superseding the faction which, since the days of Sylla, had commanded a majority in the Senate; he was also a patriot, desiring to improve the details of public administration.

There are some who, with Cicero, have considered the popular party of those days as so perversely wrong that any successful action on its side must be denounced as a crime. Others will join with Froude in denouncing Cicero himself for refusing to join with the Reformers. To us it seems that it is impossible to divide parties in this way into the good and bad, the goats and sheep. The line which *divides*, separates parties

in a free State, is drawn where doubt begins to arise in the ordinary mind as to the course which should be pursued; it is the ridge which separates the watershed of opinion. Cicero held that government by the Senate, with all its defects, was better for the country than the rule of one man, and he considered mere mob law, or the rule of the people assembled in tribes, an institution which could not be maintained permanently. Cæsar would have replied that either an empire or a democracy would be better than the actual oligarchy under which a Verres plundered Sicily, and a Catiline conspired with Gauls for the destruction of Rome. Either view might be entertained by a reasonable man, and the choice between them was probably determined in each individual's case, partly by circumstances, partly by temperament. The timid and the well-to-do were for preserving the existing institutions; the needy and hopeful favored reform. No man of that generation should be blamed merely because he adhered to one of these great parties rather than the other, and praise for such a selection is equally misplaced. Cæsar's conduct in this part of his life commands approbation, not because he fought the civil battle for the democracy to which he was attached by his character and his connexions, rather than on the side of the aristocracy which had slighted him, and tried to kill him for refusing to desert his wife; but because, being engaged in the conflict, he displayed constancy, courage and moderation, as well as consummate skill: also because, whenever opportunity offered, he tried to do good to the State generally, independent of party. It may be noticed that his efforts on their behalf had thoroughly satisfied the members of his own connexion, who were perhaps, the best judges. If he had done much for them, in standing by their cause in good times and bad, until he led them to victory, they had also done much for him. In addition to the usual offices held by a Roman statesman of the first class, those of the qæstors, ædiles, prætors, and consuls, they had elected him a military tribune, a Pontiff, and High Pontiff, eventually naming him Governor for five years of the two Gauls and Illyria, a command greater than had been held by any pro-consul, except Pompey.

The election of Cæsar to the post of Pontifex Maximus seems strange to modern readers, accustomed to regard the office of a priest from a point of view different to that adopted in Ancient Rome. Among his contemporaries it seems to have excited no remark, except as a proof of his extraordinary popularity at an early stage of his career. We may safely assume that he believed as little of the fables and superstitions which then passed for religion as an educated Bengalee believes of the Hindoo mytho-

logy, but at Rome it was not expected that priests should believe. Cicero, though a professed Deist, eagerly sought, and at last obtained, the position of Augur. The business of Roman priests, if we can apply the name to ordinary citizens chosen on account of political notoriety to hold certain offices, was not to preach or defend a creed, but to hold certain sacrifices, or interpret omens by fixed rules. If any one had objected to perform such duties, he would have had to abandon the hope not only of sacerdotal dignities, but of every office, and indeed of all social intercourse. No public act of importance was performed without sacrifices and auspices, in which the principal official, whether a general, a consul, or a judge, had to take the leading part, and Pagan ceremonials had to be observed by private individuals on a thousand occasions. Thought and speech were free, but action was regulated by rules derived from times when men really believed in Jupiter and Venus, Neptune and Pluto. Such men as Cicero and Cæsar never dreamed of contesting this rule, and it is probable that they approved of it most sincerely. The fables of the ancients are the most charming of fairy tales, and the ceremonies connected with them must have given much grace to daily life. In Rome public spirit and respect for authority were kept alive by the stately ceremonies of the city, which were identified with the national greatness. The philosophers had nothing to offer as a substitute for these, and why should they wish to see them abandoned? Cicero laughs at the idea that he should be supposed capable of believing in the existence of a three-headed Cerberus, or the crossing of the Acheron, while he declares that auspices and sacred ceremonies should be observed for the sake of the Republic. Cæsar, while still a boy, had been made a Flamen; he had written a book on augural law, and another on astronomy, a science then intimately connected with the sacerdotal character. He probably accepted the office of Pontifex Maximus with perfect good faith, in the full intention of discharging its duties; and any such resolution which may have been formed was more than kept when at a later period he used his information and power as the head of religion to reform the calendar. He had no hypocrisy in his character, and appears to have been unnecessarily frank in grounding an argument in the Senate on the allegation that the immortality of the soul was a myth. And he had, as Pontifex Maximus, to do no act of which he in his conscience disapproved. He gave sacrificial banquets, and performed occasional public sacrifices with a perfect confidence that he was taking a dignified part in useful national ceremonies.

The Lord Mayor at a city dinner, or the Earl Marshal at a coronation, cannot be more free than Cæsar on such occasions from all suspicion of wrong.

In the expenses which he incurred, Cæsar was certainly ventursome, but his case must be distinguished from that of the spendthrift. It appears that he lived very modestly until the beginning of his public career, occupying a moderate house in the quarter called the Suburra, with his mother and family. Once launched upon public life, he regarded his outlay as a merchant does an investment liable to certain risks, but which should ultimately yield great profits. The career of a Roman statesman, taken as a whole, was most remunerative, and, with Cæsar's parts and connexions, ultimate success up to a certain point was almost certain. The expense was at the commencement, as the Ædiles were expected to execute public works and give costly shows. The returns did not come until after the prætorship, and in the interval Cæsar was deeply in debt. He, however, was free from all embarrassments before he was Consul, as the prize money gained in the Spanish war more than covered his liabilities. It is a repulsive characteristic of the times that the booty consisted for the greater part of slaves, who were sold in the usual way, for, though Cæsar was more clement than other generals of the day, he had occasionally to observe the rule which reduced the captives of war to servitude.

We may regard with aversion a system under which the popular vote was solicited by the expenditure of borrowed money, and the command thus obtained was used to gain a return by enslaving foreign enemies, but we must remember that Cæsar did not establish this rule, and did his best to abolish it: though he certainly had to follow it while it was in force.

Froude treats with a wise scepticism the scandals as to Cæsar's private life which were circulated after his death. "It is to be observed," he writes, "that the first public act recorded of Cæsar was his refusal to divorce his wife at Sylla's bidding; that he was passionately attached to his sister; that his mother Aurelia lived with him till he died, and that this mother was a Roman matron of the strictest and severest type." As the leader of the democratic party, he was the natural mark for fashionable scandal, which, Cicero tells us, pursued every public man whose appearance gave the tales any appearance of probability. We do not know enough of Cæsar's habits to be able to say that the stories told against him were false, but there is no reason whatever to assume that they were true. The idle gossip of a loose and hostile society certainly connected his name with those of the greatest ladies of the day, with Pompey's wife, and Cato's sister, but there never was any evidence beyond rumour. Froude affects to doubt even as to his alleged connexion with Cleopatra, which stands on a different historical basis: Cleopatra gave her son the name of Cæsarion, and the boy was put to death unde

Augustus, as a possible competitor for the succession. These facts, with the universal tradition of Rome, must be held as affording such proof as the nature of the case admits. An Epicurean by conviction, claiming descent from Venus, adorned with every gift valued by women of the highest class, a wanderer and a conqueror, there is no reason to suppose that Cæsar set to an immoral age an example of immaculate virtue. But there is nothing in what we learn of his private life to alienate from him human sympathy.

Cæsar was forty-one years of age when he departed for his Province, and Froude remarks that it was late in life for him to begin the trade of a soldier. Surprise has frequently been expressed at his success, but the matter can, we think, be explained without casting any doubt on the necessity for an early training in the profession of arms. Every Roman citizen was a soldier, and every Roman statesman looked forward to the command of armies as a necessary part of his career. Even Cicero was obliged to play the general in one campaign, and he acquitted himself with distinction, while the money-lender, Crassus, was only too eager to seize the opportunity of matching himself against the formidable Parthians. There was in Rome no such thing as a civilian, every voter in the comitia was drilled in the ranks, every man of the middle class was a horseman or knight, every Senator an officer of rank. Cæsar himself had more than once seen actual service. At the age of twenty he fought under the prætor, Thermus, against the troops of Mithridates, and at the siege of Mitylene he earned a civic crown, the Victoria Cross of Rome, for saving the life of a fellow-soldier. A little later we find him acting with Servilius against the pirates, at that time no contemptible enemies. Two years afterwards he organised an expedition of his own against some of these outlaws, who had captured him and put him to ransom, and with all his usual success. In reward for these services he was elected a military Tribune at Rome, and he thus had, during his political career, a definite standing as an officer. The Romans always censured those who neglected to study the Greek authorities on military tactics until they were about to attain command, and we may safely infer from Cæsar's diligence in other matters that he was not negligent in this. Knowing that he must, in a few years, be placed at the head of armies, he doubtless took pains to qualify himself in every way for his future position. We learn that he had acquired great skill in military exercises, particularly in horsemanship, and that he was accustomed to practise riding with his hands behind his back. The very war horse he used in his Gallic campaigns had been trained by himself with the greatest care, and would at first endure no other rider. Attentive to

these minor points, we must not suppose him negligent of the more important studies of a soldier. Moreover, he had, before his consulship, commanded in two campaigns* in Spain, and with such success as to obtain from an unfriendly Senate the highest military honor it could bestow, a decree for a triumph. When he departed for Gaul, he was not, indeed, like Pompey and Hannibal, men bred in camps and occupied exclusively in war, but he may fairly be compared to the professional soldiers of modern times, who, having studied their art in all its details, and practised it on occasion, rise towards middle life to high command.

In his able sketch of the Gallic wars Froude labours under a disadvantage, inasmuch as Cæsar has himself given an account of this part of his life so clear, modest, and able, that all other historians appear imperfect. Of the military skill with which they were conducted there has been but one opinion in ancient and in modern times. All great generals have read the Commentaries and all agree in testifying to the genius for command displayed by their author. It is to be remembered that the Romans did not possess over the men of western Europe those advantages which, in our days, render encounters between regular troops and barbarians so one-sided, provided the former do but fairly well. They were not physically quite so powerful as their enemies, they were not more brave, or intelligent, or warlike. Their weapons were but little superior, the difference between one sword or spear and another being in practice trifling. It is true that they had in their favor a higher discipline, the practice of throwing up intrenchments quickly, and the tradition of conquest. But with these moderate advantages other Roman commanders had failed to make any impression on the interior of Gaul, subduing only the weaker tribes on the nearer sea-coast. Cæsar conquered the whole country so thoroughly that it was never afterwards the scene of rebellion, and he also invaded Germany and Britain. The region which had for generations been the object of traditional dread at Rome, was thus made the principal instrument of national power. No conquest of equal value had previously been made in historical times by any General except Alexander the Great, nor can it be said that the achievement has since been equalled.

Froude notices, as a remarkable feature of his campaigns, the smallness of the number of men that Cæsar ever lost, either by the sword or by wear-and-tear. He showed a provident care for his soldiers, sometimes greater than they themselves thought necessary. An illustration of this may be taken from the campaign against Afranius in Spain, where on one occasion the officers got

round Cæsar, and urged him to finish the war by attacking the enemy at an advantage. The soldiers even muttered that, if he would not use such an opportunity and let them fight when they had a mind, they would not fight at his order. But, as Cæsar himself tells us, nothing could shake him in his resolution. He expected to capture the enemy without bloodshed, having intercepted his provisions; why then, he asks, should he unnecessarily lose any of his men? Why expose to wounds soldiers who had served him so well? Why even slaughter the soldiers of Afranius, when he could succeed without taking their lives? This was the line of reasoning which he always adopted, and on several occasions he achieved the highest triumph of the military art, by hemming in a hostile army and compelling it to surrender without a blow. Another characteristic of his campaigns may be mentioned, though it is common to all great generals, the vigour with which he followed up a victory to the utter destruction of the enemy. An unskilled reader is often puzzled, in reading the accounts of ordinary wars, to explain the small effect produced by great battles. The vanquished retreat and the conquerors sit down to besiege some town, until the balance of power is restored. Or, if those worsted are less civilized, they scatter in the wilds to rally again for a fresh attack. Cæsar always found that the force sufficient to break an enemy was strong enough to pursue him to destruction, and no Gallic forest was wide or dense enough to hide a flying army from the pursuit of his heavy-armed legionaries.

The ancients never attacked the character of Cæsar on the ground that he made unnecessary wars against the Gauls, conquering independent tribes or nations which had given no offence. His action in what may be called his foreign policy met with the universal approbation of his contemporaries and their immediate posterity, as it was regulated by the principles then prevalent. It is not to be expected that he should be equally free from criticism in our time, as the morality of all war is now very generally questioned. Froude is exempt from doubts on the subject, aggression and rebellion being, in his view, criminal only when unsuccessful; but others will require a better justification. It is to be noticed, in the first place, that Cæsar had for the commencement of the war a reason which would have justified his action even in the eyes of a Quaker. The Helvetii had resolved to leave their own territory and conquer a country for themselves elsewhere in Gaul, slaughtering or driving away the inhabitants. In order to reach the land which they wished to appropriate, they demanded, and had to force, a passage through Roman territory. This was an attack which the most peaceful Governor would have considered himself bound to repel, and it led to a war which involved

Cæsar in a chain of alliances or enmities. It must, however, be acknowledged that, once launched on the sea of conquest, he pursued his course without hesitation. The expedition to Britain, in particular, can be defended only if we accept the general principle that Romans were justified in making the extension of their empire an aim of policy. Should that principle be allowed? There can, we should think, be no doubt that humanity in general, and the nations primarily affected in particular, derived great benefit from the conquest of western Europe by the Romans. Barbarism gave way to civilization as the imperial eagles advanced, and a solid foundation was laid for the superstructure of modern society. The advance of Gaul in the Arts and in wealth, after the Roman conquest, was so sudden and great as to fill with despair observers of later times, who have to contrast this rapid progress with the slow improvement of countries similarly brought in our own days under the control of a civilized power. Cæsar may well have considered that he could not be committing a crime by benefiting the Gauls, while he increased the glory of his own country. And even the bloodshed which his system caused, may be justified on the ground that it stopped the far greater bloodshed of incessant tribal wars. However we may decide the general question, it would obviously be unreasonable to condemn Cæsar because he had not adopted views as to foreign policy which were unknown to his contemporaries, and even at this day are held only by a small minority.

It has often been noticed, as a remarkable fact, that the Gauls after Cæsar's departure never rebelled, neglecting all the opportunities offered by the civil wars for re-asserting their liberties. This fact shows how thoroughly he had completed his work, not merely by breaking down armed opposition, but also by conciliating the affections of the people. It is to be regretted that the Commentaries, so rich in the annals of his military achievements, give but little information as to the policy of his civil administration, and afford no clue to the secret of his success in binding the conquered to him and his country. Napoleon remarks that Cæsar adopted the system of founding the supremacy of the Republic on powerful alliances, making the conquered countries subject to the native States of which he was sure, and leaving to each people its chiefs and its institutions—to Gaul as a whole its general assemblies. The chiefs selected for the government of the different states were not chosen arbitrarily, but from the reigning families of the country. Ambiorix was placed over Liege, Tasgetius over Orleans, Cavarinus over Sens. This plan was, however, followed only during

the transition stage, and in the end Gaul was raised or lowered to the position of an ordinary province, governed partly by Roman delegates, partly by its own municipalities. Such is the usual process of conquest, and we in India are familiar with all its stages; what we want to learn is the method by which Cæsar managed to do the work so much quicker and better than others. All we clearly know is that he raised the vanquished to positions of trust more freely than other conquerors. Cicero tells us that his legions were filled with barbarians, and the Gallic cavalry played a great part in the civil war. They were under the command of two brothers of the tribe of the Allobreges, and to these Cæsar gave not only the highest offices in their own country, with gifts in land and money, but also seats in the Roman Senate. Nor were these exceptional appointments, the number of Gauls introduced by him into the Senate was very large, and was the subject of constant complaint in the city. He thus opened to the more ambitious spirits of the country careers more distinguished than those closed to them by the loss of liberty, and this one fact must have done much to reconcile the people to their fate.

With the end of the period allotted for his government of Gaul came the crisis in Cæsar's life which has for nineteen centuries been the subject of debate. If, as it is still frequently assumed, he wantonly turned his arms against the constituted authorities of his country for the purpose of establishing a despotism, or with any other object, his fame as a party leader, a soldier, and a civil ruler availed him little. The offence with which he is charged, is one for which there is no pardon. It is impossible to admit, as sufficient, the defence forcibly insisted upon in the sketch, that the Roman Government was utterly corrupt, and that he alone could reform it; for a general is not justified in marching on the capital of his own State whenever he thinks he can effect desirable reforms in its administration. Cæsar himself would have repudiated such a plea, as too remote to meet the case, and he has sufficiently indicated in his Commentaries the motives which in fact actuated him, though unfortunately there is no connected statement of his views, probably because the first book of the Civil Wars has perished. He never attacked the State, and desired nothing more than that, in the party conflict between the people and the Senate, the law should be observed, but the Senate, seeing that, if constitutional rules were to be kept, the game was lost, wantonly made war upon him and on the people. The choice left to him was submission in his own name and that of the majority to an armed minority, or the defence of himself and of the State. Submission meant death, not for himself only, but for his friends and c olleagues as well, the nin of

his party, and the establishment of a reign of violence, probably leading to civil war. The choice he made was the only one open to him as a patriot.

In the first place it must be clearly understood that it was not Cæsar's interest to make war, as he was in a position to gain all that he could wish by constitutional means. He had made his arrangements so well that he was completely master of the position. His command in Gaul, granted for five years, had been renewed for five more, and at the end of the latter period he was, under the constitution of Sylla, eligible for a second consulship. The only difficulty in his way lay in the rule which obliged a candidate for office to appear in person in the city, and therefore to resign his provincial command, as it exposed him to the risk of impeachment or assassination during the interval between laying down the military imperium and assuming the fasces of civil authority. This obstacle was removed from his path by a law introduced by the twelve tribunes, afterwards confirmed by another law known by Pompey's name, which gave to him a privilege by no means unprecedented, that of standing for the consulship in his àbsence. In his case to stand was to be elected, a fact accepted by his contemporaries in all discussions upon the subject. The people had never failed him yet, standing by him in spite of all aristocratic force or bribery, and they were not likely to desert him then, when, returning from a ten years' career of glory, both hands full of money, he asked only for an office to which he had, according to Roman ideas, a moral claim. Even a political opponent of the people might count on their votes at an election, if he stood as a candidate covered with glory so great and recent; how much more their old favourite, friend, and champion? Cæsar was thefore to return as consul, and, according to Roman law, his army would accompany him, to be disbanded by himself. It would share in the most splendid triumph Rome had ever known, a pageant for which an enormous treasure had been accumulated, and which would have impressed on the people a stronger sense of the greatness of Cæsar's victories, and the importance of his conquests. Cæsar had rewarded Pompey's veterans by giving them land under his agrarian law; it is to be presumed he could not do less for his own. The passing of such a measure, against the opposition of the Senate, would at once put him in his old place, as the Consul who could obtain from the people what plebiscites he pleased. He had formerly passed laws for the reform of the administration at home and abroad in every detail, he would be able to do the same again. He had formerly obtained for himself, instead of the roads and forests assigned to him by the Senate, the two Gauls and Illyria: he could use this as a precedent

for greater honours. Whatever he wished, either for the public, or in the way of personal objects, would be within his reach, when, with wealth greater than that of Crassus, fame superior to Pompey's, he held his former position as a Consul and the head of the popular party. Even if we suppose that he aimed at the Dictatorship, that prize would have been obtained by constitutional means. He had, as against Pompey and the Senate, every advantage, as long as the struggle was to be conducted accordingly to law, and he had no motive to tempt fortune and incur odium by plunging into war. The position of the Senatorial party in the civil conflict resembled that of Afranius in the Spanish war, and Cæsar might well ask why, when the enemy must surrender to a blockade, should he expose his soldiers to wounds in battle?

The considerations which deterred Cæsar from drawing the sword were the motives which induced Pompey and the Senate to compel him to do so. They had everything to fear from peace, as he had everything to gain. They were at the time in possession of the government of the city and of the Roman world, except Cæsar's provinces, with the most extreme members of their party in office. The next election would reverse the order of things and place Cæsar with his friends in power. "He will be Consul again," Cicero writes plaintively, "the same man that he was before. Then, weak as he was, he proved stronger than us all: what, think you, will he be now?" The nobles had a vivid remembrance of his first consulship, when his colleague, Bibulus, had to remain a prisoner in his house; Cato was arrested in the Senate for obstruction, and the government of the country, legislative and executive, was settled by Cæsar and the people. Cæsar was then in debt and inferior to many of the Senators in fame as a soldier, even his civil reputation too newly acquired to be founded on a very solid basis; he had since become the millionaire, the greatest of generals, for ten years the most conspicuous figure in the commonwealth. Cicero might well ask, if he acheived so much then, what will he do now? Answering his own question, he declares that Pompey, for one thing, would be sent to Spain, an obvious necessity, as his residence in Rome, while Governor of a distant Province, was unconstitutional, and under the new government would be inconvenient. Cæsar would certainly pass an agrarian law to provide for his troops, as he had done for those of Pompey, and the nobles had always been ready to deluge the forum with blood, rather than suffer an agrarian law. It would be his duty to restore to their privileges as citizens the children of those proscribed by Sylla, a measure much dreaded by the nobles, most of whom

held property which had been confiscated from the victims of those days, the tenure of which would, they feared, be insecure if its legitimate heirs were not excluded from all power. He would probably take order to carry out the policy of his Julian laws, puting down the abuses in the home and provincial administration, from which the Senators derived most of their power and wealth. All his measures would either be adopted by a notoriously reluctant Senate, or simply enacted by a plebiscite, and the prestige of the assembly, as the seat of Government would be damaged in either case. So much was almost certain, and more was highly probable. Cæsar might yield to the agitation for new tables or the general remission of debts. He might repeal the laws of Sylla against the re-election of the outgoing Consuls, and continue in power for an indefinite period, thus altogether subverting the oligarchical system. He might aim at sovereignty. He might massacre his enemies by proscriptions, as they had done themselves in their day. This was a note constantly struck in the chorus of alarm, even after Cæsar's clemency had become notorious, a guilty conscience making the senators timid. Pompey, whose influence at the moment was supreme, had his own special reason for disquiet. Since Sylla's death, he had been the first man in the city, and he knew that on the arrival of Cæsar he would sink to the second place.

It also appears that Pompey and the Senate had made preparations for war long before Cæsar had given the slightest ground for offence. After the destruction of the army of Crassus, a vote had been passed that Pompey and Cæsar should each contribute a legion for service in the Parthian war. Pompey offered a legion which he had lent to Cæsar for the Gallic war, so that both legions came from the camp of the latter general. Cæsar did not object until it appeared that the force was not to be sent to Asia, but detained under Pompey's command at Rome, to be used against himself. Pompey had, moreover, raised his army in Spain to 24 legions, a stength far greater than that required for the protection of the Province. Cæsar, on the other hand, at the outbreak of hostilities, had only one legion in Cisalpine Gaul, the other nine legions under his command being beyond the Alps, a disposition of his army which shows clearly that he had not anticipated the outbreak of civil war. The preponderance of strength was apparently on the side of Pompey and the Senate, who had four legions in Italy, besides new levies which included many veterans, the exclusive command of the fleet and of the sea, the provinces except those assigned to Cæsar, and the advantage of the possession of the capital with its treasures.

That Pompey wished for war rather than the preservation of a peace which would lead to Cæsar's consulship, we have the only reliable evidence, that of Cicero's letters written at the time. Giving an account of their last meeting after he returned from his Province, Cicero writes:—"He spoke of war as certain without giving the least hope of an accommodation." He had a second interview with Pompey a few days later, and after it he wrote:—"Is there no hope of peace? So far as I can gather from his very full expressions to me, he does not even desire it. For he thinks thus: If Cæsar be made Consul, even after he has parted with his army, the constitution will be at an end. He thinks that Cæsar, when he hears of the preparations against him, will drop the consulship for this year, to keep his provinces and his troops. Should he be so insane as to try extremities, Pompey holds him in utter contempt. Not only does he not seek for peace, but he seems to fear it." A little later, he writes to Atticus—"You will say, Persuade Cæsar to give up his army and be Consul. Surely, if he will agree, no objection can be raised; and if he is not allowed to stand while he keeps his army, I wonder that he does not let it go. But a certain person (Pompey) thinks that nothing is so much to be feared as that Cæsar should be Consul. Better thus, you will say, than with an army. But a certain person thinks that the consulship would be an irremediable misfortune." The truth, which is carefully obscured in Cicero's speeches, is here disclosed, and the real cause of the war explained. The people were prepared to use their right to choose their own consuls by electing Cæsar; and, rather than permit them to do so, Pompey and his friends were prepared to overturn the laws by violence.

The resolution having been taken to prevent by force the election of Cæsar, the expedient chosen for accomplishing this object was to declare that his command in the provinces had terminated. If induced to return to Rome as a private citizen before the elections, he could be easily disposed of, as Pompey had, contrary to the law, been permitted to keep two legions near the city. On the other hand, his resistance would give a pretext for the war, for which Pompey told Cicero that he so much wished. Whether the nobles had any reasonable ground for stating that Cæsar's government ended with the year 704 A. U. C., is a nice question of scholarship into which Froude does not enter, further than by saying that their position rested on a convenient displacement of dates. Cicero himself acknowledges that the matter was not clear to him, and as the Trabonian law, on the interpretation of which the matter hinges, has not been preserved, there is now little material for discussion. It is enough to say that all previous arrangements, as, for instance, the law enabling Cæsar to stand for the consulship

in his absence, assumed the continuance of his command until the consular comitia of 705. But the Senators were the interpreters of the law, and they would have gained an advantage had they been able to pass a decree declaring that Cæsar's command was at an end, and that he should lay down his arms. This, however, they were unable to do. No decree could be passed against the veto of the tribunes who represented the people, and they would not permit the Senate to take any action hostile to Cæsar. Thus, whatever the opinion of its individual members, the Assembly as a body could do nothing under the law to proclaim or enforce the view that the command of Cæsar had expired. The nobles could strike at the popular leader only by first expelling or overruling the tribunes, that is, by violating the first principles of the constitution.

While things were in this state, Cæsar made the Senate an offer which must be considered as a crucial test of the sincerity of either party. He declared himself willing to adopt any one of three courses. He would be glad to observe the law by retaining his command until the consular elections, then only six months off, and suing for the consulship in his absence. Failing this, he would give up further Gaul and eight legions, retaining for the half year only Cisalpine Gaul, with Illyria and two legions. Or, if thought more desirable, he would altogether lay down his command and come to Rome as a citizen, provided that Pompey would do the same, or retire to his Province in Spain. His friends added that, if the Senate wished him to be content with Illyria and a single legion, he would raise no objection. At the same time he let it be understood beyond the possibility of mistake, that he would not be induced by threats of illegal violence to step into the trap set for him, by coming to Rome before the elections, while Pompey retained an army at the gates. This he called surrendering himself unarmed into the hands of his enemies, and he informed the Senate that, if an attempt were made to compel him to do this, he would know how, in revenging his own wrongs, to revenge those of his country also. The Senators understood the menace contained in the last words, and there were cries, when the letter was read, "It is war he declares against us." Cæsar certainly indicated that persistence in a certain course would lead to civil war, and, the fact being so, it was well that the truth should be plainly stated to impress it on the minds of those who had to make a decision.

This letter exposes the real issue, free of all irrelevant matter. No reasonable Senator could say that he would prefer the immediate outbreak of civil war to leaving Cæsar for six months either one or two of the ten legions which he had commanded for nine years, or to the simultaneous disarming of the two great generals

of the day. The object of any further resistance was plainly indicated; it was not to deprive Cæsar of his command, but to prevent his election as consul. For it will be seen that Cæsar's three courses alike led to the consulship, which he could attain either as Governor of Gaul, or of Illyria, or as a simple citizen, if not overpowered by military force. In rejecting his offers, the Senate would proclaim to the world what Pompey had already told Cicero in their private conference, that "nothing was so much to be feared as that Cæsar should be consul," that, "if Cæsar be made consul, even after he has parted with his army, there will be an end of the Constitution." Moreover, the particular means by which it was designed to prevent his election would be exposed, namely, the use of Pompey's army, assembled under the pretence of an expedition to Parthia. The case being thus clearly before them, the majority of the Senators were at first disposed to adopt Cæsar's third offer, and they passed a vote that both Cæsar and Pompey should disarm, to the great delight of the people, thereby acknowledging the justice of Cæsar's proposal. But in the end more violent counsels prevailed. The consuls and Pompey revolted against the decision of the Senate, and, instead of commencing to disband, ordered the concentration of their armies. In particular, they called up the Parthian legions from Capua. The Consul Lentulus assured the Senate that, "if, as in the past, they mean to spare Cæsar, and to conciliate his good graces, there is an end of their authority." Scipio stated, on the part of the leader, who could not attend, being with his troops, that "Pompey will not fail the Republic, if he is followed by the Senate; but if they hesitate, if they act with weakness, the Senate will henceforth seek his aid in vain." The threat implied was that he would renew his old understanding with Cæsar, interrupted since the death of his wife, who was his rival's daughter. Thus the Senators were persuaded to vote, in contradiction to their former decision, that "if Cæsar did not disband his army on the day prescribed, he should be declared an enemy of the Republic;" but the decree could not pass, as the tribunes interposed their veto. The tribunes proposed to leave the matter to the people, an offer which was of course disregarded, as that would be to let Cæsar have any terms he pleased. At the next meeting of the Senate it was resolved to use violence to the tribunes, and the Consul warned Mark Antony to leave the curia, "where," he added, "his sacred character will no longer preserve him from the punishment deserved by his hostility to the Republic." The tribune rose, and with characteristic courage declared the power of the people violated in his person. "You want," he exclaimed, "proscriptions, massacres, conflagrations. May the evils which you have provoked fall upon your own heads."

He left the curia, just as it was being surrounded by troops, and with three of his colleagues escaped during the night in the disguise of slaves to Cæsar's camp. On the following day the Senate, having thus got rid of the popular vetos, declared Cæsar a public enemy, proclaimed military law, and voted the levy of 130,000 troops. It was on being informed by the outraged tribunes of this declaration of war, that Cæsar struck the first blow by passing the Rubicon.

It thus appears that it was the aristocratic party under Pompey, not the democracy led by Cæsar, which decided to break the rules of political warfare and to try the fortune of war. The question arises whether, when their violent designs were manifest, it was Cæsar's duty to submit, though in the right, for the sake of peace? Should he, for instance, have conceded the point at issue, by withdrawing his candidature for the consulship? He himself always stated his opinion, that, if he had yielded, his life would have been taken, and we have Cicero's testimony that such was his genuine belief. "They would have it so," he is reported to have said, in going over the field of Pharsalia after the battle. "After all I had done for my country, I, Caius Cæsar, would have been condemned as a criminal, had I not appealed to my army." In such a matter, we may trust his judgment, as he was not a man to exaggerate a danger, and he knew Roman politics as no one else could do. Everything tends to show that his anticipations were reasonable. It had always been the policy of the Roman nobles to kill in some convenient tumult any one who had acquired a dangerous ascendancy over the people and who used his power against the oligarchy.

This policy was acknowledged and defended by as able a man as Cicero, who saw in what we would call the murders of Saturninus, Caius Gracchus and Tiberius Gracchus only a legitimate exercise of a salutary power. More recently he had announced to a correspondent with delight that Milo, as a champion of the nobles, had declared his intention of killing Clodius, who was the popular leader of the hour, and, when the deed was done, he conducted the defence. The Senators were never less under the restraint of any sentiment of respect for life or law than at this moment, as Cicero repeatedly testifies, and they never had such reason to desire violence. What had they ever to dread from Saturninus, the Gracchi, or Claudius, as compared with Cæsar? Moreover they had exceptional facilities for using and defending force in the presence of Pompey's army at the gates. A pretext for an attack on Cæsar could easily be found; in fact there was an impeachment for the acts of his consulship hanging over his head at the moment, and some riot would probably occur on his return.

Neither can we suppose that any submission which he could make, short of the desertion of his own party to join that of his opponents, would have been accepted as sincere and final; act in what way he might, his doom would have been the same.

Had his own life only been at stake, it might have been his duty to have sacrificed it to avert civil war. But it is to be remembered that it was the practice of the Roman nobles, when they killed a popular leader, to destroy his followers as well, if they did not take the opportunity for a general massacre of all whom they wished to rob. Three hundred of his friends perished in the sacred enclosure with Tiberius Gracchus, and his remaining partisans were executed afterwards. Three thousand of his party were strangled after Caius Gracchus had been compelled to commit suicide. The vengeance of Sylla almost exterminated the whole nations of the Sabines and Etruscans, so that it would be in vain to make any computation of the number of his victims. Cicero repeatedly asserts that his own friends were not less bent on blood than their fathers had been, and he almost dreaded the triumph of his faction, on account of the horrors to which it would have led. Had Cæsar consented to enter Rome as a private citizen, while Pompey retained his army with the object of preventing by violence the election of a popular consul, all the popular leaders would have been involved in the meditated massacre. Nor would men only have perished, but their cause also. The popular privileges grafted on the constitution of Sylla would have been rooted out, and the counter revolution would have established a narrow oligarchy. To have permitted the sword to be wrenched from his hand by illegal violence, that it might be plunged into his heart, would possibly have shown the virtue of a martyr, but he could not give it up without a crime when he knew that it would be used for the murder of his comrades and the destruction of his cause. Cicero informs us that at this time the populace, and the whole of the order of knights, that is to say, the lower and middle classes, with a considerable number of the Senators themselves, were on Cæsar's side. He thus represented an overwhelming majority in the State, which he could not without guilt abandon to the violence of a small minority.

It would seem that the responsibility for the civil war rests exclusively on the shoulders of Pompey and his party. They desired war, foreseeing that, if peace were maintained, they would be ousted from power; they prepared for it; they made it unavoidable, first by refusing all possible conditions of peace, then by violating the privileges of the people in the person of their tribunes, and in the end they were the first to declare war. It does not necessarily follow that they must be condemned for

accepting this responsibility. Many of them had in their youth fought to establish the system of Sylla, and they might honestly think that they were bound to fight again rather than see the remnants of his Constitution perish. They argued, with much show of reason, that an oligarchy and a despotism were the only forms of Government possible for Rome, and they proclaimed their readiness to violate any law and fight any battle rather than submit to a despotism. Even if, in Rome, where representative institutions were unknown, a democracy could have been established after the dominion had extended, many Senators would have declared that life would not have been worth having in a State so constituted. For a generation they had been, except where Cæsar and Pompey occasionally interfered, masters of the Roman world, managing its treasure, distributing its prizes, making and administering its laws, and they had so ordered their command as to reserve enormous wealth and great power for themselves. Every reader of Cicero's letters must have realised how dear to the members of the oligarchy was this irresponsible power, which they called liberty. It was certainly threatened by the return of Cæsar as consul, and indeed could not have survived his administration. There were approved precedents in Roman history for resisting by force even constitutional measures which tended, as his undoubtedly did, to substitute the rule of the democracy, or of its leader, for that of the Senate, and they might think it their duty to follow in the footsteps of their fathers. The Romans had ordinarily the greatest respect for the law, but their chief men had not hesitated to break it when its observance was inconsistent with the maintenance of their power. In such cases, they held that the good of the Republic, as construed by themselves, was the supreme law. It was, they might have urged, undoubtedly illegal to threaten and drive from the city Tribunes because they exercised in Cæsar's favor their ancient and undoubted privilege of the veto; but this was not so serious an outrage as to put Tribunes to death for introducing to the popular assembly Bills opposed by the Senate, as had been done on three previous occasions. Acknowledging that Cæsar was within his constitutional rights, they might have considered it expedient to wage civil war rather than permit him to proceed in his career. There are issues so important that a party beaten upon them, or about to be beaten, in the ordinary strife of politics, may be excused for appealing to the sword. But, however this may be decided with regard to them, it seems plain that Cæsar was bound to act as he did. Having led his party through years of struggle to the eve of complete success, he could not suffer it to be crushed by the illegal violence of his opponents.

In the civil wars it is remarkable that, while the Italians generally sided with Cæsar, so that the Senators, in spite of their superior force, had to evacuate the country and Cæsar was elected Dictator, the armies, the subject kings, and the cities of the Provinces inclined to Pompey and his friends. This was plainly against their interests, as, whatever we may think of the government of the oligarchy at home, it had been oppressive abroad, while Cæsar's administration of Gaul had marked him out as the champion of those outside the pale of citizenship. The Jews, with their usual penetration, perceived this, and gave him their enthusiastic support while alive, cherishing his memory also after his death. But the other Provincials altogether failed to realize the situation and took part against their only friend. They were accustomed to obey Roman nobles when coming amongst them with the ensigns of office, and they continued to do so, without perceiving that the circumstances had changed. Thus Cæsar had to conquer the Roman world piecemeal; Spain he had to subdue twice, and his successors were obliged to do the work again. It is possible that the subordinate official agents, who benefited by the corrupt administration of the Senate, were able to help Senatorial claimants in their endeavour to obtain possession of the Provinces. Whatever the cause, the result contributed to enhance Cæsar's fame as a soldier, for he was thus compelled to show his superiority in successive campaigns against legions similar to his own, and the best generals that Rome could supply.

Froude shows a characteristic severity in judging the conduct of the defeated, and it must be acknowledged that Cicero, a competent witness, considered that Pompey's strategy was bad from first to last. There is, however, much to be said in favour of his conduct of the war. He believed, with Themistocles, that in a protracted conflict the party which commanded the sea must win, and he therefore acted on the defensive. He succeeded in baffling Cæsar's attempt to force him to a battle in Italy, and effected a retreat with all his forces. The campaign against his lieutenants in Spain so far justified his conduct, as showing how easily Cæsar could dispose of the most formidable army when led by incompetent generals. When at last the two commanders met face to face, Pompey had to play the difficult game of fighting with a force felt to be inferior in the open field. With the aid of entrenchments he held his great adversary at bay, until, seizing a favourable opportunity, he actually gained a victory at Dyrrachium. Cæsar had to trust for safety to the wonderful marching power of his legions, then more useful in flight than it had ever been in pursuit, while he himself, as usual, kept the post of honor, which was at the moment the command of the rear guard. His junction with

Calvinus was little more than a happy accident; had the fortune of war been adverse, his lieutenant would have fallen into Pompey's hands. In the end Pompey risked a battle in the open, only when he had every advantage, fighting with the prestige of his recent victory and close to his fortified camp, after Cæsar had prepared to march away. The actual combat at Pharsalia was decided by the valour of the troops in a hand-to-hand encounter, the generals contributing little besides the encouragement of their presence. Pompey quitted the field as soon as it appeared to be going against him, because he had to look to the safety of the camp; and one must refuse to credit the report, though adopted by Hirtius, and given as a fact by Froude, that he lay down supinely in his tent, after he had himself declared that he was about to see the guards posted at the several gates. When it appeared that the camp itself could not be defended, his only resource was in flight.

To Cicero also it seems to us that Froude has done but scant justice. He describes the great orator as a tragic combination of magnificent talents, high aspirations, and true desire to do right, with an infirmity of purpose and a latent insincerity of character which neutralised and could almost make us forget his nobler qualities. In enumerating the virtues of Rome's greatest civilian, our author has omitted to notice his amiability and kindness to all connectedwith him, which appears so prominently in his devoted affection to his daughter, his provident care for the interests of his brother and relations, his tenderness even for favourite slaves. As a writer, he has discussed every moral theme, and, though a Pagan, has earned the praise awarded "to him who uttered nothing base." He must have possessed an extraordinary delicacy of taste and sentiment to have been able to exhaust the field of speculation without putting forwad a view repulsive to Christian and modern feeling. This is, perhaps, more than can be said of any other Pagan philosopher, even of Socrates, Plato or Aristotle. As a statesman, his letters prove that he possessed wonderful sagacity, he forsees almost every important turn in the shifting politics of the city, and, when at the helm, steers with the utmost skill. We cannot admire too much the courage, pertinacity, and ability with which, after the murder of Cæsar and the flight of the assassins, he fought the hopeless battle against the natural heirs to Cæsar's power, playing one against the other, until at last they combined to ruin him. The charge of infirmity of purpose rests on his conduct in the first civil war, during which his letters show that he lived in an agony of doubt as to what course he could pursue consistently with duty and honour. But in that particular case the circumstances were such as to make hesitation natural and a certain lukewarmness desirable. It is not merely that neither party

possessed his sympathies, but each excited his active aversion. Cæsar was to him a political opponent, representing a party and principles which he had combated all his life, surrounded by partisans whom he regarded as personal enemies, and pursuing a career which, if successful, would, as he foresaw, probably lead to the rule of one—a form of Government which his education and his position made him regard as detestable. He knew the great qualities of the man, and knew that Cæsar regarded him with admiration, if not with affection; but he had a real and honest disbelief in the cause.

We think that Froude, in maintaining that Cicero is to be condemned for not supporting Cæsar, fails altogether to realize the strength of party ties and early connexions in political life, or to allow for the legitimate divergence of opinion on such difficult a subject as the form of Government to be adopted when the circumstances of a country have so changed as to render the old constitution unworkable. On the other hand, Cicero could not give a hearty support to Pompey and the Senate. He was absent in his provinces when they entered on the course which led to the collision, and on his return his advice was disregarded. He held strongly that they had no legitimate cause for making war; that they should have let the elections take their course, and permitted Cæsar to enjoy his second consulship.

Not, as he explained, that he did not fear what they feared, the power of a democratic Consul, supreme in ability and popularity, and supported by his veterans; but that he considered the evils of war greater still. Nevertheless he acted with his associates until they abandoned Italy, when he thought that he would be most useful by assuming for a time a position of neutrality, and endeavouring to make peace, while it was yet possible to preserve some fragments of the constitution.

To the last he tried to prevent his friends from continuing to support a losing cause, and by their obstinacy rendering impracticable a restoration of the Republic. If a patriot could not have supported Cæsar, he would have been with Cicero, though the part he had to play in the shock of legions was so invidious and so open to misconstruction. In every other crisis he displayed firmness and decision. He held a wavering Senate to his policy in the Catiline conspiracy, and, if he erred, it was on the side of too great vigour and severity. He engaged without hesitation in a death struggle with Mark Antony, and paid the penalty of defeat with philosophic constancy. Although averse to military employment, he fought his only campaign with energy and success, earning from the legions the coveted title of Imperator.

Froude finds evidence of his want of firmness even in his bust; after describing the broad brow, the tightly compressed lips, and the keen features, he instances the loose, bending figure, and the neck, too weak for the weight of the head, as explaining the alleged infirmity of will. We should rather say that the lines of the mouth indicate strength of purpose, while the slight stoop speaks of the habits of the student.

The minor actors in the Cæsarian drama are treated by Froude with startling injustice, particularly when they oppose his hero. Cicero somewhere speaks of Senators who cared so little for public affairs as to think themselves happy as long as they had carp tame enough to feed from their hands; and Froude, applying to a class a jest aimed at individuals, denounces the Roman nobles in a body as idle, luxurious, cowardly, and corrupt. They were, he tells us, openly bribed on the Bench; the elections had become a mere matter of money; the provinces were plundered by the Governors; even the integrity of the Empire was betrayed to foreign invaders. This appears to be a most mistaken view of the character of the last chiefs of the Roman Republic. Many of them committed great political crimes, which have been reported to posterity in an exaggerated form, by their political enemies, but the general conduct of public business compares favorably with what we know of other ancient nations. It is said that the judges were bribed to acquit Claudius of sacrilege, but the principles of legal justice had never at any previous epoch been so closely studied, so generally respected, or so widely extended. The very scandal which the report of bribery in this instance caused, the cry which arose that the State was ruined, as the judges had been bought, shows that judicial integrity was then the rule. If the prevalence of bribery at elections proves general corruption, our own fathers must have been in a bad way; even now bribery is kept down amongst us rather by penal laws and mechanical contrivances than by public opinion. The accusation of lethargy and indifference to public affairs is altogether misplaced. The last of the republicans seem to have been prodigies of activity and energy, we must wonder at the amount of work which they achieved. Cæsar and Cicero were only the most conspicuous examples of the ardour, diligence, and versatility which characterised the class to which they belonged. The Senator in the provinces undertook the whole business of the Government of his district, levying, providing, and leading the armies, hearing the principal criminal and civil causes in person, and managing the finances. In Rome itself he had to take his share in the great work of administration, to sit continually as a judge, to protect the interests of his clients, and often to act as an advocate,

besides managing his private property, which generally consisted of large farms cultivated by slaves at his own risk and under his control. The keen competition among public men developed all their powers, and scarcely one is mentioned who does not appear to have shown courage and activity. Thus Bibulus, whom Froude calls a "dull, obstinate fool," made an excellent admiral, and inflicted great loss on Cæsar in the civil war, until he died of voluntary exposure to cold and wet, in the performance of his duty. Crassus, the millionaire, gained the great object of his ambition when he was appointed to command in the dangerous campaign against the Parthians. The effeminate Claudius risked his life daily in civil tumults. Most of Cæsar's lieutenants, the agents of his labours, were Roman nobles, a Fabius, a Junius, a Sulpicius, a Pedius, or a Fufius, and the members of several great plebeian families are mentioned as his principal officers. The resistance which the Senators of the opposite party made in the civil war proves their obstinacy and courage; many of them defended province after province, after hope seemed extinct, and died at last upon their own swords. The Roman treasury, we are told by historians, was never so rich as when Cæsar took possession of it, and the State never produced another generation so eminent for conquests, for literature, and for philosophy. Cæsar was the first man, not in an age of apathy and stagnation, but in one prodigal in the development of every talent and energy.

Froude is so fond of heroes who exhibit their power by committing acts of striking severity or cruelty, that he fails to bring out with due effect the most admirable trait in Cæsar's character, his clemency to the vanquished, and his readiness to forgive injuries. Indeed, our author is at pains to find out that even Cæsar had sometimes to punish, that he had to storm the town of Gomphi, to put Publius Ligarius to death for treachery after pardon, and even, as is stated with much appreciation, to put a slave in chains for making bad bread. A general cannot dispense with the occasional resort to force, but it was admitted even by his enemies that Cæsar's mildness was extraordinary. The Romans had always been cruel in their civil wars, never more so than in those of Sylla and Marius, of which this was the supplement. The Pompeians were resolved to follow the old precedents, and Cicero frequently tells us how much he dreads the victory of his own party, on account of the excesses by which it would inevitably be followed. In the course of the war they executed the prisoners that fell into their hands, as the sailors captured by Bibulus, and the soldiers taken at the battle of Dyrrachium. Cæsar had every provocation to imitate this severity, and Cicero was of opinion that he would prove more bloody than

Cinna, more covetous than Sylla of the property of others?" Yet he showed a forbearance of which in similar circumstances history affords no other example. Soldiers and officers captured were simply dismissed to their homes. Senators were ordered to reside in their villas until the close of the war, when they were reinstated in their high position. Even his own lieutenant, Labienus, when leaving his camp, was not treated as a deserter, the character which Froude assigns him, but as a general who, having served his commander with fidelity in foreign campaigns, exercised an undoubted right of conscience in choosing his side in a civil war. "You judge rightly of me," he proudly wrote to Cicero, after his first act of clemency, "that nothing is further removed from me than cruelty; and as I had a great pleasure in what I did for its own sake, so I rejoice and triumph to find my action approved by you. Nor does it at all move me that those dismissed by me are said to have gone away to renew the war against me; for I desire nothing more than that I may act like myself, they like themselves."

It has occasionally been maintained that Cæsar's proverbial clemency is not to be reckoned a merit, because it was sound policy—as if no quality were to be considered virtuous if it is useful. Cruelty in war is not the result of calculation, but of passion and apprehension. Ordinary men lose all sense of justice, prudence, or pity, when they find themselves struggling with their fellow-citizens for life and power. They are unsparing, not through any sober conviction that they will thereby benefit themselves or their party, but because they are alarmed and angry. It was Cæsar's peculiarity to differ from other conquerors in this, that he was undisturbed by fear or resentment, and able to pursue his ends with constancy, without forgetting human kindness. He possessed in its highest degree the elements of magnanimity. It was not his aim simply to subdue his enemies and reign over Rome as the head of a conquering faction: he wished to gain them to his side, and, with the assistance of the noblest Romans of all parties, to reorganise the State. There is a certain grandeur in this ambition, which looks beyond immediate victory, and aims at a higher triumph, that of conciliation. And no virtue is more worthy of admiration than the self-command which enabled him to pursue the course which he had marked out, without being drawn from it by the greatest provocation of obstinacy or ingratitude.

Had the course of politics been allowed to flow in the ordinary channel, had Cæsar been elected to a second consulship after the conquest of Gaul without armed opposition, it is probable that he would have obtained for life a practical supremacy in Rome.

Jealousy of the elevation of individuals was confined to the Senate, each member of which resented the superiority of a man of his own order: the democratic party had always favoured the concentration of power in the hands of one man. Marius and Cinna had been placed at the head of the general administration; even Pompey had received, by popular vote, a command so extensive as to be, in the opinion of the nobles, inconsistent with the maintenance of the constitution. The people, assembled in the mass, could not govern themselves, and, as they did not trust the Senate, they were willing to delegate their powers to a leader. This tendency had increased year by year, as the boundaries of the State extended, and its business multiplied. Cæsar would have found the comitia more ready to exalt a favorite than it had been at any previous time, and his extraordinary qualifications, of ability, popularity, wealth, influence over the army, and military renown, placed him in a very different position from that occupied by any of his predecessors. The civil war greatly increased this tendency towards a Dictatorship. The reputation of all rivals had been impaired, while that of Cæsar had been enhanced. His name alone was associated with victory in the case of soldiers, with authority in those of the provincials. The Senate had to be re-constituted, and the State organised anew. Cæsar alone had the power to perform the task. His supremacy had become a necessity of the times; while he lived, no other hand could have directed the State. We do not find a trace of opposition to his rule, outside the Senatorial order; all proposals conferring on him offices and commands were passed by the Assembly as of course. It is to be remembered that the Roman people were not, at this time, easily influenced to vote for the ruling power against their own wishes; Pompey and his friends, with their armies at the gates, or even in the Forum, could never obtain a plebiscite in their own favor as against Cæsar, and nothing had since occurred to break the spirit of the citizens. It was they who had armed Cæsar with their authority at the commencement of the war, and they felt that they shared in his victories. They voluntarily vested him with further powers for the good of the State, and, in accepting these, Cæsar took only what was freely offered by those who had the right to give.

Cæsar probably saw, what was plain to Cicero and others, that by accepting the power pressed upon him by the people, he was setting a precedent which would be fatal to the Republican form of government. But he might reasonably consider that the continuance of the Republic was not desirable, or even possible. The Roman constitution had been made for the government of a single town, and, however well adapted to its original purpose, it had not proved a success when applied to a State consisting of many

countries, united only by conquest. An oligarchy of Senators could certainly administer such a community, but experience showed that they could not do it well. It may be doubted whether a democracy, acting otherwise than through a supreme chief, could have governed the Roman world at all. The expedient of representative institutions had not then been discovered, and the only form of popular government understood, the decision of important questions by such of the citizens as could meet in one place, in a mass, does not seem adapted in any way to the circumstances of an extended empire. Moreover, though the Romans, and, in a less degree, the Greeks, of the day were attached to the Republican system, the vast majority of Roman subjects did not understand it, and would have preferred a monarchy. Cæsar was not, however, called upon to decide directly on the permanent form of government. He had merely to obey the necessities of the times, and to accept temporarily the power which events had forced upon him. All the old institutions continued, the Senate and assembly passed decrees, consuls and prætors were elected, and passed in due course to their Provinces, while Cæsar's supremacy over all was the result of an influence over the minds of electors and candidates of which he could not divest himself. The constitutional opposition occasionally attempted by tribunes and others was never punished, but laughed down. The small demagogue appeared ridiculous when he attempted to thwart the representative of the people, at the head of twenty legions. Cæsar's remark on granting a favour, "I confer it, as far as the tribune Pontius will allow me to do so," was felt to dispose sufficiently of a troublesome opponent. Cæsar held undisturbed possession of power for one year only, and during that time he had to perform much business of urgent importance which could not be postponed, so that he had little time for the development of his permanent policy. Many of his edicts must be taken as little more than indicating the objects at which he aimed, and which he would have tried to attain, had he been spared to complete his task. He quieted the uneasy fever generated by the struggle for office by arranging for appointments some years in advance. He admitted the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul to the full privileges of citizens, those of Sicily to what was called the Latin Right, and he granted very freely, in all the provinces, the municipal franchise, by means of which the leading men of each town were gradually raised to the position of citizens. He reconstituted the Senate, raising its number to nine hundred, and he took the opportunity to introduce into it a number of Gauls, and other Provincials. The assembly, which had been little more than a chamber of Roman nobles, was thus changed into an imperial council, and made a fit instrument for the government of the

Roman world. The general scheme of the Roman empire, worked out in detail by Augustus, was sketched by Cæsar, but in a more liberal spirit than that in which it was executed by his less gifted and less generous nephew. He reduced the allowance of corn to the Roman populace, and settled many of the poorer citizens in the country. He adjusted debts to the altered value of the coinage, which had risen with the lavish expenditure of the civil wars. He passed sumptuary laws to repress luxury. The permanent utility of his reform of the calendar, on the system observed with slight change to this day, shows to what excellent purposes he could apply a power apparently so remote from the business of daily life as that of his office of Pontifex Maximus. The most difficult task which he set himself was to counteract and reverse the economic tendency which then threatened, and in the end accomplished, the ruin of the Roman world. Italy and Greece, with southern Europe generally, had, some generations back, been cultivated by peasant proprietors, or small landowners working farms by hired labour. This applies particularly to the soil of the Roman State, which was never broken by helots or slaves. The system had worked admirably, and under it a vast population was maintained in health and independence, industrious, frugal, and warlike. With the extension of the empire, larger farms were established, generally in grass, which were owned by nobles, worked by slaves. It was found that, in competition with small holdings, these were successful, in the sense of yielding a larger return to the proprietors, and by degrees almost all the peasant owners were bought out. The soil, first of Italy, then of the Roman world generally, was in the end cultivated by slaves, for the benefit of slave-owners. Agriculture, which among the old Romans was considered the most honourable of occupations, which was the theme of the poets, and the recreation of heroes, came to be regarded as servile work, and was abandoned by freemen, even where it was remunerative. The citizens congregated in towns, leaving the country to the slaves. This tendency was seen and deplored by all observers of economic facts, both before Cæsar's time and afterwards; he was the last to make any serious attempt to check the evil. He passed an agrarian law, on the old model, that is to say, a law for the forcible division of certain large farms among disbanded soldiers and other needy citizens, who wished to be established at the cost of the State as peasant proprietors. Such measures were more practicable in Rome than in other States because a considerable part of the land was considered public property, though settled with large proprietors until required for other purposes. To promote the increase of the free population, which was becoming dis-

proportionately small, he did what he could to encourage marriage, and he offered privileges to fathers of large families. This may seem strange to us, as in our days the population increases only too rapidly; but it doubtless met a want of the times. Lastly, he made a law to the effect that no farmer should employ in cultivation a number of slaves double that of his free labourers. This law contained the true solution of the problem. Slave labour could not be abolished, except by the revolutionary, and then impracticable, method of emancipation, as there were not enough of freemen to till the lands. But a maximum proportion could be fixed, to be afterwards raised by gradual steps. The law perished with Cæsar, and Rome never again produced a man bold and powerful enough to grapple with the blind force which was destined to destroy her. Augustus was the successor of Cæsar, but not of the Gracchi. He was content to introduce order and uniformity, without endeavouring to check social and economical evils, in the end worse than the competitions of war and party. Had Cæsar lived long enough to enforce his own laws, and conciliate public opinion to their side by showing beneficial results, the event might have been different. His heirs might then have carried out his economic, as well as his administrative, policy, and the decay arrested which weakened Rome, until she fell a prey to weak barbarians, whom her legions had vanquished a hundred times. It may be that the assassins of Cæsar really destroyed Rome's only chance of permanent prosperity.

In order to understand the position of Cæsar's assassins it is necessary to bear in mind that the belief in tyrannicide as a virtue, now confined to the members of certain secret societies, was generally entertained by the best of the ancients.

By tyranny was meant, not misgovernment, but the assumption of supreme power in a State once free. Such an act, it was argued, is a crime, deserving death: and as it cannot be punished by the law, the very usurpation itself putting an end to all laws against tyranny, the execution must be left to private hands. With a truer insight into the principle of morality, Cicero maintained that tyrannicide was useful, as the practice must act as a deterrent. No one would care to attack the liberty of his fellow-citizens if convinced that his success in obtaining a crown would make him the mark for a thousand secret daggers. It is not easy to say how such a principle may have worked where it originated, in the small Greek communities always liable to destruction by the ambition of some too powerful member. Experience has since shown that, applied to large States, such as Rome, it is pernicious. The dread of assassination does not deter aspirants to

power, but makes them cruel and suspicious when their end is attained, thereby causing much misery, and leading to a rigorous despotism. The Roman nobles amplified the Greek doctrine, maintaining that it was proper to assassinate not only those who had attained to the thròne, but whoever, by cultivating the favour of the multitude, showed a disposition to raise himself above his peers. It was in conformity with this doctrine that Spurious Melius was killed by Ahala, an ancestor of Brutus; that Saturninus, and the Gracchi were put to death. These precedents had really been injurious to the cause of liberty, for, while the danger they were designed to avert was at the time imaginary, they did not, when the moment arrived, prevent Cæsar from entering on his career, but rendered the civil war inevitable; for, but for the knowledge that his life was aimed at, he would have peacefully awaited his opportunity in a second consulship. Nor did Cæsar's assassination prevent his heir and his lieutenants from aspiring to succeed him, and contending by arms for the place left vacant, but only had the effect of inducing them to make their position safe, by first putting all who were supposed to hold this dangerous principle to death. It is, however, to be remembered that the futility and the bad effects of killing usurpers had not, in the day's of Cæsar, been proved by historical facts. Tyrannicide was then regarded with approval by the best moralists, and had been sanctioned by more than one Senatorial decree. Now Cæsar was undoubtedly a tyrant, in the classical, and, particularly, the Roman, sense of the word, as he had, by the aid of the people and the army, acquired a mastery over his fellow nobles. It followed that, in the opinion of the Senators, he could properly be killed. Cicero, therefore, only followed the accepted principles of the day, when he maintained that the assassination was justifiable. The mistake lay in supposing that such sanctity is attached to any particular form of Government as to render its subversion a crime, even when achieved by the people themselves, or, with their consent, for the good of the State; also in believing that such acts, if crimes, can with utility be punished in this particular manner. This error was inherited from a long line of speculators and actors; its nature had not then been exposed, and no Roman of the period can be blamed for having fallen into it.

Froude adopts the statement that Cæsar, in his last days, was weary of life, and therefore neglected all precautions against assassination. It is pleasant to know, on the authority of Cicero, that Cæsar considered he had lived long enough for nature and for glory, and was indifferent to death, provided only that it might come on him unexpectedly; but it seems that he took such care of his person as became a brave, but prudent, man in his position.

Cicero gives in one of his letters an account of a visit paid to him in his villa by Cæsar, and on that occasion we find the Dictator accompanied by a considerable force of soldiers, in addition to his friends, freemen, and slaves. As he passed Dolabella's house, Cicero noticed that the guard marched close by his horse's side, which was not done elsewhere. Dolabella being, as the future was to prove, a dangerous man. Here we see that he took such measures for his safety as would appear suitable to a modern king, when rumours of plots might be rife. The only rash act alleged is his discontinuing the guard which at first attended him in the Senate house, and for this there were probably sound reasons. A Roman Emperor had to frequent the Senate as inevitably as a modern sovereign his ball-room, and the presence of a guard would have been as unpopular and inconvenient in the one case as in the other. He took care to provide against the ordinary forms of assassination, against the blow of the hired slave in the street, or the ambush of gladiators on the road; and he believed that none of the nobles would have the desperation to attack him openly in the hall of council. He was, indeed, safe against every thing but a conspiracy so wide-spread, and including officers so highly placed in his government, as to give the criminals a prospect of impunity. Such a plot may have seemed improbable, for few could suppose that a number of his friends would prove traitors, and, if it were formed, the chances were against the secret being maintained. The risk, such as it was, could not have been averted without a disproportionate sacrifice, and it was therefore best to incur it freely.

It is possible to regard the opinion of Cicero and of most ancient writers, that Cæsar was justly slain, as merely a mistaken view upon what was then a difficult moral question; but the actual assassins committed an act of the greatest baseness. They all held high office under Cæsar's government, and acquired from their position the facilities of access and the power of averting immediate punishment necessary for the perpetration of the crime. If Cæsar was a tyrant, they were the agents of his tyranny. Marcus Brutus and Cassius were his prætors, Decimus Brutus and Trebonius his governors designate of great provinces, the others his Senators. Most of them had been Pompeians, and had earned their posts by deserting their party after its fall, to join the conquerors with the loudest professions of zeal and attachment; others were old adherents of Cæsar, who, having helped to build up his power, turned against him because dissatisfied with the very liberal reward of their services. All were actuated by what Mill correctly calls the most anti-social of human feelings, envy; while themselves slave-owners, and despising the crowd, they

were jealous that any one should be acknowledged as their superior. They were ordinary criminals, animated by the motives which lead to private murders, and in the interest of justice it is a matter of congratulation that none of them escaped the murderer's punishment. After a period of miserable suspense they were all hunted down and killed, or forced to destroy themselves to avoid a public execution.

Froude makes no attempt to assign to Cæsar any particular place among the world's great men, and the only comparison he suggests is not a happy one, even if it be free from a more serious defect. "Strange and startling resemblances," he says, "will be found between the fate of the founder of the kingdom of this world, and of the founder of the kingdom not of this world, for which the first was a preparation. Each was denounced for making himself king; each was maligned as the friend of publicans and sinners; each was betrayed by those whom he loved and cared for; each was put to death; and Cæsar was also believed to have risen again and ascended into heaven and become a divine being." An author does himself little credit by seeking for such "startling resemblances," and the reference in this connexion to the attacks on Cæsar for associating with such pleasing sinners as Cleopatra must excite a smile by its very indecorum.

Cæsar was very human, and there is something singularly out of place in attempts to set him on a divine pedestal. Bacon, perhaps, gave him his true rank in describing him as the most complete figure in ancient history, and it might be added that the world has not since produced his equal in this respect. Most of the conquerors who approach him in achievements have something repulsive in their recorded characters; they were cruel, or destitute of social and family feeling, insincere, selfish, unjust or simply vulgar. "Power in other men," as Mark Antony said at the Dictator's funeral, "brought their faults to light; in Cæsar it only brought out his excellences." There have been many men irregularly great; he alone, as Bacon puts it, was complete. We do not refer merely to the versatility of his genius, which enabled him to play with success so many parts, as the party politician and the absolute ruler, the soldier and the legislator, the author and the orator. His superiority consisted, not in his intellectual vigour only, but in his moral qualities, his calm but chivalrous courage, his kindness to all about him, his perfect truthfulness, and what Cicero calls his admirable clemency. Wherever we catch a glimpse of him, we recognize the model gentleman, playing the game of life with ease and enjoyment, with perfect fairness, and deserved success. It was his fate to fill a succession of positions, each very trying to temper and general

character, but circumstances could not destroy the mildness and sweetness of his disposition. He suffered unjust persecution from Sylla without growing bitter; led the people in a prolonged agitation against the established form of government and yet caught no stain of insolence or falsehood; governed provinces as a conquerer for nine years without becoming despotic; waged a prolonged civil war without cruelty, and founded an empire without ceasing to make his first object the welfare of his country. We see him, on the day of his assassination, the same amiable, friendly man who in his youth won the love of the people, easily persuaded to sacrifice his arrangements to please the supposed friends who led him to his fate; and the dauntless courage of his character, mingled with its not unpleasing personal vanity, was marked in his last act, the arrangement of his dress after he had received a mortal wound, that he might fall decently. Prosperity could not spoil him, as Mark Antony observed, because it only placed him in his proper place, and the other evil influences to which he was exposed left him unscathed. The greater part of his life was spent in sharp political or military struggles, during which his attention was generally absorbed in the contest of the moment; but at intervals we catch flashes of a higher purpose than mere success, of a magnanimity that raised him above the ordinary level of humanity. Thus the use he made of his power during his first consulship to pass a number of useful laws, unconnected with party-objects, showed how much he had studied, while in opposition, the defects of the administration, with a view to remedying them whenever he obtained the chance. His policy of favouring the provinces was carried far beyond the point to which it could have been useful to him, and amounted to a sacrifice of his own interests for the general good. The same remark applies with equal force to his crusade against the use of slave labour instead of free. On the whole, we must look upon Cæsar as being the greatest of all historical characters, and entitled to the reward for which Cicero tells us that he always looked, the admiration of posterity. "Your mind," the great orator said, in addressing him, "was never content with the narrow bounds of this life assigned by nature, but inflamed always with an ardent desire of immortality: nor is this, indeed, to be considered your life, which is comprised in the body and breath, but that which is to flourish in the memory of all ages, which posterity will cherish and eternity itself propagate."

P. Nolan.

ART. V.—HIGH EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

THE object of what is known as liberal education is to make men intellectually qualified for the satisfactory performance of those actions, egotistic and altruistic, which are essential to the conservation and advancement of the individual and society. Its object is not to make medical men, and engineers, lawyers and artisans, however important these several professions may be to the well-being of society; but its object is to make men qualified to be anything, and everything—to be philosophers and poets, statesmen and merchants and traders; blacksmiths, carpenters and shoemakers; its object, in short, is to fit men to perform well whatever part their destiny calls them to play on the stage of the world.

The end of any system of liberal education accordingly divides itself into two parts. The first has reference to the subjects of instruction that should be embraced by it, the second to the development of the intellectual faculties. Whatever be the position occupied by an individual in the social scale, in order to fill it with advantage to himself and profit to society, he must first possess a certain complement of systematized truths regarding nature and man; secondlly, he must possess the power so to see and to foresee as to make his purposes steer clear of the Scylla and Charybdis of disturbing agencies. A man who has no knowledge of the fundamental forces at work around him, or who lacks the power of adapting his actions to the exigencies of surrounding conditions, must needs be a failure—be he a soldier or a statesman, a carpenter or a cobbler.

What are the branches of science a knowledge of which is indispensably necessary to every individual? An eminent thinker of England has treated of this question; and, as I consider his conclusions legitimate, I cannot do better than substantially adopt his classification, for the grounds whereof the reader is referred to J. S. Mill's *Address to the University of St. Andrews.* He is also advised to go through Herbert Spencer's essay, entitled, *What Knowledge is of most worth?* and also through Comte's *Classification of the Sciences*, which, although crude and 'antagonistic to the very essence of science' (to quote Huxley) in some parts, is, in the main, a profound exegesis of the development of scientific ideas. Logic—the *scientia scientiarum* of Bacon—as concerned with ratiocination and induction; Mathematics, as teaching us the mysteries of number and quantity; astronomy, as revealing

the forces that sustain the starry framework; physics, as concerned with the laws of the most common agents in nature; chemistry, as unfolding the laws of the molecular combinations of things; biology, as expounding the conditions of life and death; psychology (including Ethics), as revealing the nature of the 'mechanism of thought and feeling,' and finally, sociology, as exposing the action and reaction of social forces—these should be included in a programme of liberal education, and not one of them can be left out without seriously impairing its efficiency. The classification is exhaustive—there is no class of phenomena which cannot be explained by the fundamental laws embraced by these sciences. They constitute, in certain language, the hierarchy of the abstract sciences, every other science being concrete, and the phenomena embraced by it standing in the same relation to those forming the subject matter of the abstract sciences that chemical compounds bear to the elementary substances.

On the other hand, as any common phenomenon in nature may be the result of the combined operation of many laws, each of which falls under a separate department, so a right understanding of nature must depend upon a knowledge of *all* the sciences concerned. A man falls from an eminence and breaks his leg and suffers. Here the operation of four kinds of laws is distinctly traceable: (1) loss of support, causing him to fall (astronomical); (2) the violence of the fall, disturbing the molecular cohesion of the limb (physical); (3) the disturbance of the nervous current and the injury sustained by the structure, entailing certain physiological consequences on the general system (physiological); and, (4) pain through the medium of the brain (physiologico-psychological). This is a typical instance of what happens in every-day life, and shows the wide range of the action of the laws expounded by the fundamental sciences, thereby justifying the importance we have assigned to them in liberal education.

The next point that requires to be settled is what is the best way of strengthening the intellectual faculties;—how to impart permanent life and vigour to the powers of discrimination, similarity and retentiveness. Now, it is a well-established law of growth that the development of any organ or faculty is proportionate to the vigour and frequency with which it is exercised. The subjects of liberal education having been fixed, it is evident, that the discipline which evokes the intensest and the most sustained activity of the intellect for mastering them, is the best. Having regard to the generality of the facts embraced by the subjects, they are pre-eminently calculated to give the healthiest and the most vigorous discipline to the understanding, and the object of the tutor should be so to instruct as never to allow the mind of the

pupil to be passive ;—his object, in the pregnant words of Matthew Arnold, should be to instil 'vital knowledge.'

Let us now examine the *curriculum* of the Calcutta University in the light of the first of these principles. From an inspection of the curriculum the Senate does not appear to possess any consistent view of the importance of the subjects which are indispensably necessary in liberal education. Of the constitution of the Senate we will only remark—that, perhaps, that body should be elected by the voice of the graduates, who, at any rate, are presumably advanced enough to be entrusted with the discharge of this function. As the case now stands, Government selects the Fellows, and we could point out some members who serve only to swell the numbers of that august assembly. But it is not with a view of precluding wrong selections that we contend for the delegation of the powers of election to the graduates, as indeed such mistakes sometimes happen (though less frequently and entailing much less irritation) even under representative systems. There is no *esprit de corps* among our graduates, and the importance of such a bond is too palpable to be questioned. By erecting the graduates into a representative body, a satisfactory experiment will be made as to whether the natives are fit for self-government, since, if the most advanced section of the community break down under the trial, a strong case will have been made out against the Hindoos generally.

The B. A. degree establishes the filial connection of the student with the Calcutta University, and is the goal of ambition with most students, the concluding optional examination not being considered essential. Accordingly, the *curriculum* up to the B. A. course should omit no branch of study that is of primary importance.

Hence we look upon the optional footing of mental and moral science in the present system as a capital defect. Dr. Mohendra Lal Sarkar was wiser than his English colleagues of the Sub-Committee that lately reported upon the question of introducing changes into the First Arts course, when he said that "a liberal education without any knowledge of philosophy ** or logic would hardly deserve the name." Another *native* educationalist is of the same opinion ; he says, "a liberal course of education would, I humbly think, be incomplete if it imparted no knowledge of what has been achieved in this field (Philosophy). Both Logic and philosophy would seem, therefore, to have strong claims to be *compulsory* subjects at the B.A. examination." A general knowledge of the laws regulating our inner self is indispensible to every educated man, as the 'obstinate questionings' of the mind cannot be answered without such knowledge—I mean

such questions as those of the will, the foundations of morality and religion, the relationship between mind and body, the origin of knowledge and belief, the grounds of certitude, &c ,—questions in which we cannot help taking a burning interest. Mental philosophy is no longer the barren logomachy it was while it went by the name of metaphysics. It has now fairly been reared on a positive basis; observation and comparison have been applied to the workings of the mind, and sound psychological laws established on a basis hardly yielding in point of certitude to that on which rest physical laws. Physiology has been laid under contribution for the elucidation of mental phenomena; and a flood of light has been thrown on them. The works of Sir Henry Holland, W. B. Carpenter, Tuke, Maudesley and others mark an epoch in the history of mental science; while the treatises of Professor Bain and Herbert Spencer are a revelation of the most interesting facts that the human intellect can study. The art of education, which has yet to be created, must be based upon a sound psychology; the intellectual, emotional and volitional natures of man are governed by fixed laws, and their development can be brought about by the help of favorable circumstances. Again, the science of character must rest upon psychology. In the scientific hierarchy, as constructed by Herbert Spencer, sociology presupposes psychology. Moreover, can any other study be more efficient for developing the *power* of the faculties? Such is the immense practical importance of a branch of study, which in the Calcutta University has to take its chance along with five or six others of quite secondary importance.

The optional character of Logic in the *curriculum* is another serious ground of complaint:—মূকো ন্যায়বিবর্জ্জিতঃ (one without logic is dumb) says the Sanskrit adage. The father of modern philosophy confers upon it the dignified title of *scientia scientiarum* (the science of sciences). Logic is a branch of the highest possible utility to the native of Bengal. With him, authority has usurped the throne of reason. Why is such and such a doctrine believed in? For the all-sufficient reason that the *Shastras* maintain its truth. This truly represents the state of the reasoning faculty when developed under purely Hindu influences; nay, heredity exerts so much force, even on minds imbued with the doctrine and logic of the West, that they not unfrequently rest their arguments on an *ad hominem* foundation. As the future progress of the native will essentially depend on the free working of his intellectual faculties, a science which is calculated to emancipate him from the degrading and debasing thraldom of authority, cannot be too highly prised.

Again, political economy is optional in the University course. This

is another material defect. How intimately civilisation is bound up with politico-economical laws, no educated man is unaware. How miserably poor this country is with what resources! Its commerce and tradeare at a very low stage. If its graduates were fairly imbued with the doctrines of political economy, they could discuss the good and evil of the numerous problems that stare them in the face, and thus ultimately pave the way for the formation of a healthy public opinion. Wealth is one of the indispensible conditions of progress, in spite of what blind sentimentalists may say. All works that tend to the material prosperity and comfort of a country require labor, and labor must be paid for. It is not generally considered how intimately even education depends upon wealth.

Another important omission is astronomy. Considering that astronomical laws enter into the composition of a great number of terrestrial movements, this omission must needs render a liberal education seriously defective. Auguste Comte remarks with great truth on the potency of astronomical knowledge in dissipating superstition. The starry heavens and their tremendous revolutions inspire the mind with awe, which, in its turn, paves the way for prejudices of the rankest type. When their apparently irregular movements are all found subject to an invariable order, a considerable step is made in scientific knowledge. The importance of such a study to Hindu society, which is yet immersed in dense ignorance and superstition, cannot be exaggerated.

Further, chemistry is optional in the *curriculum*, while physiology is entirely absent from it. Without dwelling on the importance of chemistry, the claims of which in general education are too valid to be gainsaid, it may be said that if there is one science which more than another is indispensibly necessary to every individual and member of society, it is that which expounds the laws governing our *physique*. Whether individual or social good be the end of our efforts, an unconscious sin against the laws of health may, by cutting us off or causing disease, defeat our object. Consider but the vicious mode of living obtaining in Hindu society—consider, among a thousand other evils that might be cited, the horrible way in which our infants are reared, in order to perceive the utter necessity of this neglected branch of study.

Moreover, we fail to see the wisdom of burdening the B.A. course with such concrete sciences as botany, zoology, geology, mineralogy, etc. A knowledge of astronomy, physics, chemistry and biology is all that is indispensibly necessary to every student to enable him to understand the infinite combinations of nature, and this knowledge is also sufficient for grasping the scientific methods of obser-

vation and comparison, experiment and induction. Mereover, conceding the importance of those sciences when studied in the light of observation and experiment, we fail to perceive what good a merely speculative knowledge of them is calculated to do.

Again, mathematics and physics stand as optional branches in the *curriculum* of the Calcutta University. Both as a branch of science, and as an instrument of intellectual discipline, the importance of mathematics is immense. It is a field of deductive reasoning pure and simple, and affords the most rigorous and vigorous discipline to the intellect in one department of logic. Secondly, it exhausts all the possible relations existing among the two most general features of nature —namely, number and quantity, and furnishes the human mind with a most powerful instrument for investigating the other phenomena of the cosmos. Mathematics is therefore alike indispensible to the natural philosopher and the general student. Unfortunately, however, the way in which it is taught in Indian colleges renders nugatory its logical and philosophical importance. The student is not taught to look upon a mathematical exercise in the light of a logical exercise, in which, certain premises being granted, the conclusions are irresistible; nor is he made clearly to understand the filiation of mathematics in the scientific hierarchy. While the mechanical manipulation of the x's and y's is thoroughly mastered, the doctrine and logic of the science are a sealed book to the student.

It would be impertinent to dilate on the worth of physics. It is a subject which comes home to the business and bosoms of all; and the unwisdom of relegating this highly useful branch to the limbo of option is as glaring as in the case of psychology or logic.

The Faculty of Arts justifies the bifurcation of the *curriculum* into literature and science courses, on the ground that it is desirable to allow students free choice in the selection of subjects, for (say they) what his bias spontaneously leads a student to, is calculated to do him greater good than what he looks upon as a task. These gentlemen forget that it is one of the most useful functions of an educational institution to discipline the moral nature—so to say—of the student's intellect. Seeing that the sciences mentioned above are *indispensibly* necessary to the educational completeness of the *alumni*, are not individual biases to be looked upon as intellectual infirmities which it is one of the most valuable offices of the teacher to remove? The same reason that justifies the establishment of the routine of studies, the periodical examinations, &c., also justifies the institution of an educational programme, without which liberal education would be a 'shadow and a sound.' "The leaning of this boy," say some, "is to literature only"—"Well, it is precisely one of the

functions of the school or the college to restrain his dominant tendency within moderate limits and to open his eyes to the beauty of science." Here the influence of the teacher comes into play; he should convince the pupil of the natural filiation of the sciences and the importance of the neglected branches to the scientific hierarchy. Under the present system a student may safely neglect every subject except literature. Having regard to the idealistic nature of the native intellect, all intelligent people will at once perceive that such a state of things is calculated to leave unimpeded, if not positively to foster, the action of this idealism; for, under the circumstances, what is the probability that the student will, of himself, in spite of his inborn propensity, take kindly to the study of the sciences? Of all the subjects, English literature exercises the greatest amount of fascination over the students. Many circumstances conspire to enlist their sympathy powerfully on behalf of this branch of study. It is therefore to be expected that they will henceforth devote themselves with all their energy to the cultivation of English literature. It is very probable that Indian graduates will in future write and speak better English, but their education must be monstrously one-sided and illiberal. The claims of the fundamental branches are paramount, and to make most of them optional is sacrificing a higher utility at the altar of a lower. When things have drifted from bad to worse for a length of time, the Senate will awake to the viciousness of the present arrangement and revert to the principle of liberal education which they have abandoned without good reason.

Let us now see whether the other end of liberal education—the development of the intellectual faculties—is attained in Indian schools and colleges, for however faulty the programme of study may be—it cannot certainly be so defective but that it may be really useful if the students succeed in assimilating the truths imparted.

The graduate has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. His attainments are found to consist in an accumulation of undigested information, which is retained in the memory by mere verbal associations, and which can ill supply the place of real knowledge. Cram has become the crying evil of high education in Bengal; and under such circumstances, the development of the intellectual powers is impossible. When education consists in storing the memory with words merely, the only faculty that can be evoked is the verbal memory. The undergraduate and graduate are found not only wanting in knowledge, but also in the invariable accompaniment of knowledge—namely—power. Whenever they happen to launch beyond the limits of the text-book, they hopelessly founder; they

have not the power to enter upon the investigation of any new subject: honorable exceptions being understood.

But what is the standard whereby we guage the attainments of the University man? A writer in the *Calcutta Review* sometime ago demurred to the test generally adopted—namely, the power to write decent English; and gave it as his opinion that, even when judged by such an unfair standard, the graduate is not found to disappoint our expectations. To this latter assertion, the experience of every one who has come into contact with the graduate gives the lie. As to the test, under any other circumstances, it would certainly have been unfair;—it would, for instance, have been unfair to judge of the success of high education in England by the power displayed by Oxford or Cambridge-men in writing good English, since real scientific attainments may very well co-exist with a poor knowledge of the rules of good composition; while on the other hand, a man may be a master of well-turned periods and melodious sentences without possessing a competent knowledge of any subject whatever. But it is not so in India. English is a foreign language, and, as it commands largely the esteem of the *alumni,* they put forth their greatest strength in mastering it. In the plenitude of his academic career the graduate aims at no higher object than the attainment of a chaste English style. Now, when it is seen that he has signally failed here, the presumption in favor of his failure in other branches, to which he does not attach so immense an importance, verges upon proof. It may be argued that the failure of Indian graduates is owing, not to the defectiveness of the teaching they receive at the college, but to the apathy, or any other circumstance, which makes them fold their hands after their collegiate career is over. But how is it possible to exculpate their collegiate teaching in the face of the incontestible fact that the ignorance they evince in their conversation and public utterances is incompatible with even an ordinary amount of knowledge?

The literature and science of one nation are very hard to be assimilated with the life and mind of another nation which is at an inferior stage of development to the former. Every fresh accession of knowledge, and every new development of the emotions, modify and shape public opinion in harmony with them, and this public opinion, through the operation of the principle of heredity, becomes a part and parcel of the national mind, qualifying every individual—be he the lowest in the scale—for the reception of the literary and scientific truths that are the heritage of the nation he belongs to. Between the Englishman and the Hindu there is a gulf which it is hard to bridge over. One of the inherent idiosyncracies of the Hindu intellect is what is called abstraction, that is,

the tendency to shut the eyes to external nature and to brood over the ideas and feelings of the mind; the characteristic of the Western intellect is its realism. With his senses braced by a climate 'frosty but kindly,' the Englishman observes the movements of the world about him.

The bearing of this mental dissimilarity on English education in India is—(1) that it requires immense labor in a Hindu to enter into the spirit of English conceptions and, (2), that when this almost insuperable difficulty is got over, assimilation is impossible. Heredity and public opinion combine to prepare the English student for imbibing English literature and science, while the mental condition of the Hindu pupil simply rejects pabulum which it cannot assimilate, because unprepared. It is absurd to deny that the native can understand (if he is at the requisite pains) English thought. The eminent success of many Bengalis in the department of science and literature places their capacity beyond doubt, although the failure of university education testifies to the great difficulty that constitutional differences place in the way of their success. But we agree with Mr. Lobb, when he says, "Even supposing that a mind has acquired all the information necessary for the illustration of Messrs. Ladd and Griffins' boxes of apparatus, is it forthwith to be concluded that such a mind is either itself *in the least degree scientific*, or capable of properly communicating to others the simplest rudiments of scientific knowledge?"

Is this difficulty insuperable? Can the disqualifying feature of the Indian intellect be stamped out so as to enable him to avail himself of the spiritual leadership of the West? Can the Hindu dreamer, filled with the conception of the unreality of terrestrial things, be converted into a being to whom 'life is real, life is earnest'?

The attainments of the schoolmaster are certainly despicable, and what is worse, inaccurate. This is no common evil. No other functionary occupies a more important position in society than the teacher. His function is *spiritual;* his mission is to open the eyes of his pupils to the infinite beauty of the connection and inter-dependence of the internal and external worlds; he is commissioned to hold before their admiring eyes the naked beauty and majesty of truth. All voluntary actions depend upon knowledge; the teacher therefore exercises a powerful influence in civilization. Considering that by far the greater portion of the students do not carry on their studies beyond the precincts of the school, the circumstance noted above is a great evil indeed. For the pupils must imbibe at the hands of such teachers a good deal of bad English and bad logic. But when people say that the schools exercise a permanent deteriorating influence upon the graduate, they are mistaken. Under an efficient system, four

years of subsequent teaching would have gone far in purging the mind of the pupil of the unclean thing; for what, in fact, is learnt at school beyond an elementary knowledge of English? Government should, however, exercise its best judgment in the appointment of teachers. At present the mere fact that a person is a B. A. or M. A. turns the scale. How illusory this test is, we all know. Before a teacher is appointed, he should be examined as to his fitness for the post.

It is plausibly argued by some persons that the existence of cram in the Calcutta University is mainly, if not solely, to be attributed to the pecuniary view of English education taken by the *alumni.* It is affirmed that the object which directs their efforts is not education, but success at the annual examinations; and that, as cramming is found to answer exceedingly well at those ordeals, they eagerly resort to it. So the professor and the schoolmaster gain a cheap acquittal of the charge brought against them by the tribunal of an indignant public opinion! Without denying the existence of the ignoble motive—which is, indeed, too glaring to admit of gainsaying—or its pernicious influence, it may reasonably be maintained that, had our educational dignitaries made their charges follow their teaching with intelligence, the sphere of the operation of cram would, at any rate, have been considerably narrowed. Had they known how to enlist the interest of the pupils in their studies, they would have created a counter-force in the minds of the students which would have rendered the other motive partially inoperative. I deny that the Bengalis are constitutionally unfitted to love knowledge for its own sake and hold that their view of high education is amenable to control.

When instruction is conveyed through a highly idiomatic and foreign language like the English, the chances in favor of cramming are vastly greater than is the case where the vernacular is the medium of instruction. In the former case, the pupil has not only to master the truths contained in the various subjects, but has to learn to understand the *language* in which they are couched. The meanings of words must be clearly understood and the variety of ways in which they present themslves as collocations mastered. To attain well-defined ideas of the significations of words in a foreign language entails no light labour and exercise of judgment, while to master the idioms, which are not supplied cut and dried in every dictionary, is harder. Further, consider the unintelligibility that must attach itself to ideas having reference to peculiarly European or English circumstances, and the superadded difficulty which presents itself to the learner will appear in its true proportions.

But the greater the difficulty, the more efficient and careful should be the system of instruction. Unfortunately, however, it is a patent fact that the method of our public teaching is extremely defective. There can be no two opinions as to the utter viciousness of the method of teaching practised in our schools and colleges. The tutor is more bent on qualifying his pupils for success at the annual examination than on imparting to them sound training and substantial knowledge. The examination is the ostensible test of his efficiency, and he is naturally ambitious to gain the reputation of a good teacher by making the majority of his pupils pass through it with success. The disinterested impulse to seek for their solid good—to educate their intellectual faculties and to store them with the best sort of knowledge, does not arise with the average run of teachers and professors. Again, the cramming system is simpler, and calls for far less tact and skill than a system of substantial education.

Let us take the mode of teaching pursued in the first or the second class of an English school. The teacher desires a pupil to explain a passage belonging to the lesson of the day. The pupil stands up and begins explaining, that is, substituting one English word for another, and if he succeeds in doing this all that is needful is accomplished, and the others content themselves with merely noting down the English equivalents. But while all this word manipulation was going on, the intellect of the pupils slept. It seldom enters into the thoughts of the master to test the grasp of the students over the idea under consideration,—the worthy man is far too noble to suspect that beneath all this runs an utter want of sense. When a student gives a wrong word, or comes to a stand-still, the teacher simply supplies the deficiency and bids him rest and be thankful. Thus fares English literature; thus fares history. The picture we have drawn is, we believe, no unfaithful sketch of the existing state of things in our schools. In the majority, if not in all, of them the great fact that stares an observer in the face, is the *utter absence of all endeavour to develop the intellect of the pupil.* The case is much worse in our colleges; there the note system is rampant. English literature, history, philosophy, logic, political economy, are all taught through the medium of *notes.* The oracular lips of the professor deliver notes on these subjects, which the busy pens of the *alumni* take down for the purpose of committing them to memory, in order to attain success at the annual examination. In a school the teacher is a native, whom an enquiring pupil is not afraid to ask for explanation of a difficult passage, and who can render himself intelligible in the last resort by the vernacular. The professor, on the other hand, dwells

at an "unapproached distance;" he is looked up to with awe; and it often times happens that a student cannot express, or, for fear of raising a laugh, refrains from expressing his difficulty. But it is no use doing all this; there are the notes, which will infallibly work out his salvation in the examination-hall. Is such a system of instruction calculated to educate a nation? Here is a picture by an English professor: (*Vide* the defunct *Indian Observer*, Vol. v., p. 266). "The subject of lecture is—say—Milton's *Comus*. Before the professor takes his seat, the students mend their pens or pencils, and open their note-books. The professor slowly reads line after line, gives the meaning and etymology of every important word from Wedgewood or Donald, and paraphrases of every line in choice English. The pupils are all busy with their pens, taking down, word for word, the roots, meanings, phrases and explanations, as they flow from the wise lips of the erudite professor. *It never occurs to the professor to ask his pupils whether they understand his explanations;* indeed, I am told, the pupils never open their lips in the class-room. They seldom make any preparation. They scarcely open their books at home. They come to the lecture-room perfectly unprepared. They come armed only with pen and note-book.* * They do not even turn up Webster at home. *The lecturer must do the thinking of his pupils. The pupils are only copying-machines.*

"What, then, is the remedy?* * *The true method of teaching in the Dame's schools, dignified with the title of colleges, is the Socratic method. The object of the lecturer should be to make his pupils think, to draw out of them as much as possible by a process of intelligent catechisation and then to supply them with whatever is lacking.* Let 'a despondent professor' take a layman's advice [here the writer disguises his profession], which is two-fold, ; firstly, *let him imitate, in the class-room, the Socrates of the platonic dialogues*, and secondly, *let him insist on his pupils making a bonfire of those horrible note-books, which, more than anything else, contribute to the maintenance of the worship of the twin deities of the Bengal colleges, cram and sham.*"

"Every one must educate himself," says Sir William Hamilton: "If there is a first principle in intellectual education," says J. S. Mill, "it is this, that the discipline which does good to the mind is that in which the mind is active, not that in which the mind is passive." When knowledge is gained through activity, it is assimilated with the mind. The knowledge which is gained without effort is forgotten without delay,—'easy come, easy go.' It cannot reasonably be doubted that what has cost much, is prized much, and is

taken far more care of than what comes without any exertion on our part. Keeping this supremely important truth in mind, the teacher should exact as much intelligent labor from the students as possible ; he should regard himself primarily as the director of their studies, and only *secondarily* as their teacher ; he should make them do the work as much as they possibly can, he merely correcting their errors and supplementing their deficiencies. The teacher should maintain the position mainly of a referee ; he should *distinctly* give his pupils to understand that they are expected to do their best, and that he will assist them only on such points as cannot be satisfactorily settled by their unaided exertions. Each pupil must be made to prepare his lesson at home ; he must be made to give the roots of important words, their literal and metaphorical significations ; to explain and parse sentences ; to correct those that are faulty ; to point out their logical connection (if there is any,) &c., &c., If the tutor exacts this much from his pupils, and supplements what is lacking, their faculties will improve strikingly, and they will thoroughly master whatever they read. This procedure will of course at first disagreeably affect students accustomed to the easy practice of taking notes. But a great step will have been made when the new method, being persisted in, shall in time evoke the exquisitely delightful consciousness of self-power. When such a feeling *is* evoked (as it certainly will be evoked in due time), the greatest and healthiest ally of progress is enlisted on the side of education ; and the delight of self-achieved conquest will now powerfully influence the efforts of the learner.

In the preface to his Geography of India, the late Mr. Blochmann distinctly recognises it as one of the duties of the teacher of geography, "to enliven the work as much as possible," and this precious observation applies to instruction in general. "The greatest of all motives to concentration," says Professors Bain, (*Vide* the *Senses and the Intellect*, third Edition,) "is a present enjoyment of the work in hand. Any exercise possessing a special charm detains us by immediate attraction.* * * This is the inherent power of the will in its immediate and most efficient manifestation,—present pleasure furthering a present action." It cannot admit of a doubt that what is learnt with pleasure, the mind assimilates sooner, and retains longer, than what is learnt with indifference or pain. Pleasure, whose nature is to feed itself, concentrates attention, and, by heightening the vital energies, makes continued attention possible ; while pain distracts attention and, by lowering our energies, makes continued attention impossible. Again, by associating pleasure with study, the teacher can dispense with the comparatively ignoble motive of fear. Geography and History, Algebra and Geometry, are at present so many rocks of

offence. The students fail to see what good such studies are calculated to do them in life, and they plod on with them solely because success at the examination depends upon a knowledge of them. No endeavour is made to disabuse them of this highly pernicious notion, nor is instruction in these subjects enlivened with an imaginative coloring. This lays the foundations of cram; for, when the student feels no immediate interest in what he reads, the exertion requisite for understanding it is felt as a burden, and the motive to cramming becomes almost irresistible.

The immense importance of enlisting pleasure on the side of education will be apparent, when we consider that it is because our method of instruction does not keep in view this object that the graduate is generally found to sink into insignificance after his collegiate career is over. The heart not having been engaged by the tutor, the student lacks the motive to impel him when he has taken his degree, and thereby secured, *in posse*, a clerkship. So his Logic and Philosophy, Conic Sections and Trigonometry, are cast to the winds; and henceforth, secure in the esteem of his countrymen, he thinks only of pleasure and profit; in the absence of a love of knowledge, the inborn selfishness of the Bengali now riots unchecked. Educated men generally complain of the pecuniary view of education which prevails in this country. What other view, we ask, is possible from a system of education in which the tutors do not train the *alumni* to look upon knowledge as its own reward?

Speaking of his experiences, acquired while he was a temporary mathematical teacher, Professor Tyndall says:—"But it was my habitual practice to withdraw the boys from the routine of the book; and to appeal to their self-power in the treatment of questions not comprehended in that routine. At first the change from a beaten track usually excited a little aversion, but in no single instance have I found the aversion to continue. * * When utterly disheartened, I have encouraged the boy by that anecdote of Newton, where he attributes the difference between him and other men to his patience, or of Mirabeau, when he ordered his servant, who had said something to be impossible, never to use that stupid word again. Thus cheered, he has returned to his task with a smile, which, perhaps, had something of doubt in it, but which, nevertheless, evinced a resolution to try again. *I have seen the boy's eye brighten, and at length with a pleasure, of which the ecstacy of Archimedes was but a simple expansion, heard him exclaim*—'I have it, sir.' *The consciousness of self-power thus awakened was of immense value; and animated by it, the progress of the class was astonishing. I was ever ready to assist when I deemed help needful, but my offers of*

assistance were habitually declined. The boys had tasted the sweets of intellectual conquest and demanded victories of their own. I have seen their diagrams scratched on the walls, cut into the beams upon the playground, and numberless other illustrations of the living interest they took in the subject ! !"—These words should be inscribed in letters of gold. Embodying as they do the personal experiences of an eminent man, they are worth many volumes of mere theorizing. Professor Tyndall is a model teacher. What nobility of purpose, what constant and undeviating love breaks through every part of this excellent passage! Dr. Tyndall would educate his youthful charges, and nothing should prevent his doing so; this seems to have been his resolution ! and mark his success ! "The diagrams scratched on the walls, cut into the beams, etc.," speak volumes. These observations are worth the study of every Indian teacher, as showing the magnitude of the influence that can (where love prompts the action and wisdom guides it) be exercised over the *alumni.* The above passage also corroborates our view of the high utility of evoking the independent exertions of the students, which ultimately generate the consciousness of self-power, pregnant with the most important consequences. Dr. Tyndall was "ever ready to assist when he deemed help needful," but strange to say, "his offers of assistance were habitually declined."

The following extract from a letter to the late *Indian Observer* will show the immense difficulty the English professor labors under in making his pupils apprehend his meaning. The letter, being written by an English professor unfolding his personal experiences, must, as a matter of course, carry great weight with it (*vide* vol. iii., p. 234):—

"I am unable to make intelligible to Bengalis, whose thoughts and language are different from my own, ideas and expressions which I conceive myself to understand. I have therefore come to the melancholy conclusion that my lectures are almost entirely *useless.* I should like to see substituted for myself a man with *a perfect knowledge of Bengali* and a thorough acquaintance with English language and literature." A knowledge of Bengali should certainly be insisted on as a necessary qualification of every English professor.

Undoubtedly, the subject that is of the very first importance to the native of Bengal is English. English is the key to—the practically infinite mass of knowledge comprising the recorded experience of the best minds of a great and highly civilised nation. How supremely important must then the English literature be to men so frightfully possessed by the spirit of immobile and stagnant conservatism as the Bengalis! Contrast a Bengali, who

has received an English education, with one who has not received that inestimable boon, in order to perceive the truth of my observation.

As effectual means of learning English, I think, *translation* and *re-translation* (as pointed out by Mr. Lethbridge) should be largely practised in our schools and colleges. The students should also be encouraged by their teachers to explore freely the field of modern English literature. In order that a student may attain to a command of the English tongue, he must know, in the happy words of Mr. Cowell, 'something of everything and everything of something.' For a critical study of the language, he must confine his attention to the text-book; and for a general idea of what English is, he must read many books. In preparing his lesson, he must pore over his Webster and his text-book, and with intense application master what is before him; but at the same time, let him read uncritically—not inattentively, let him finish page after page, carrying only a simple understanding of the general drift. By this process being continued for a considerable length of time, the meanings of words and idioms will rise into clear light—and this is what is meant by mastery over a language.

An effective way to prevent cram is to abolish English text-books from the F. A. and B. A. courses. When text-books are abolished, the committing to memory of notes is shorn of much of its importance, and the attainment of such a knowledge of English as is necessary to answer examination papers becomes the object of the student. The Senate has wisely abolished the text-book in English in the Entrance Course, but the reasons which apply in the one case, apply also in the other, perhaps *à fortiori*. At the schools, the pernicious system of notes not being in vogue, and the masters being natives, the chances of cramming are considerably less than is the case with the colleges.

Referring to some examination papers of the Calcutta University, Mr. Herbert Spencer says—"Who examines the examiners? How happens it that men so competent in their special knowledge, but so incompetent in their general judgment, should occupy the places they do? This prevailing faultiness of the examiners shows conclusively that the administration is faulty at its centre. Somewhere or other the power of ultimate decision is exercised by those who are unfit to exercise it. *If the examiners of the examiners were set to fill up an examination paper which had for its subject the right conduct of examinations and the proper qualifications for examiners, there would come out very unsatisfactory answers.*" The defects of the present system of examination by the Calcutta University have a material bearing on the cramming found in our

schools and colleges. The ambition of the student is naturally excited by prospective success at the annual examination, which is of great importance to him, as concerns both his reputation and his worldly prospects. Examinations are the recognised tests of the proficiency of a student, and to come off successfully in them is considered the infallible index to sound education by many who are hardly able to form a rational opinion on so high a subject. Both the pupil and the teacher fix their eye upon success at the examination, while the far more correct view, not being recognised in the hurry and bustle, cannot possibly influence action. Although examinations are never infallible tests, still, if they are conducted with judgment, they cannot generally fail to test the real attainments of the examinee, and to indirectly prevent cram. In English literature, the first importance should be attached to explanation, translation and original composition. Certainly the best way of testing a pupil's understanding of a particular passage is to require him to give a *clear* explanation of it. Again, translation is impossible without an understanding of the original passage. The merits of original composition as a test, none, I think, will gainsay. Again, the examinee should be required to explain certain passages in *Bengalí*. That the English system cannot prevent cram, has to my mind been satisfactorily proved by the fact that notwithstanding the substitution of the explanation in place of the previous parapharase system, cram has not perceptibly diminished. The knowledge of a foreign language cannot be infallibly tested through the medium of that language. The student may possibly pass off as knowledge what is in fact only its semblance, words, phrases and sentences may be committed to memory without anything like understanding, and in these, when put down with a certain amount of tact, it is impossible to detect imposture. But when the student is required to explain English passages in the vernacular, his *real* attainments are *infallibly* tested.

It is absurd to deny that when a pupil gives a vernacular explanation, he understands his explanation, which is couched in his mother-tongue. The proposed system will entail upon the pupil the additional labor of attaining a tolerable knowledge of the vernacular. So much the better, considering the neglected condition of Bengali.

The present system of University education has evoked a good deal of discussion; vials of wrath have been poured upon it and remedial measures suggested. The critics are not unanimous as to the cause or causes of the unsatisfactory state of things; yet each proclaims, with diverting confidence, the infallible virtue of his own nostrum. This man attributes the failure to the method of teaching, that man to the bewildering multiplicity

of the subjects, a third person would lay the whole blame upon the bad text-books,—another would account for the failure by pointing out the low and defective attainments of the school-master, whose bad teaching (according to this theorist) the Professor is afterwards unable to correct with complete success. All these theorists are (to my thinking) rash empirics. Social phenomena do not admit of such simple explanations as these men would have us believe. A single social phenomen may owe its origin to a hundred causes and an adequate explanation of the fact presupposes a knowledge of these causes. In my humble opinion, if we are ever to arrive at the *vera causa* of the educational fiasco, the inductive method of investigation must be resorted to. The firstc ourse is to collect all the facts which have any bearing on the question, the next to reach a conclusion by legitimate scientific methods. Theories on such a subject, in order to be worth anything, must be based upon all the available facts. If I may venture on a suggestion, I think a committee should be appointed to watch over the educational work and to note down all the significant facts that they light upon. The whole course of the student, from the lowest class till he appears at the B. A. examination, should be watched closely—the mode of teaching, the text-books, the examination system, —in short, everything that has the remotest bearing on English education, should be most heedfully watched. When a mass of indisputable facts shall have been gathered, it will be time to eliminate chance by the application of the methods of *Agreement*, *Difference* and *Concomitant Variation*. In offering for the attentive consideration of the educated public the foregoing remarks, I most emphatically disclaim all dogmatism. To evoke discussion on a subject of the highest possible importance, is all that is intended by them.

CHARU CHANDRA MUKHOPADHYAYA.

Art. VI.—THE HINDU BENGAL.

Rajabali. 8vo. Serampore.

ALTHOUGH Bengal is the first Presidency of British India, its early history before the Mahomedan administration is almost unknown. We have collected the few fragmentary notices we have found on the subject, in the hope that they may lead to further enquiry.

It is still an unsettled point whence the Aryas came, but it is quite certain that they were originally settled on the seven rivers, *viz.*, the Indus, the five rivers of the Punjab, and Sarasvati. The land between the Sarasvati and Drishadvat was called the Brahmavarta. Those who inhabited it, were contemplative and philosopic, the range of their contemplation extending from the soul to God and from God to the soul, and all else being a subordinate study. Originally there was no caste, no priest, no temple among them, and their great aim was to worship the unseen Power through the soul. Although this spiritual state continued for a long time, it did not and could not spread far. Population increased, and the organization of society was called for, which resulted in the formation of professions. Caste is mentioned in as early an authority as the Rig Veda, in the 10th Book of which work Brahmin, Kshetrya, Vaisya and Sudra are named. Brahma meant "not prayer or thanksgiving, but that invocation which, with the force of the will directed to God, seeks to draw him to itself and to receive satisfaction from him."

From Brahma, Brahman was formed, its meaning being chanter of prayers. Within a confined circle, Aryaism continued in its primitive or spiritual state, but, speaking generally, its aspect was changed. Greater stress was laid on the form, organisation, ritualism, offerings and ceremonies, and less on the internal adoration of God and the development of the soul. Before the composition of the Sama and Yajur Vedas, Brahmins were divided into four classes of priests, for the performance of sacrifices, ceremonies and chanting of prayers. They also assumed the title of Purohits, the friends and counsellers of kings.

The social organization brought on by external circumstances required development, and each profession naturally sought for a field in which its energy could be directed to advantage. The holy land, or the *Brahmavarta*, as well as the original seat on the seven rivers, became crowded. The Aryas thus situated took "for their guides the principal rivers of Northern India and were led by them to new homes in their beautiful and fertile

valleys" The countries which were of the earliest formation were Uttara Kuru, Kashmere and Gandhar now Candahar. Uttara Kuru was on the north, beyond the Himavat. The Mahabharut, speaking of the Uttara Kuru women, says that they were unconfined, they roved independently and preserved their innocence. The countries which next attracted the Arya emigrants were Kurukshetra (near Delhi), Matsya on the Jumna, Panchala near modern Canoj, and Sursena (Mathura). Menu calls this tract of land *Brahmarshi.* The countries constituting the *Mudhya Desa* of Menu were bounded by the Vindhya on the South, Himalaya on the North, and reached from Vinasara on the East to Pairag (Allahabad) on the West.

Aryabartta comprehended all the above and reached from the mouth of the Indus to the Bay of Bengal.

Bengal is not mentioned by Menu. In the Rig Veda, the Ganges and Jumna are mentioned. Weber says that he can trace "in the later portion of the Vedic writings, their (Aryas) dispersion as far as the Ganges." In the Satapatha Brahmana, there is a legend from which it appears that the Aryas advanced from the banks of the Sarasvati to Sadiniri or to Behar and Bengal. (Muir's O. T. P. II., p. 423). The route of emigration given by Burnouf is from "the Indus to the Ganges and from the Ganges to the Dekhan." The Brahmins appear to have taken the lead in the colonisation. They were settled in "Sarasvati, Canoj, Gauda, Mithila (Tirhut), Utkala (Orissa), Dravida, Marastra, Telunga, Guzrat and Cashmere. Their descendants inhabited Anga (Bhagulpore), Banga (Bengal), Calinga, Kamrupa, Assam, &c."* The Brahmin element was the strongest element everywhere. No coronation, no religious, social or domestic ceremony could be performed without the Brahmins. When Sita was married to Rama, the palace of Janaka was full of Brahmins.

> How many thousand Brahmins here,
> From every region far and near,
> Well versed in holy lore appear. *Griffith's Ramayan.*

Next to the Brahmins the Kshetryas were the most powerful. They formed the military class from which kings were chosen. They prosecuted the extension of their dominions, gave protection to life and property, and held out every encouragement to the promotion of agriculture, and commerce. The next class, the Vaisyas, were thus stimulated to concentrate their energy on the development of the agricultural resources, and the augmentation of the commercial prosperity, of the country. The first three classes were the Aryas, who were called "twice born," from their

* Hunter's Bengal.

right to the sacred thread. The Sudras were most probably the aborigines, and they were doomed to be servants to the three classes, with liberty to earn their livelihood by mechanical arts.

When colonization had progressed considerably, India was divided into Northern, Central, Eastern, Southern and Western parts. Although India consisted of a number of kingdoms, and many of them were tributary for a time, it does not appear that the whole country was subject to one ruler or to one line of kings. Kingdoms were often enlarged or subdivided according to circumstances, and allegiance was often exacted by the most powerful monarchs, specially on occasions of the Ashwameda Yagnya, or on other extraordinary occasions.

In the Vishnu Purana one of the descendants of Yayati was the King of Banga or Bengal. In the Raghu Vansa, by Kalidasa, Chap. 10, Raghu, the great grandfather of Dasarath, is described as having "conquered the kings of Bengal possessing fleets." Bengal was rich at the time, as the kings after being reinstated, gave to Raghu "immense wealth." In the Ramayan the countries constituting Dasarath's Kingdom are "the Eastern countries, Sindhu, Sarastra, Savira, the Southern country, Anga, Banga, Magadha, Kosala, Kasi, &c., "rich in golden coins, sheep and kine." Dasarath, the father of Rama, lived long before Yudhisthira, whose era is fixed by Colebrooke and Wilson between the 13th and 14th Century B. C. Banga is mentioned several times in the Mahabharat. When Arjuna went on a pilgrimage, he visited Banga and Munipore (Adi Parva). Previous to the performance of the Rajsaya Yagnya, Bhim proceeded to the Eastern countries to exact allegiance from their kings, and among the countries conquered by him was *Banga*, which must have consisted of four divisions, as the names of four rulers are mentioned, *viz.*, Samadra Sen, Chander Sen, Tamralipta and Kurkutadhipati. The people of Banga, Pundraka and Kalinga, that is Lower Bengal, Midnapore and Ganjam, presented large tusks with elephants.* Before the war of Kurukshetra, a complete list of the mountains, rivers and countries of India was furnished by Sanjaya to Dhritarastra, from which it appears that the different parts of India were inhabited by Hindus. There are several countries which are difficult of identification. Among the countries mentioned *Banga is one*—(*Bhisma —Parva.*) After the war, (Yudhisthira performed the *Ashumeda Yagnya.* With the sacrificial horse went Arjuna to several countries, among which was Bengal. It was then governed by Mlechas, or outcastes, which may mean degraded Aryans, or bar-

* Journal of the R. A. Society, Vol. VII., p. 144.

barous aborigines. In the *Rajdharma Anasasanika Parva*, Bhisma enumerates several tribes, *viz.*, Yavana, Kirat, Gandhar, Chin, Savara, Barbara, Saca, Tomgara, Kunka, Palada, Chandra, Mandraka, Poundra, Pahuda, Ramata, and Kamboja. The question put was,) how were they to be civilized? The answer was that the king should consider it a paramount duty to educate them. Menu's idea of Mlechas is that they "speak barbarously, or not as the Sanskrit-speaking people." Colonel Briggs, in his interesting paper* on the Hindus and Aborigines, says that the aborigines had no priests, they allowed their widows to get married, they ate cow's flesh, they buried their dead, and they were unacquainted with the arts and sciences. Wilson says that "it must have been a period of some antiquity when all the nations from Bengal to the Coromandel were considered Mlechas and outcastes."

The tradition is that the countries on the left side of the Ganges were called *Banga*, and those on the right side were called *Anga*. Magadha was a very ancient country and a Magadha princess was the queen of Dilip. It was originally a part of Chedi Rajah's dominions† of the solar race, but subsequently it was governed independently by Jarasandhu, who was a contemporary of Yudhisthira. Banga and several other countries were tributary to Jarasandhu. Magadha was bounded on one side by Mithila and on the other side by Banga. Its capital was Kusagarapura, afterwards Rajgir and then Rajgriha. It was in the midst of five hills—"full of cattle, well watered, salubrious, and abounding with fine buildings." This description is given in the Savaparva when Bhim, Arjun and Krishna visited the city to kill Jarasandhu. Pataliputra, or Paliputra, was afterwards the capital. It is now under water, but close to its site stands modern Patna.

The growth of a new religion is generally attributable to the decline of the spiritual element in the existing creed. Long before Buddhism arose, the contemplative and philosophical Hindus had learnt and thought what the purpose of existence was, what was the nature of the soul, and how it could be absorbed in God. But these abstract truths were being lost sight of, with the increase of sensualism in meat and drink, the assumption of the authority evidenced in the caste system, and the predominance of external rites and ceremonies. These circumstances necessitated the inception of Buddhism, which arose about 477 B. C. Sakyamuni, the first

* Journal of the R. A. Society, Vol. XIII.

† Chedi was the country of the Kala Chures or Hachayas—Chedi in later times had two capitals, *viz.*, Tripura, the capital of Chedi Proper, and Manipura, considered to have been the original capital. Archæological Survey, Vol. IX.

Buddhist teacher, appeared in 588 B. C. He first preached in Benares, the citadel of Brahmanism, then in Champa, Rajgira, Sravasti and Kosambi. Brahmanism was convulsed, and he not only gained an immense number of converts, but extended his doctrines in every part of the country.

Chandragupta's reign commenced in B. C. 325. He ruled from the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. His capital was Palibothra, where Megasthenes resided. He was succeeded by Daimachus, the second Greek ambassador during the reign of Vindusara. Asoka was the next king of Magadha, and his dominions reached from Cashmere to the Nerbudda and from the Indus to the Bay of Bengal. To the eastward, his kingdom probably included the whole of Bengal.*

Bengal did not uniformly bear an independent character. It was governed by its own kings, but it was often tributary. When Alexander was here, Magadha included Bengal and Behar. Elphinstone states that, "when the successors of Alexander were the successors of the kings of Prasii, Bhagadata, a prince of Bengal, was also their ally." Alexander's campaign took place in 330 B. C. Megasthenes mentions the Gangaridœ, supposed to occupy Lower Bengal, and their chief city is identified with Burdwan.† In 812-822 A. D. India consisted of four great kingdoms, of which Bengal was one. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI.) In the seventh century the division of Eastern India consisted of Assam, Bengal Proper, Delta of the Ganges, Sumbulpore, Orissa and Ganjam.

After the Maurya dynasty we have the Gupta dynasty, which commenced in 319 B C. "The kingdom of India under the Guptas is the country watered by the Ganges and affluents." Chandra Gupta assumed the name of Vikrama, and Vikrampore in Dâcca is called after him, and not after the name of the Oujein monarch.‡ The coins of the Guptas were "types of Greek origin." The people were acquainted with the Greek language and imitated Greek architecture. The Pal dynasty were the next rulers of Magadha. "They were the sovereigns of Eastern India, including Benares, Magadha and Bengal." The Pals were staunch Buddhists. Buddhism was evidently in existence in Bengal while it was tributary to Magadha during its several Buddhist dynasties. Adisur, whom Lassen places before the Pals, and who imported pure Brahmins, with their companion Kaisthas, from Canoj, must have reigned after the Pals, as up to their time Buddhism was strong in Bengal.

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* Jounal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. Society for January 1857.

† McCrindle's Ancient India.

‡ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI. N S.

The Pal dynasty was succeeded by the Sen dynasty. The founder of the latter dynasty took Bengal partially from the Pals, but did not possess Magadha till 1162 A. D. *

The Pala kings reigned in Western and Northern Bengal from 855 to 1040 A. D., and the Sena kings in Eastern and Deltaic Bengal from 986 to about 1142 A. D.† Under the Senas Brahmanism revived in Bengal. Lakshmana's reign commenced in 1106. We have already alluded to the independent position of Bengal at different times. Colonel Wilford says that at one time the Bengal Kings were so powerful that they conquered "all the Gangetic provinces as far as Benares and assumed the title of maharajahs." An inscription found in Sarun was erected by a prince who was tributary to Gour or Bengal.

In the Ayeen a list of the Hindu kings of Bengal is given:—

24 Khatrya kings reigned for 2418 years.

9 Kaist kings reigned for 250 years.

11 Do. of the family of Adisur reigned for 714 years.

10 kings of the family of Bhopal reigned for 689 years.

10 kings of the Pal dynasty.

The Vaidya Rajahs reigned from 1063 to 1200 A. D.

Bengal, during the time of Ballal, consisted of the following divisions:—

1. Barendro, with the Mahanundee on the west, the Pudma (Ganges) on the south, and the Koorootoya on the east.

2. Bungu—east from the Koorootoya to the Brumhapootra. The capital of Bengal, was near Dacca.

3. Bagree, the Delta, called also Dwipa, or the island. It had three sides, the Bhageeruthee river on the west, the Pudma on the east, the sea on the south.

4. Rahree. It had the Bhageeruthee and the Pudma on the north and the east, and other kingdoms on the west and south.

5. Mithila—having the Mahanundee and Gour on the east, the Bhageeruthee on the south, and other countries on the west and south.

Fa Hian was here in 399 to 414 A. D. and Hiouen Thsang in 629 to 645 A. D. They both notice Tumlook as a place of great importance, and it continued in a prosperous condition till the fourteenth century. The Mahavanso names it as one of the nineteen capitals. When the *Anaganum* was parcelled out, the kings of Magadha, Mithila, Oude, Benares, Anga, Banga and Tumlook got their respective shares. The last named Chinese traveller visited Bengal, which he notices.

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* Archæological Survey of India. of Bengal, Vol. 17.

† Journal of the Asiatic Society

Gour (derived from Gur, or ungranulated sugar)* was the most ancient capital of Bengal. It existed for two thousand years. "It was the most magnificent city in India, of immense size, and fitted with noble buildings. It was the capital of a hundred kings, the seat of wealth and luxury. The city was destroyed by a plague several centuries ago." (Hunter's Bengal). The next capital of Bengal was Vikrampore, near Sonargong in Dacca. Although Dacca is looked upon as the Bœotia of Bengal, it was at one time a most important place. Nuddea was the capital when Luchmun Sen was the king of Bengal, and it has been celebrated as the seat of learning. Bengal had several important cities, among which may be named Sonargong near Vikrampore, and Satgong near the mouth of the Hooghly. There is a map of Bengal made in the fifteenth century, showing five large cities, which constituted a portion of the Sunderbun now under water. Cunningham says that "the countries from the Sutledge to the Ganges were the richest and most populous districts." For more than two centuries Constantinople carried on a trade "from the banks of the Ganges and Indus. There was an intimate intercourse between Bengal and other Indian countries. Bengal merchants used to go in ships to Ceylon. On the banks of the Ganges there were several flourishing cities." The Magadha merchants used to encourage those who were bold and enterprising and at the same time cautious and circumspect. Traders from Egypt came as far as the Ganges. The Greek traders used to trade with the Ganga, a city on the banks of the river of that name and north-west of Palibothra. In one part of the Bay was Calinga and in another Sonargong, called Jatemala, the capital of which was Vikrampore. The mart of Vikrampore had communication with Sylhet, Assam, Rungpore, and the Bay of Bengal. Silk, iron, skins, and malabathrum were sent from Sylhet and Assam, and spikenard from Rungpore. The exports from the mart were spikenard, pearls, malabathrum, and muslins. Pearls from Tipperah and Mymensing reached Vikrampore, called the gigantic mart. Periplus (A. B. 86-89) speaks of Kaltis as the coin of Lower Bengal, where he notices also gold and silver. Dacca continued as a distinguished city for a long time. It exported manufactures to Ethiopia, Turkey, Syria, Arabia, and Persia. Marco Polo notices spikenard from Sonargong, and Fitch (1586 A.D.) found cotton exported to Malacca and Sumatra viâ India and Ceylon. The two Mahomedan travellers (ninth century) speak of Bengal (Rami) exporting cotton garments, rhinoceros' horns, Lign aloes, and skins. Chittagong was another important mart, which used to receive silk, iron and skins, from Serica (Assam,) malabathrum, a

* The derivation is, we think, open to question.—Ed. *C. R.*

species of cinnamon *Albiflora* from Assam and Sylhet, and spikenard from Rungpore. The tree grew in Rungpore up to Mussorie. Malabathrum was from the leaves, and was used as a perfume. The Greeks and Romans used it in their wine.

Maltebrun states that in Bengal, Orissa, and Allahabad diamonds were plentiful. Macaulay, in his Warren Hastings speech, speaks of the "muslins of Bengal" in the bazars of Benares.

Pragjotish is supposed to be Thibet or Assam. It presented to Yudisthira sharp swords, javelins, spears, hatchets and battle-axes. Heeren notices a route from Bootan to Rungpore. Pemberton writes that in 1683 the trade between Bengal, Bootan and Tibet was well known. At Cooch Behar caravans used to assemble, and merchants came from China, Muscovy, or Tartary to buy musk, cambals (blankets,) agates, silk, pepper, and saffron of Persia. Agates were the tortoise shell forming the principal ornament of Booteah and Tibetan women. The articles which were sent to Rungpore were woollen cloths, hats, boots, small horses, and choury tailed cattle.

Dr. Hunter, in his *Orissa*, says that the five outlying kingdoms of Ancient India were Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Suhma, and Pundra. Anga may mean the Ganges mart on the west of Palibothra, well known to the Greek tradesmen, Banga, Bengal Proper—Kalinga on the Godavari, Suhma, eastward of Bengal, perhaps Tippera or Arracan, and Poundra, or the Paundra, Vardhana of Hiouen Thsang, close to Govindaganj on the Karatoya. It included Rajshahi, Dinagepur, Rungpur, Nuddea, Beerbhoom, Burdwan, Pachowte Palame, and part of Chunar.*

What Kalinga is to the Godavari, Utkal or Udra is to the Mahanadi. The formation of Kalinga is traced to an Indian sage from Northern India. Both Kalinga and Orissa had intimate intercourse with Bengal. Not only Aryans, but Yavanas, or Ionian Greeks, came to Orissa from Bengal. Orissa imported Hindu literature from the valley of the Ganges, which is amply proved by the works written by the Orissa authors. From the same source Orissa received the Buddhistic religion. The promotion of agriculture led to commerce, and commerce to navigation. Both commerce and navigation were so much appreciated that "the rock inscriptions speak of navigation and ship commerce as forming part of the education of the prince." Following the example of Bengal, Orissa made good fabrics.

Dr. Taylor, in his valuable paper in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. XVI. Part I.) expresses an opinion that *Desarna* might refer to the Sunderbans. Mr. H. T. Rainey

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* See Wilson's Vishnu Purana and Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI. N.S.

(*Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXX.) writes as follows : "Thus we venture to think we satisfactorily prove the existence of population in ancient times on a broad and sound basis, and altogether independent of the existence of numerous rivers which may or may not date subsequent to the occurrence of the physical changes referred to above, and to the incursions of the Mugs and Portuguese pirates which we know to have taken place thereafter." There are three other eminent gentlemen who have thrown some light on this subject. Colonel Gastrell "has found some ruins of masonry buildings, the traces of old courtyards, and here and there some garden plants in lot No. 211." Dr. Hunter says that remains of brick ghats and traces of tanks have also been found in isolated parts of the forest, and in one or two localities brick kilns were discovered. Mr. Blochman says "The Sunderbuns—formerly called Chanderbundas or Shandabundus. In an inscription dated 1136 Sumbut, or A. D. 1077, in northern Backergunj, mention is made of a grant of land by Madhava Sen, King of Bengal, to a Brahmin. There are ruins of houses and temples which are known to exist in various places. Todar Mull's rent-roll corresponds with the north boundary of the jungle marked on the survey maps."—(Hunter's Gazetteer) :—The reasonable inference is that the Sunderbund must have been inhabited and formed a part of Bengal. Saugor Island is connected with a legend contained in the Ramayana and Mahabharat (Bana Parva.) The river Ganges goes as far as Hatiaghur, in the 24-Pergunnahs, near the sea, in honor of king Saugor, from whom Bhagirath was descended, and who is said to have brought the Ganges to wash away the sins of his ancestors. The Saugor Island has been considered a sacred place, being the *asram* of Kapila, and is visited by pilgrims. It appears from the Mahabharat that there was a place on the north-east of the sea before the Ganges emptied itself into it, and the formation of the island took place perhaps subsequently. In that place Kapila resided. Yudisthíra, to whom the story of Bhagirath was related, came to Saugor and bathed there. Thence he went with his brothers to Kalinga by sea.—In the Sava Parva, Bhim is described as having visited Saugor Island, which was then governed by Mlecha kings, who gave Bhim different kinds of precious stones, sandalwood, agore, clothes, jewels, blankets, gold, &c., as a mark of allegiance.

Bengal was in the first instance *Brahmanical*. The aborigines were driven away, or employed as servants or labourers. The intercourse between them and the Aryas must therefore have been constant. The language of the Aryas was Sanscrit ; but it ought to be borne in mind that the Sanscrit was of two kinds, *viz.*, the natural or spoken Sanscrit, resembling the Pracrit and Pali found even in the Vedas, and artificial or

purified Sanscrit. Language precedes grammar, and the process of purification according to grammar is an after work. When the Rig Veda songs were chanted, they were spontaneous or inspirational, and grammar was not then in existence. The Arya immigrants, coming in contact with the non-Aryas, could not help taking many of their words in forming a language for mutual understanding. The Sanscrit was thus subjected to modification, and in this way different provincial dialects sprung up. The pure Sanscrit remained intact, but was confined to learned circles; although gradually it became simpler, as the Puranas and Itihases were written in a simpler style than the Vedas, Upanishads and Darsanas. The character must have been originally Deb-Nagri. Westmacott, reading an inscription found in Dinagepur and Bogra,* observes:—"The character is in that style of progress towards modern Bengali, which we find in use in the eleventh century of the Christian era." Dr. Rajendra Lala possesses a Bengali MS. which was written seven hundred years ago. We had several Kirtanas who used to sing, reciting the deeds of gods and goddesses in the Bengali language, which was then in an imperfect state. The names of the Kirtanas are Vidyapati, Chundi Das, Brindabone Das, Gobind Das and Chunder Saikur.

Although Buddhism was predominant in Bengal under Buddhist dynasties, and the language used was Pali or Magadhi, yet the Hindu literature was not extinct, and the Bengali language was being formed. It is true that the Pals were Buddhists, but they were tolerant. They appointed Hindus to important offices, and were not hostile to Brahmanism. The gradual decay of Buddhism produced a reaction in favor of Brahmanism. The original conception of God through the soul was abandoned, as such a conception was too lofty for the people at large, whom the founders of the different sects thought it absolutely necessary to work upon. Puranas and Apapuranas were written in different parts of the country in simple Sanscrit, inculcating the worship of particular gods and goddesses, finite in form but infinite in attributes.

Of the Sen kings, Ballal raised the descendants of the five Brahmins and the Kaistas who had come from Canouj, forbidding intermarriage between them and the families which were in Bengal. No less than 150 families sprang from the Canouj Brahmins. A hundred families were settled in Barendra and sixty in Rara. As regards the Kaisth families, Ghose, Bose, and Mittra were declared to be of the first rank.

The capital of Ballal was Vikrampore. He was himself a learned

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLIV.

man and an encourager of learning. His son, Lachman Sen, trod the footsteps of his father, and, wishing to imitate Vicramaditya, had five poets attached to his court.

গোবর্দ্ধনশ্চ স্মরণো জয়দেব-উমাপতি:
কবিরাজশ্চ রত্নানি সমিতৌ লক্ষণ স্যচ।

Goburdhun, Smurana, Jaydeva, Kabiraj and Umapati were the gems of Lachman Sen's court.

Of these, Jaydeva is well known as the author of Gita Gobind. He was a native of Kinduvelwa in Bengal.

Besides the above poets there were Halayudha, Minister of Justice, who wrote Brahma Sarvasa, and several other works on Smriti, besides Banisanhar Natak; Pasapati, his brother, the chief judge and head pundit, who wrote Dasa Karma Dipika, and Pushupati Padha, and another brother of his, who wrote on Smriti, Mimansa and Ahnika Padhati. Notices of a number of works are to be found in the catalogue of Sanscrit MSS. by Dr. Rajenderlala Mitra. In the fourteenth century Sonargong was renowned for "holy and learned men." * Before the time of Lachman literature in Bengal was not in a state of activity.

In Tirhut, Gangasa Upadhya wrote Tutwa Chintamoni about seven centuries ago, and Jadadesa Tarkalankar Bhatta, of Nuddea, wrote Turka Tipan about four centuries ago. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Vaishnavism gave an impetus to the cultivation of literature in Bengal. Chaitanya, who was born in Nuddea, was a bold reformer. He denounced caste and taught universal love. He had able co-adjutors in Nityanund and Adwita, and able disciples in Rupa and Sonaton, who were the authors of several works. Ramanand, the founder of the Ramanundi, Surdas, Tulsi Das and Krishna Das, who all lived in Benares, promoted Vaishnaism by *padas*, *duhas*, and songs, which reverberated in Bengal. Of the five schools of Law, Bengal was one. Jimat Vahana wrote a work called Dayacrama Sangraha. Raghunundun lived in the sixteenth century and wrote Daya Tutwa. His fellow-students were Sisomani and Chaitanya.

In 1203 the Hindu kingdom of Bengal had become extinct on Buktyar Khilijy taking Nuddea. Bengal then consisted of five divisions:—1, Rara, west of the Hugli and south of the Ganges; 2, Bagdi, Delta of the Ganges; 3, Banga, east of, and beyond the, Delta; 4, Barendra, north of the Padma and between the Karatoya and Mahananda rivers; 5, Mithila, west of the Mahananda. Bengal meant Laknauti, Satagon, and Sonargon. Luknauti con-

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* Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol. XLIII.

sisted of Barendra, with Ducat, and of Raur, to which Lakhnau belonged. *

Although Bengal ceased to be the Hindu Bengal from 1230 A. D., yet in 1550 a king of Orissa was the king of Bengal, and his name was Telinga. The limits of his kingdom were: North, from Tribeni to Hugli, through Bissenpore to the frontier of Putkar; East, the river Hugli, and South, the Godavari, or the Ganga Godavari, and West from Singbhoom to Sonapore. The chief city was Satgong, not far to the North of Hugli. †

He was the last independent king of Orissa. A ghaut and a temple in Tribeni are attributed to him. He was defeated and Bengal again fell into the hands of the Mahomedans.

PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

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* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLIII.

† Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XVI. Part I.

Art. VII.—THE OXFORD MISSION.

(Independent Section.)

CATHOLICS probably look with some compassion upon the proselytising efforts of the Anglicans: the position of their Church hardly seeming strong enough to warrant an aggressive policy on the members of other denominations—hardly even to hold its own. Whether or no, Mr. Arthur Wagner of Brighton has "gone over to Rome," it is the fact that, during the past generation or so, the number and nature of the losses of Anglicanism have been alike significant. Not only have whole tribes of the laity (of both sexes) returned to the old form, but with the exception of the venerable founder of "Puseyism" and the eloquent Canon Liddon, scarcely a clergyman of the party has remained a member of what used to be called the Protestant communion, who is at all distinguished for intellectual stature. From Newman, Manning, Faber, Ward, Oakeley, down to Orby Shipley and Wagner—if the late announcement be true—the most gifted Anglicans have obeyed the reasoning which drew Chillingworth to Rome more than two centuries before. The average men alone, those who cannot see a logical conclusion, or who lack the courage of their convictions—these, the rank and file, remain; but they lower the tone of the whole body. That the Church, in India at least, is not represented by its strongest and most judicious members, occurrences of recent date have shown, whereby scandal has been caused to the exact class of natives whom Bishop Johnson's Mission is meant to influence.

It would, therefore, be an interesting task—for those who had means and leisure—to examine the claims of extreme Anglicanism, to detect the disorder which is so ceaselessly sapping the best strength of the party, and to furnish data for deciding whether the new scheme has practical grounds for seeking the sympathy of thinking men. A sufficient synthesis of church history would show how the doctrines arose which the doctors of this school profess to derive from the authority of the primitive Church—and not from Rome. It is hard, however, to allow this profession without strong demonstration. No doubt it is readily conceivable that tenets and practices should be imposed upon men by a living organization, changing with the changing times; still more so, when resting always on an immoveable rock; but it is different when teachers profess to galvanise dead doctrines, or to crystallise a rule of faith by shaking together the speculations of an ignorant and chaotic period long and irretrievably gone by.

What was the real state of things amid which the Primitive Church arose, is shown by Gibbon, and it is much to that great

writer's credit that he has examined with so intelligent a sympathy a set of men and manners which personally could have interested him but faintly. His famous fifteenth chapter is indeed too much coloured by his peculiar character, and it has the special fault of sometimes putting effects for causes. The true cause of Christianity taking root and spreading, that is to say (the antecedent without which the event could not have resulted) was not clear to Gibbon's mind. It must be sought in a tendency from which that mind was quite free, the craving of the human soul for knowledge of the unknown, for positive certainty on a subject dear to man's self-love. This sort of spiritual curiosity for a solution of the enigmas of life exists among the multitude of mankind; and, at the fall of the Roman Republic, it had certainly not been satisfied either by the conflict of philosophies or by the sensuous mythologies of Paganism. Most men expect too much from life, and a revelation which offers to console their disappointments will be necessarily welcome.

In Gibbon's sixteenth chapter is contained a most lucid account of the manner in which this attempt was viewed by the Imperial Government. Eagerly accepted by the unprivileged and the oppressed; by the slaves, the Syrians, and the classes, generally, who found this world a scene of constant tribulation, Christianity in those days was less a system of theology than a secret society of the proletariat, binding together its members in common aspirations and hopes. In the Apocalypse of our Scripture, and still more in the Sibylline verses of the period, we can see the signs of a socialistic propaganda which led the Romans of those days to regard Christians with peculiar aversion and to visit them with occasional persecution in the midst of an otherwise universal toleration. It is perhaps easy to understand this in India. Indian readers can hardly have forgotten the Kuka movement and the case of Mr. Cowan; and the feelings which then actuated some of the Anglo-Indian community and its officials towards the followers of the Punjab carpenter afford a clear reflection of what must be the attitude of any governing class in apparently similar circumstances.

In his twentieth and two following chapters the historian pursues his examination. From the accession of the first Christian Emperor, Constantine, in 312, to the apostasy of Julian in 361, we see the transformation of Christianity from its early character to a creed with an official position; and we follow the growth of the doctrine of the Trinity. And what is wanting, in the way of spiritual insight and interest, will be found amply supplied by the clerical commentator on Gibbon, the late Dean Milman, whose *Latin Christianity* forms an admirable and learned specialisation

of that part of the subject. Though not a party leader, the late Dean of St. Paul's was a loyal churchman, and his review of the origin of the Church deserves attention.

We may take Anglo-Catholicism—though a contradiction in terms—to be a natural outcome of many worthy qualities: prudence, holy aspiration, sympathy, a desire to join the good of the past with the good of the present. The Reformers of the Sixteenth Century are felt, it seems, to have been men who, however timidly, set the dangerous example of freethinking. The danger is this: it is assumed that, in order to the purification of each man's own mind, and of that aggregate of all minds, public opinion, there must be some basis, conventional even, if not authoritative, on which to rest our ideas of ultimate moral excellence. Emotions, such as we willingly share with all good men and women, must be kindled by some central light. Finally, we should not be allowed to break altogether with those high natures who, in times of greater darkness and difficulty, worked out their own salvation, and that of society, perhaps, at the same time. For the fulfilment of these acquirements, it has appeared right to many good men in England, almost ever since the days of Elizabeth, to represent the Anglican Church as no mere offspring of rebellion against the visible Church of the West to which our ancestors so long adhered, no civic bulwark erected by Crown and Parliament against "the monstrous usurpation of the Bishop of Rome." It is, according to this view, a maintenance, or at least a reproduction, of the Primitive Church, and the standard of conformity is to be found in the faith of Christendom for the first four centuries, and in the divinely-inspired councils of the Œcumenic Church at Nikaia and Sardika, when Christianity was a federation of local communities, with independence in each, subordinated only to the rulings of the Universal Synod.

Let us briefly inquire into the two questions here involved:—

1. Was there ever a time in which this ideal actually prevailed?

2. Does the modern Anglican Church of England, as by law established, present an accurate realising of such ideal?

Christianity certainly emerges from the age of the Apostles as a Syro-Greek system. The Grecian language, the commercial language of Syria and Palestine and of the civilised lands nearest to them, was the mother-tongue of the Apostle of the Gentiles, Paul of Tarsus; it also was the language in which were written all, or almost all, of the books of the New Testament; and the Syro-Greek Church was at first such a federation as has been above supposed. But it was merely a supine and obscure collection

of conquered men, of "esurient Greeklings," seeking the road to Heaven when oppressed on Earth. It was a short-lived communistic society of scattered Lodges, who took little pains to propagate their creed, who expected the end of the world, and whose highest occupations consisted of speculative discussion about the metaphysics of Christ's nature. Such a system could never have become the creed of the civilised world. It was first in Africa, and afterwards in Rome, that Christianity became an active, aggressive, practical system. With the doubtful exception of certain wild tribes, the early Greek Christians had made few proselytes. But, in the beginning of the Third Century began a new epoch.* Catching inspiration from Alexandria (and still writing partially in Greek), Tertullian confronted the Roman world in its own language, as the apologist of the new faith. And almost immediately Rome became the centre of active Christianity. The Bishop of Rome was made the arbitrator of the dispute about the date for solemnising Easter. The work attributed to Hippolytus shows the same Bishop, or "Pope," immersed in a serious controversy about Christ's divinity, to which he attempted to give an authoritative † determination.

Three successive Popes wavered in their attempts to trim the scales between the "Ditheists" and the "Patripassians." As yet there was no mention of "The Trinity." ‡ During the Decian persecution, the closest intercourse was carried on between Rome and Carthage. At the end of that period—A. D. 252—broke out the heresy of Novatian, whose great opponent, Cyprian (himself a member of the African Church), erected the See of Rome into Metropolitan preeminence. "This Utopia of Cyprian placed St. Peter at the head of the College of co-equal Apostles......The succession of the Bishop of Rome from St. Peter was now an accredited tradition......Nor did Cyprian scruple to admit......a kind of primacy, of dignity at least, in the Metropolitan Bishop." §

In the year 312 Constantine appears, the first Christian Emperor. Now commenced the Papal supremacy in all the affairs of Christendom. "The Bishop is the first Christian in the first city of the world, and that city is, legally, Christian......The schisms and factions of Christianity now become affairs of State. As long as Rome is the imperial residence, an appeal to the Emperor is an appeal to the Bishop of Rome." ||

Nor did the transfer of the seat of Empire diminish this supremacy

* Milman's *Latin Christianity*, I. 5.
† *Ibid*, 35.
‡ *Ibid*, 49.
§ *Ibid*, 65.
|| *Ibid*, 71.

of the Roman See. The indolent, speculative, Byzantine Church became practically separated from the administrative action of the more venerable, yet more active, community of St. Peter. There was no doctrinal schism. Only the Church of Rome gathered up her strength, while her adversaries wasted theirs in controversy. The Holy See was indeed drawn into the Arian question; but this was mainly due to secular considerations; the Council which pronounced against the tenets of Athanasius was held at Constantinople; at the earlier (the first Œcumenical) Council, that of Nikaia, or Nice—Rome was only represented by two Presbyters, when the views of Athanasius had been adopted, the famous instrument still called the "Nicene Creed." Thus two Greek Councils had diametrically contradicted each other upon the most central and vital question of Christianity. The contradiction indicated the moment for Rome to stand forth as arbiter.

Athanasius spent three years in Rome, studying the Latin language and throwing over the Pope, Julius I., the spell of his mental ascendancy. In 342 a local synod proclaimed in his favour at Rome. Five years later a fresh Council—in which Rome was represented—was held at Sardika, or Sardis; and at this not only was the modern doctrine of all orthodox Christendom established, but it was decided that the State was of no authority in ecclesiastical matters. The authority of the Arian Emperor, Constantine, was negatived; the decision of the Council of Constantinople was set aside; and the right of appeal to Rome was solemnly pronounced over an area co-extensive with the Western Empire. In 381 Pope Damasus had so far reunited the Eastern and Western Churches as to obtain the presidential chair at another Council of Constantinople*; a few years later the supremacy of Rome over Western Christianity† was riveted by the appearance of the Vulgate; 385 saw the promulgation of the Decretal of Siricius, the successor of Damasus in the Papal Chair; a document which throughout supposes that the usages of the Church of Rome were to be received as those of Christendom.‡ Yet Paganism continued to exist in Rome, side by side with the new religion. The Emperor was still "Pontifex Maximus"; the splendid temples of the old gods were still frequented; their statues crowded the Forum; the leading patrician families still observed their worship. But in 410 Pagan Rome was entirely destroyed by the Goths; the nobility were driven into hopeless exile; Christian Rome and THE POPE, as the world has since known him, emerged from the ruins. The ancient hierarchy—high priests,

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* Milman's *Latin Christianity*, 90. ‡ *Ibid*, 155.
† *Ibid*, 96.

Flamens, Augurs, Vestal Virgins—disappeared; and Innocent I. sat upon the Pontifical Chair, by his own award, superior to all powers, lay or ecclesisatical; dispenser of grace and arbiter of all disputes throughout the Western World. This is probably the epoch claimed by Anglicans as that of Roman schism.

But the Pope was not even yet infallible. As Liberius had wavered on the doctrine of the Trinity, so did Zosimus (417) halt in the Pelagian controversy, and finally yield to secular dictation. It was not until compelled by an imperial edict, that the Pope finally retracted his heretical leanings, and addressed an encyclical to all the Bishops of Christendom, in which he anathematised the followers of Pelagius.

So far the Popes had prospered. But it was only as exponents of public opinion, and as leaders of the West against the dissensions and the corruption of the East. "It was not till a much later period that the claim to personal infallibility, to sole Dictatorship over the Christianity of the world, was either advanced or thought necessary; the present infallibility was but the expression of the universal, or at least predominant, sentiment of mankind."* It was in this manner that the orthodox creed was gradually formed at Rome and acquired its œcumenical character, so that the dissident churches are necessarily schismatic.

This, according to the testimony of an eminent dignitary of the Anglican Church, was the story of the rise of the original Western Church. And it shows that, from the very beginning, that Church was opposed to the federal idea, and that its aim at sovereignty was instinctive, necessitated by circumstances, and in no special degree due to ambitious or sinister motives.

This is the answer to our first question. There was never at any part of the four centuries after actual Apostolic times, such a state of things as the Anglican theory supposes. The Primitive Church was at first, like all undeveloped organisms, homogeneous, indefinite, without clear doctrines, or due co-ordination of parts. But it was growing, and, as it grew, it advanced in all these respects, leaving behind it in the rust of barbarism those dead or decaying branches which would not join in the developing Kosmos. The first four centuries are not separated by any abrupt line of demarcation from those which succeeded; and, so far from the Arcadian accord and perfection of belief attributed to them, were full of doubt, dispute, heresy, and a gradual approach to the modern Roman standard of catholicity in faith and discipline.

It becomes unnecessary, indeed impossible, under these circumstances, to give any formal reply to the second question. There having been no such ideal as was supposed in the first question,

* This happened again so late as 681, when Pope Agathon was in the Chair at Constantinople.

the Church of England cannot have realised it. But the Church of England, established by Acts of Parliament, has no doubt done its best to maintain a becoming continuity with the better mind of the Western Church, as shown in the Council of Nikaia. In renouncing the infallibility of the Papal See, she has done what other Churches, in various ages, countries, communities, almost since the days of Charlemagne, have tried to do. In the older instances—time and place not suiting—the endeavour was without success. In the sixteenth century England was ripe for independence, and the sovereignty of Rome was shaken off. But this result—however frequently dreamed of in the past—was really a new thing, not a return to ancient practice. The idea that the Anglican Church was of Apostolic origin and radically independent of Rome is a mere myth. Our forefathers were converted at the beginning of the Seventh Century by Roman missionaries. At that time the Kelto-British Church (by whomsoever founded) had been hunted into Wales by the heathen English. After they were converted, it did not amalgamate with the English Church for centuries, and it has now almost left that Church's pale again. It is indeed more truly represented by Welsh Methodism than by the State Church, which (however reformed) is still of Roman origin.

The presumable, if not self-evident, corollary is not without importance for the educated natives of India. Their English well-wishers are approaching the bifurcation of two infinitely divergent roads. Those who adhere to the orthodoxy of the Councils and Fathers must make the best terms that they can with the Holy See. The fates of the Old Catholics of Germany and of the earlier attempt to form an orthodox Gallican Church in France are not encouraging. But that is their affair; and if they find that their path lands them into Ultramontanism, they cannot wonder. For those who prefer to remain Protestants there is first the stage arrived at by Farrar and Stanley, then the "Creed of Christendom" of Mr. Rathbone Greg, and in the far distance perhaps—the ultimate haven of Herbert Spencer. For the earnest of all classes there is only one common certainty—on this side of the grave at least—namely, that none of them can remain stationary.

This being so, it may safely be concluded that the proposed Oxford Mission carries with it the certain elements of failure. No more hopeless undertaking can be imagined than an appeal to educated Hindus from High Anglicanism. The best efforts of the Church of Rome have broken themselves in vain for three centuries on the rocks of a subtler philosophy among the thoughtful and a more populous pantheon among those of a more sensuous mind.

January 1880.

Art. VIII.—ORIENTAL FOLKLORE. By E. Rehatsek.

I.

Shapur, the King of Persia, and the Roman Emperor.

IT is related that, when Shapur Dhu-l-Aktaf, the son of Hormuzd, had proposed to travel incognito to the Roman Empire, in order personally to explore the state of it, his most faithful councillors endeavoured to dissuade him from the undertaking, alleging that others ought to be entrusted therewith. He was, however, deaf to their entreaties, commanded them to keep his intention secret, and prepared himself to execute it.

Shapur selected for his travelling companion one of the viziers who had already served his father. He was an elderly man, cunning, firm, quick-witted, practical in business, a theologian, learned in the sciences, and versed in the stratagems of war. To him Shapur entrusted all that he thought would be useful or pleasant in the journey, and recommended him to travel separately, but nevertheless so near as to be able to watch over the person of his master in every emergency, day and night.

In this manner they began their journey through Syria. The vizier, who spoke the language of the country, disguised himself as a friar, and, being acquainted with surgery, he carried Chinese balsam, which, being applied to wounds, heals them immediately. Whilst they were thus travelling, the vizier cured many wounds by applying to them only a little of this balsam, which immediately produced its salutary effect. On meeting persons of quality, he took greater pains to cure them, and afterwards refused to accept any kind of recompense. Thus he acquired in that country the good wishes of all, and gained the reputation of a learned and a pious man.

Travelling separately, as we have already observed, Shapur and his vizier, who watched with constant care over the person of the king, passed through Syria, through the gates of Cilicia, and at last reached Constantinople. There the vizier enquired after the patriarch, a title which means father of fathers, and, having found him, obtained an audience. Thereat he informed him that he had left Syria in order to have the honour of placing himself at the service of the patriarch, to whom he made at the same time a most beautiful present, which was received with pleasure. In a short time great friendship sprung up between the vizier and the patriarch, who, after discovering his high attainments, listened to him as to an oracle. The vizier, on his part, studied the disposition of the patriarch in order to insinuate himself into his favour,

and, finding that although his foible was the discussion of the canonical law, he nevertheless listened with open mouth to wonderful stories, he entertained him with curious anecdotes and strange romances. Meanwhile, he continued to practise surgery gratuitously, and gained in reputation with the public.

In spite of his other occupations, the vizier never flagged one moment in his attentions to Shapur; and, when it happened that the Qayser announced his intention of giving a banquet, at which all the citizens, according to their various degrees, were to be present, on peril of incurring his displeasure, Shapur took it into his head likewise to see the face of the Qayser, to observe the various orders of the Court, and to view the costly ornaments in the palace. The vizier tried hard to hinder him from exposing himself to this new risk of being discovered, but he presented himself nevertheless at the palace with all the other guests, after putting on a disguise in which he imagined that he could not be recognized.

The Qayser had long ago become aware of the high attainments of Shapur, such as his sagacity, greatness of mind, and his extreme courage, of which he had given proofs from infancy. Being very suspicious and curious about Shapur, he had sent a good painter to the capital of Persia, to draw pictures of him in various positions in which he might happen to see him, such as sitting in the royal halls, on horseback, and in other attitudes. When the artist returned with his designs, the Qayser got them executed on tapestry, curtains, vases and cups.

Whilst Shapur was sitting in the palace with the other guests, at table, the viands were served, and the beverages offered in cups of crystal, of gold, of silver, and of massive glass. Among the guests there happened to be a wise and cunning Roman, who was also a clever physiognomist, and who, having cast a glance upon Shapur without knowing him, began to contemplate his features, and thought he perceived that there was something royal in the expression of his face. Whilst he was thus engaged in scrutinising the countenance of Shapur, and cups were being handed round, one with Shapur's portrait was offered to him, and, after holding it for a while in his hand, he said, raising his voice:—"The effigy here engraved informs me of extraordinary news." "What is it?" asked all who were near. "Well," he continued, "this portrait tells me that its original is here with us, seated at these tables," turning towards Shapur, who changed colour at the first words. Now, the physiognomist was certain that what he had before only suspected, must be true, and repeated his assertion, so that the Qayser could hear it. The stranger was hereon examined, and tried to evade the question under various pretexts, but the physiognomist continued:—"Do not believe him, he is certainly Shapur."

To intimidate him, the Qayser threatened him with immediate death, and Shapur confessed his identity.

The Qayser now sent Shapur to prison, and had a cage prepared for him in the form of an ox of immense size, composed of seven hides laid over each other, with an aperture beneath, and a small window above, for the purpose of entering or handing food to the occupant. The wrists of the prisoner were fettered by a golden chain attached to his neck, but long enough to allow of the use of the hands for eating, and he was placed in the cage.

The Qayser assembled his army, and made all the necessary preparations for invading the kingdom of Persia. He appointed one hundred of the most valiant and the strongest men, who carried this strange litter and relieved each other by turns; every five of them were under the orders of a corporal, but the commander of all was the Metropolitan, a title which designates the governor of a province, but is restricted to the clergy, meaning the Vicar of the patriarch. The bull of Shapur was, during the march, to be carried under the eyes of the metropolitan; but when the army halted it was to be placed in the centre of the camp, and sheltered by a tent. Fifty men of the guard, with their corporals, were to be the escort without the tent, and the remaining fifty, drawn up in five squads, were to encircle the interior. The tent of the metropolitan was to be by the side of that of Shapur. Lastly, a hut was put up, to serve as a kitchen for the whole escort, wherein to prepare food for every one according to his rank and dignity.

Having diligently arranged all matters concerning the army, the Qayser believed that he could overthrow the kingdom of Persia, as there was no one to defend it. Accordingly, the Qayser began his march with the army and Shapur in the cage, as we have narrated above. On that occasion the Vizier spoke to the patriarch as follows:—"My ardent desire to perform good works has induced me, O! excellent father, to place myself at your service. But what thing more precious can there be than to lighten the sorrows of the afflicted, and to afford aid to those who have the greatest need of it? You know, O! father, that I am not inexperienced in the healing of wounds, and you may well understand how anxious I am to follow the Qayser in this campaign: God may perhaps be pleased to save the life of some good Christian through my ministry." The patriarch, displeased with this request, said:—"You know that I cannot remain a moment without you, and you ask me to let you depart on so distant a journey? Indeed, I never thought you would desire to impose on me a burden which I could not bear, and believed that you could prefer nothing in the world to my friendship, or to

remaining near me. Now you have destroyed the good opinion I entertained about you."

The vizier, however, repeated his request and insisted on it so much, that the patriarch at last, not only granted it, but provided him with all necessaries for the journey, and wrote a letter to the metropolitan, in which he recommended him to treat the vizier as his best friend, to keep him always near his person, and to consult him in ev ry difficult matter.

When the vizier went to the metropolitan, the latter showed him every consideration, and lodged him in his own tent. The vizier did his best to ingratiate himself with the metropolitan, entertained him with pleasant stories, and always spoke so loud that Shapur could hear him. Thus he procured some relief to his sovereign, and sometimes intermingled with his narratives the information he desired to give and the secrets he intended to convey to him in a manner. So the prisoner obtained much consolation, and the vizier, who was most anxious to liberate him, began to work out the scheme he had devised.

One of the stratagems of the vizier was that he always refused to dine with the metropolitan, pretending that he would not eat of any other provisions except those with which the patriarch had supplied him when he commenced the journey, because he expected some great spiritual benefit from that diet; therefore he scarcely touched anything at the table of the metropolitan, but produced some of his own food and consumed it.

When the Qayser had entered Persia with his army, he began to devastate the country, to make prisoners, to destroy trees, and to raze fortresses. He marched straight towards the capital, in order to subjugate it by one bold stroke, so that the nobles of the country might have no opportunity to unite for defence, or to elect another king able to concentrate all the resources of the country to oppose the invader. Hitherto the Persians had done nothing, except flee from before the enemy and take refuge in their castles.

The Qayser, having reached the residence of Shapur and the capital of the empire, named Gandishapur, besieged it and erected his catapults, so that the grandees within the walls could not devise any other tactics but to fortify them as much as possible and to fight from the top of the ramparts.

Shapur had become aware of all these events by interpreting the mysterious hints and allegories the vizier had dropped in his conversations and narratives, although he had not seen the face of the king since his confinement in the cage. On learning that the Qayser pressed the siege more and more, that his engines were making breaches in the walls, and that the capital must soon

fall, Shapur lost all patience. He supposed that his vizier also had become disheartened and lost every hope. Then the guard came and brought him his food. "This chain," said he, "torments me so much that I can no longer bear it. If you do not want me to die, relent a little, and put some cloth on my neck and my wrists, where the chain rubs them." When the guard returned, he reported the words of Shapur to the metropolitan in the hearing of the vizier, who thus became aware of the desperate state of the king, and endeavoured to counteract the sinister design he was revolving in this mind.

As it was night and the vizier sat in the company of the metropolitan, he said:—"Just now a wonderful story occurs to me, which I have known many years, and intended to narrate to the patriarch before my departure." "O! relate it to me, my learned hermit," replied the metropolitan.

"Willingly," said the vizier, and, raising his voice, so that Shapur could hear it, he began as follows:—

Ain Ahlih and the old slave woman.

"In Syria there lived a young man and woman, of charming aspect and a very lively temper; the name of the youth was Ain-Ahlih (Eye of his family), and that of his partner Sitt-ennar (Lady of the fire). They were man and wife, attached to each other by the most ardent love, and apparently inseparable. It happened, however, one day, when Ain-Ahlih was gossiping about women with a company of friends, one of them lauded to the skies the beauty and vivacity of a lady whose name was Sitt-ezzeheb (Lady of gold), Ain-Ahlih took a fancy to her, and, being told that she lived in the next village, thought of her alone. His love for Sitt-ennar waxed cold, and he sighed only for Sitt-ezzeheb. At last he hastened to the village, sought the house, and found it. He walked so often near the house that he at length caught a glance of the lady. Her beauty enchanted him, but she was not as handsome as Sitt-ennar.

Unable to resist his desire to possess the lady, the young man entered the house and began to converse with her, when her husband Ez-zib (The wolf), a ferocious and strong man, appeared, collared Ain-Ahlih, ill-treated him cruelly, tore his clothes, slew his horse, and, calling some friends, had him carried to the desert, where they tied him to a tent-post, and gave him in charge of a squinting old woman, without a nose, and with only one hand, and of sinister aspect.

When the night set in, the hag kindled a small fire near Ain-Ahlih, and squatted down to warm herself. In this miserable plight the youth thought of the easy and pleasant life he had enjoyed, and heaved a deep sigh. "O! Sheikh," said the

old woman, "What fault has brought you to this abasement and tribulation?" "I am not conscious of having committed any fault," replied Ain-Ahlih; but the hag continued:—"Thus spoke also the horse to the wild-boar, but the latter would not believe him. When further the horse communicated to him his adventures, the wild-boar adduced an argument of which he had never thought, so that at last the horse was obliged to confess his own fault." "If you were to narrate to me this fact, and tell me how it happened," replied Ain-Ahlih, "you would oblige me highly." Accordingly the old woman continued thus:—

The horse and the wild boar.

"It is related that a valiant cavalier possessed a charger whom he greatly valued, caressed much, and rode in the most arduous undertakings. He could not be away a moment from his horse. In the morning he led it to a meadow, where he took off its saddle and bridle, allowing it to browse and to roll about in the grass till the sun rose high, when he led it back to the house. One day, however, when he had as usual come out with the horse, and scarcely dismounted, the charger escaped, galloping away at full speed, and the cavalier tried to recover it, but in vain. He lost sight of the horse, and, despairing of getting it back, returned home towards the evening wearied and exhausted. The animal perceived that it was no longer pursued when the night set in, but began also to feel the pangs of hunger, and desired to graze; the iron-bit in its mouth, however, proved to be a hindrance; then it wished to roll about on the ground, but the saddle impeded it; lastly, it endeavoured to take rest by lying upon one of its sides, when the stirrup-iron made itself felt. Thus one horrible night elapsed.

In the morning the charger again began its course, and lo! a river crossed its way. It became necessary to cross over the water, which, as it was deep, could not be done except by swimming. As the girth and the poitrel had not been made of well-dressed leather, it happened that, after the charger had come out of the water and the rays of the sun fell on these pieces, they dried, and becoming tightened, distressed the horse, which, being pressed also by hunger, was in a few days reduced to such a state of weakness that it could scarcely walk.

On this occasion a wild boar came in sight, which wished first to pass the horse by, but, perceiving it to be so feeble, he inquired the reason. The charger related the sufferings it endured from the bridle, the poitrel, and the saddle, and requested the boar to have mercy upon him and to deliver him from these things. The wild boar, however, first desired to know by what crime the horse had drawn upon himself this punishment, but, as he pretended to

have committed no fault, the boar rejoined :—"No, no. There can be only two cases ;—you are either a liar, or ignorant of your guilt. If you told me a falsehood, it is not my duty to break these bonds of yours, nor to render you any good office, nor could I accept you for a client, nor expect gratitude from you, or take any reward. If, however, you are ignorant of what made you deserve your present punishment, then be aware that ignorance of guilt is more culpable than guilt itself, because he who knows not his own sins, persists in them, and can never hope to abandon them."

"At any rate," replied the horse, "you ought not to refuse to do good to a fellow-creature."

"I do not mean to refuse entirely," said the boar, "but you must narrate to me your case and explain how you have fallen into your present trouble, as well as how you lived before, that I may know wherefore this misfortune has befallen you."

Accordingly the horse related his whole history, not omitting the good treatment he had experienced from the cavalier, nor the manner in which he had abandoned him, nor the accidents he had encountered on the road until he met the boar. Hereon the latter said :—"I perceive that you are ignorant of your own faults, although you have committed not less than six. The first is that you have disappointed the cavalier who wished to keep you at hand for his use ; the second, your ingratitude for his kindness ; the third, your putting him to so much trouble in following you ; the fourth, your taking what did not belong to you, such as the bridle and saddle ; the fifth is your coveting a wild life in which you have neither been born, nor are able to abide. The sixth is your obstinacy and perseverance in guilt, because you might well have returned to your master and begged his pardon, confessing your deep ignorance of the facts that the bit would cause you to suffer hunger, and that the poitrel would torture you."

"Now," replied the horse, "as you have explained to me my faults, and opened my eyes, and shewn me what I could not see, blinded as I was by the veil of ignorance, loosen my bonds and allow me to roam about."

"At last you know," said the boar, "what you have done, and you may, by reflecting on your faults, consider that you have deserved this punishment for your ignorance, and must henceforth endeavour to walk according to the dictates of reason." After these words the wild boar destroyed the bridle, made the girth fall off, and saved the life of the horse.

Ain-Ahlih, who had listened attentively to the story which the old woman narrated, now turned to her and said :—"You have

spoken the truth, and have, in this parable, clearly unveiled my case; you have taught me a rare maxim, and given me a lesson which I have learnt well, as well as an admonition by which I shall not fail to profit." Then he narrated his case to her, and requested her kindly to liberate him as the wild-boar had done the horse.

"You are too simple," answered the hag, "and do not consider many things; then you ask me for a thing which I can at present by no means do. Afterwards I may perhaps be able to give you some relief and find a way of deliverance for you; but you must have patience." Then she became silent.

The vizier now turned to the metropolitan, and complained of a severe headache, and such weakness in every part of his body that he could not finish his narrative. He added, however, that he hoped to be able to complete it the next evening if he felt better and recovered his strength. Then he prepared to go to bed.

Continuation of the story of Shapur.

Whilst Shapur meditated on the fate of the vizier and on the allegories it contained, he concluded that the name Ain-Ahlih applied to himself as King of Persia; Sitt-ennâr to his country because the people adored fire; and Sitt-ezzeheb to the Roman Empire on account of its riches. The name of Ez-zib, the supposed husband of Sitt-ezzeheb, applied to the king of the Romans, who had been ferocious enough to capture and imprison Shapur in a cage made of ox-hides. The desire of Shapur to see the Roman Empire with his own eyes was represented by the anxiety of Ain-Ahlih to behold the lady, and the imprisonment of the king by the captivity of the youth. By means of philosophical similes, the vizier intended to reprove Shapur's temerity in courting danger and resisting the advice of his most faithful councillors. Lastly, wishing to represent himself, the life he led, the weakness and abasement he had fallen into by being obliged to cajole and flatter the metropolitan as his companion, the vizier invented the character of that crippled, squinting, mutilated hag of sinister aspect. He at the same time informed Shapur that he could not liberate him forthwith, but that he was taking efficacious means to that effect. After the king had reflected over all these matters, he became calm, regained confidence in his vizier, and breathed more freely. Thus the night and the next day elapsed.

In the evening the metropolitan hastened to the usual interview, and, turning to the vizier, said:—"Wise hermit, narrate to me what became of Ain-Ahlih, how his calamity ended, and whether the old woman succeeded in rescuing him from the power of Ez-zib. I am very curious to know it, and I behold you full of health this evening."

"To hear your words, and to obey your commands, are one," replied the vizier, and again took up the thread of his narrative.

"Ain-Ahlih, who had remained fettered all night and suffered much, saw in the morning Ez-zib arrive, who threatened him with death, added a heavy pair of shackles to his bonds, and departed. Ain-Ahlih endeavoured to cheat the hours of the day by nourishing himself with hopes, but when the night set in and covered him with its veil, uneasiness and melancholy overpowered him, so that he wept and sighed till the old woman came, lit the fire, and sitting down near the youth, said :—" Have patience and remember the tribulations of others, which may console you. Do not forget that, as life yet remains, you possess a great blessing."

"Alas!" replied Ain-Ahlih, "it may well be said that those who are free regard lightly the miseries of prisoners." "O! young man," interrupted she, "how many truths you are ignorant of on account of your immature age! Now will you listen to a story which will afford you some consolation?" "Willingly," quoth Ain-Ahlih, "pray narrate it." Then the old woman spoke as follows :—

The gazelle and the antelope.

A rich merchant had an only son whom he loved much, or rather idolized. It happened that a friend presented the boy with a little gazelle with a white forehead, to which the boy took such a fancy that he could not be away from it a moment. The people of the house made a beautiful collar for the gazelle, and procured a sheep to suckle it until its horns began to sprout. Then the boy anxiously inquired what the gazelle had on its head, and, after obtaining the explanation, he never ceased to admire the blackness and lustre of the little horns, whereon his friends informed him that they would become much longer and stronger. When the child expressed great desire to his father to behold a gazelle with horns fully developed, the good man instantly sent hunters to the country, who succeeded in capturing an antelope two years old, with which the boy was highly pleased. The people of the house also caressed the animal, put a collar on it, and endeavoured to tame it. They were successful, and the antelope suddenly manifested great attachment towards the gazelle on account of the affinity of their species.

One day the gazelle said to the antelope :—" Before I saw you, I never thought that there could be another animal on earth which resembled me; now, however, I understand that you could not be the only one." "Certainly not," replied the antelope, "there are very many." The gazelle asked where they could be found, and was informed how they led a wild and roaming life in

deserts, fleeing the sight of men; how they grazed and drank, how they loved each other, and bred. Now the eyes of the gazelle radiated with joy; and it wished to see them, and to live with them.

"No," replied the antelope, "this wish will do you no good. You have been brought up on delicacies, far from perils, and are acquainted with nobody. If you carry out your desire, you will have occasion to repent of it."

"Nevertheless," replied the gazelle, "I must carry it out at all hazards. I want to meet my own species." Though the antelope tried much, it could not dissuade the gazelle from this intention, and, fearing that it would, on account of its simplicity and inability to elude the wiles of men, encounter misfortunes before attaining the wished-for end, the antelope generously determined to follow it and fulfil towards it the duties of a companion and a parent. Having selected an opportune moment for their flight, they left the house and ran in to the desert. At the sight of the wide plain the gazelle could no longer moderate its pleasure, but rushed forward in its wild ecstacy of joy and was stopped by nothing till it fell into a hole excavated by torrents and stuck fast there. It hoped the antelope would suddenly come and liberate it, but, not seeing the deliverer appear, it remained where it was.

When the boy got up in the morning and could find neither the gazelle nor the antelope, he was so inconsolable that his father, pitying his sorrow, assembled all the hunters of the country, narrated to them the case, and induced them to go in quest of the little animals on the promise of a good reward to whosoever might find them. The hunters at once proceeded to scour the hills and dales, and the merchant, mountiug his palfrey, distributed his family at the gates of the city to see the return of the hunters, whilst he himself went with two slaves also to the desert. There he beheld from a distance a man bending over an object near his feet. He made haste and reached him, and lo! he was a huntsman about to slaughter an antelope. The merchant looked well at the antelope and recognised it as his own, and having caused his slaves to search the man, they found the collar of the animal. Hereon the merchant asked the hunter how he had found it, and he replied as follows:—

"Last night," said he, "I went to the desert to hunt, and spread out my net, near which I laid myself down, and towards the morning an antelope and a gazelle came in sight. The gazelle pursued a course in another direction than the net and disappeared; the antelope, however, approached, entered the net, was caught, and I started with it towards the city; but when I reached this spot, it occurred to me that it would be imprudent to risk being taken to account for the sake of the ornaments which the antelope had on

its neck and which would be seen by every body; accordingly I determined to cut the throat of the animal and to carry it to the city as game. This is the whole of my story."

After the merchant had sent the antelope to his son by his slaves, he said to the huntsman:—"Come and show me where the gazelle is, and I shall reward you." Accordingly they roamed about together until they at last heard the cry of the gazelle, and the merchant called it. The little beast, recognizing the voice of its master, answered bleating; the two men now followed its voice, and soon discovered the gazelle in a hole, or rather a cleft, from which the merchant drew it out, and, having presented the huntsman with a dirhem, turned homewards with the gazelle to make the joy of his little son complete.

As to the gazelle, it avoided the antelope whenever it happened to be near, and fled in dismay. The little boy was much distressed at this estrangement of the two beasts, and the family endeavoured to reconcile them, but always in vain. At last one day, whilst the gazelle was sleeping in a corner of the house, the antelope approached it with the intention of taking it to task for its broken friendship and savage estrangement. "Have you then forgotten your perfidy?" said the gazelle. "Had I no need of you in that calamity? I never imagined that you could fail to succour me!" "But I have neither betrayed nor abandoned you," replied the antelope; "are you aware that you accuse me only because you have no experience and are fickle? If I did not hasten to deliver you from the peril into which you had fallen, I was retained by a greater force than I could overcome." Then the antelope narrated its own captivity in the net of the huntsman. Then the gazelle learnt that the antelope deserved no blame, and they renewed their former friendship.

From this narrative Ain-Ahlih concluded that the old woman wished to apprise him of her inability to liberate him at once, and he ceased to reproach her.

End of the story of Ain-Ahlih.

At this point the vizier became silent. "Well, my learned hermit, why do you stop?" exclaimed the metropolitan. Why do you hesitate and not tell me how the affair ended; whether Ain-Ahlih suffered new outrages from Ez-zib, and what services the old woman rendered him?" "I would certainly narrate the whole," quoth the vizier, "were it not for a kind of langour which I feel all over me." "Indeed," rejoined the metropolitan, "I shall not allow you to disappoint me every day. Take courage, O! philosopher; I desire so much to converse with you, and admire your stories so greatly!"

"And I," replied the vizier, "shall continue, because I have an ardent desire to please you. If you knew, O! metropolitan, what

marvels and adventures I have in store for you, you would certainly be amazed!" Then he continued:—

We left Ain-Ahlih impressed with the allegory of the old woman and resigned to remain quiet. He nevertheless spent a very uneasy night, and in the morning Ez-zib insulted him, threatened him with death, informing him also that no one could help him or rescue him from his power. The youth again began to accuse himself and to despair; thus the day elapsed. When it was evening, his sorrow became still more poignant, and he broke out in lamentations, whilst hoping that the old woman would arrive, sit down by his side, and tell him little stories. This evening, however, the old woman merely entered the tent and went out again without stopping, wherefore the prisoner thought that his end had come, and that Ez-zib would not fail to kill him. After some hours had thus elapsed, and Ain-Ahlih moaned, whilst his heart palpitated violently, the old woman entered. "What is the matter this evening?" said he, "Why do not you come to console me with some story and to sit near me?" "Let us see," replied she, "whether the story of a one-handed woman, without a nose, wanting one eye, most ugly and wretched, could afford you some consolation and tranquillity, and induce you to praise and to thank God who has preserved you from a calamity much more terrible than yours? Let us see whether you will, after that, dare to say again that the miseries of prisoners seem light to the free! Ah! had you been able to draw a conclusion from the aspect of my person, what the internal condition of my mind was, it would have sufficed to convince you how much more atrocious my case is than yours. Harken to me, little man, and I shall tell you my story."

"Be aware that I was once the wife of one of the first cavaliers of our country, who lavished all his love and caresses upon me, with whom I lived many years, the most joyous and delightful life, and to whom I bore sons and daughters who grew up in prosperity and riches. It happened that, for some reason not necessary to relate, the king became so incensed against my husband, that he killed not only him but all my sons, and sold my daughters, whom he separated, into slavery. I was sold to the cavalier who has taken offence at you, and he took me to his village. Being, however, of a brutal and ferocious nature, he ill-treated me, and exacted more labour from me than I was able to perform, wherefore he tyrannised over me and chastised me without any fault of mine. I tried in vain many times to propitiate him; in vain I sought the intercession of the persons and friends he honoured most, for the alleviation of my fate, or to induce him to sell me to some other party, but these endeavours made him

only more obdurate in persecuting me. After seven years of such an existence, I resolved to escape, but he pursued and caught me, cut off my nose, and renewed his cruelties. Then I resorted to the expedient of imploring him to have mercy on me, but, not meeting with success, I again fled, and was taken again. This time he knocked out one of my eyes, and continued to torture me as before during seven long years, when I again made my escape and was re-taken. After this third flight he cut off my hand, saying :—"I have now of your members only one eye and one hand at my service. Mark well my words ; if you run away again, I shall have both your legs cut off, and I shall still make use of your eye for watching, and of your hand for work ;" and enforcing these words with a horrible oath, he trampled upon me and tormented me worse than ever. I am resolved at last ; I shall deliver you of your bonds, and kill myself with my own hands, to find relief from my miseries. This is the reason why you have seen me come in and go out every moment. The thought of death frightened and troubled me, but now my resolution is fixed, and I have no other wish than to die."

Saying this, she opened the fetters, cut through the bonds of Ain-Ahlib, and drew forth a dagger to commit suicide, but the youth interrupted her, saying :—"If I allow you to kill yourself, I am the accomplice of your misdeed ;" and, snatching the poniard from her hand, he continued :—"Come with me, we shall either escape or perish together." "But how can I follow you running, aged and weak as I am?" rejoined the woman. "It does not matter," continued Ain-Ahlib, "the night favours us, the place of security is near, and these two arms of mine are strong enough to carry you." "Ah," said the woman, "as this thought has occurred to you, I may tell you that as long as there is one breath of life in me, I need no one to carry me." Thus both fled together, and the night had not yet finished its course, when they reached a place of safety. Ain-Ahlib generously rewarded the old woman, adopted her as his mother, and obeyed her blindly as long as she lived. This is all I know of the beautiful story.

"This is an admirable tale," exclaimed the metropolitan. "Indeed, my most learned friar, I would never separate from you, and wish this undertaking of ours to be prolonged for a longer time, to enjoy your company. To be near you, I am well nigh inclined to abandon my country and relatives."

End of the adventure of Shapur II.

They rose to go to bed. Meanwhile Shapur interpreted the narrative, and understood the gazelle to allude to himself,

the antelope to the vizier, the going to the desert, and the falling of the gazelle into the pit, to the journey undertaken by himself with the vizier, till he was imprisoned by the Qayser, and lastly, the aversion of the gazelle towards the antelope, to the suspicions concerning the vizier, seeing the latter's delay in liberating him. He conjectured also that the vizier had already made preparations to liberate him and to convey him during the night to his capital, which was near, and to carry him on his shoulders in case he should be unable to walk. Thus he considered his escape to be certain.

In fact, the next evening the vizier introduced himself stealthily into the hut which served as a kitchen, and threw a powerful opiate into the food that was being cooked for the metropolitan and for the whole guard of Shapur. When the dinner for the metropolitan was served, the vizier was present, and partook, as usual, of his own provisions only. An hour had scarcely elapsed when all the people, not even the sentries excepted, were fast asleep. Without delaying a moment the vizier opened the door of the false bull, led out his master and delivered him from the chain on his neck and hands. Then they both hastened, as fast as possible, out of the Roman camp.

They directed their steps towards the city and reached the wall. At the challenge of the sentries the vizier advanced alone, ordered them to be quiet, made himself known, and informed them that the king was henceforth safe. They were admitted into the city, and all the people took courage. Shapur instantly assembled all the combatants, distributed arms, and ordered them to advance at the first signal towards the Roman camp, in battle-array, and to attack it at the second with one accord. After having given the necessary instructions, Shapur placed himself at the head of a squadron of the most powerful cavaliers, the bravest of the Persian army, and marched straight towards the pavilion of the Qayser.

When the second signal was given, the Persians began to march from every direction, and Shapur hastened to the tent of the sovereign of his foes. The Romans were in negligent positions, scattered about, and not in lines, because they knew that the besieged were disheartened, and supposed they would not dare to leave the gates of the city, still less to attack them; they found themselves, however, surrounded by the Persians before they were aware of it. The Qayser was taken prisoner by Shapur, the camp was sacked, the treasure taken, and only those saved their lives who were able to escape.

Shapur returned victoriously to his royal seat, distributed the

booty among the soldiers, and largesses to the citizens according to their various ranks, and entrusted the administration of public affairs to the vizier who had liberated him. Then he caused the Qayser to be brought forth, received him with politeness, and addressed him as follows:—"I shall spare your life, as you have spared mine, and shall not subject you to a confinement similar to that which you made me undergo. I shall require you only to make good the damage you have done in my realms, to rebuild the edifices you have demolished, to plant an olive tree from your own country for every palm-tree you have felled in mine, and to liberate all the Persian prisoners held captive in the Roman Empire." The Qayser accepted all these conditions and carried them out. When the damaged walls of Gandi-Shapur were to be restored, the Persian sovereign intimated that he desired them to be repaired with Roman cement, which was accordingly done after the Qayser had issued the necessary orders to bring it from his own country. This being done, Shapur dismissed the Qayser with demonstrations of honour from his captivity, but took leave of him with the words—"Arm yourself, and prepare for war, because I shall soon attack you."

Historical note on Shapur II.

The above account of the captivity, and deliverance of Shapur II., who reigned from A. D. 309 till 379, agrees very well with such Persian sources as Mirkhond, the Shahnamah, and the Majmel-al-towarikh, which, however, only briefly alludes to the two episodes of that king's reign just mentioned; but Eutichius, the patriarch of Alexandria, who desired to homologize this account with Roman history, although he does not commit the error of causing Galerius-Valerianus to become in his turn the prisoner of Shapur, makes him live during the youth of that sovereign, whereas he had died several years before the birth of Shapur. Roman history, which we possess for those times in a most authentic form, presents us with quite a different aspect of the wars of Shapur II. with the empire. One century before him, Ardeshir, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, had renewed the ancient struggles of the Parthians with the Romans. Shapur I., the successor of Ardeshir, had then occupied Armenia, had passed through Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia; he had, among his other victories over the Romans, also disarmed their army at Edessa (A. D. 260) which was commanded by the Emperor Valerianus himself. It is well known that Valerianus died a prisoner, and it is stated that his conqueror humbled him to such a degree as to use his back for a foot-stool on mounting a horse, and, when the emperor died, his body was stuffed with straw and hung up as a trophy. But during the reign of Diocletian, who had

given his daughter Valeria in marriage to Galerius-Valerianus and had invested him with the imperial purple in the east, the latter avenged the shame of the Romans upon Nersi, the grandfather of Shapur II., by defeating him, capturing his whole family and dictating to Persia the conditions of peace, according to which Mesopotamia, west of the Khabur, five provinces east of the Tigris, Armenia; and Iberia were subjected to the empire. This happened in A. D. 297, and Persia remained quiet for forty years under this ignoble peace, but Shapur broke it A. D. 338, not at the age of 17 years as the Persian historians affirm, but in the full vigour of manhood. Meanwhile the Roman empire had changed its seat and religion, whilst the troubles of the civil wars which appeared unavoidable after the death of Constantine, presented Shapur II. with the opportunity of re-conquering the territories lost by his grandfather. In his wars against the Arabs and Northern Barbarians, Shapur II. had already acquired great experience in war, and had recovered and augmented the military power of his dominions. He accordingly tried his fortunes against the Romans during many years and gained first the battle of Sangara (Sinjár) in Mesopotamia, in which the Emperor Constantine commanded in person, but the son of Shapur was captured and slain during the retreat in 346. The attacks of the Hephthalites (Huns) then forced Shapur II. to suspend the Roman war. He, however, resumed it in 360, when he exposed himself to the whole strength of the Roman forces, commanded by Julian. Julian, with sixty-five thousand well-trained men, crossed the Khabur, which was the Persian frontier, whilst he sent another army of thirty thousand men through Upper Mesopotamia to join the forces of Armenia, in order to march down straight upon Gesiphon, the capital of Persia, which he himself likewise intended to attack. The religious scruples, however, and the jealousy of the king of Armenia, impeded the execution of this, the most important feature of the plan. Julian with the largest portion of the army arrived victoriously on the banks of the Tigris, which he crossed opposite to the army of Shapur; instead, however, of at once beginning the siege of Gesiphon, he followed the imprudent course of burning his own fleet of boats on the Tigris, audaciously proposing to himself to advance into the heart of Persia. Thus it happened that, after leading his army from victory to victory, Julian at last brought on its destruction, because the Persians burnt and devastated their own country, just as the Russians did at the approach of Napoleon, wherever the Romans marched, so that before Julian could reach any of the capital cities, such as Ecbatana, or Susa, want of

provisions forced him to retreat through desolate regions and surrounded by Persian troops, whose numbers steadily increased. Shapur conquered by temporizing. Julian died of a wound during his retreat, and Jovian, having been proclaimed emperor in the camp, was compelled to sign a disgraceful treaty, by which he restored to Shapur the five provinces on the other side of the Tigris, and the strongest forts of Mesopotamia, and abandoned Armenia to the ambition of the king of Persia, who subjugated it shortly afterwards. In this manner the campaign ended in the month of July A. D. 363. Thus it appears that the Persian chroniclers have attributed the imprisonment of Valerianus to Shapur II., although it took place a century earlier, under Shapur I.

E. Rehatsek.

ART. IX.—CHRISTIAN EFFORT IN INDIA.

1.—*The Life of John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S.* By George Smith, LL.D. C.I.E., with Portrait and Illustrations. (John Murray, London.)

2.—*The Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D.* By George Smith, LL.D., C.I.E., with Portraits and Illustrations. Two Vols. (Hodder and Stoughton, London.)

TOWARDS the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, Portugal was a leading power in Europe and the world. The Portuguese had contested the supremacy of the Indian seas with the Dutch, and shown the way to India round the Cape, thus changing the commercial route of Europe, bankrupting the Venetians and Genoese, and destroying for the time being much of the commerce of the Mediterranean. They discovered and colonized Brazil, made themselves masters of Madeira, the Azores, Cape de Verde, and were to be found in Guinea, Senegambia, Mozambique, the Indian Archipelago and China. Lisbon, their European capital, was the greatest commercial emporium perhaps in the world, and Goa, "Golden Goa," the city of their own founding in Western Hindustan, in the splendour and magnificence of its streets, public buildings and religious and charitable institutions and hospitals, rivalled, if it did not surpass, Lisbon itself; while the inhabitants, in all the pomp and circumstance of stately, luxurious living and eastern magnificence, were probably unmatched even in the East.

It was at Goa that the first municipality was established in India by Albuquerque, and the same great statesman and general, while granting to Hindus the full enjoyment of the customs and usages of their religion, resolutely put down *Sati*. In these and other respects, such as the Muhammadan custom of farming the taxes and the protection of merchants and traders, and the punishment of oppression, Albuquerque outlined a policy in the Portuguese settlement of Goa which the English rulers of India have more or less filled in and developed.

On a May day of the year 1542, after a voyage from Lisbon of nearly a year's duration, there landed at Goa the earliest and, in some respects, the greatest Christian hero, philanthropist and missionary that has ever laboured in India or the East. In ten years the work of his life was completed. St. Francis Xavier died in the island of Sancian, near Macao, in 1552, while attempting to enter China, and his body was carried back to Goa, where it rests. St. Xavier,

on his arrival in Goa, turned his attention first to the European settlers, and, having stirred up in them a spirit of penitence for the depraved lives many of them were leading, and a religious fervour and enthusiasm which his very presence and voice seemed to produce, he then turned to the native population; and the burning zeal and fervent spirit of St. Xavier, the colleague of Loyola, in the founding of the Sociey of Jesus, whose members may now be found in every part of the world, had such effect on the pearl-fishing population of the coast from Manaar to Cape Comorin, on the native population of the kingdom of Travancore, Malacca, the Banda islands, the Moluccas, Ceylon and Japan as to stand unrivalled in the records of Christian proselytising enterprise. As a Christian Missionary, St. Xavier's success was, to say the least of it, marvellous. No doubt much of his work was a mêre passing wave of excitement which disappeared almost as soon as it was produced; but the example and presence of this first of missionaries, his own high enthusiasm, his purity of life, his devotion and his faith, sowedthe seeds of a new endeavour which are now, after three hundred years of little more than silent growth, beginning to influence the people of the East.

From Francis Xavier to Wilson of Bombay and Duff of Calcutta is a long way; it includes an interval of over three hundred years; it includes the invention of printing; the revival of learning; the Reformation; the growth of commerce, literature and civilization; the supremacy of the English in India, and the gigantic strides of Physical Science; it includes the shattering of Protestantism into innumerable schisms and sects, the natural result of the right claimed and exercised of private judgment. In St. Xavier's day, Christianity could present an undivided front to Heathenism, and its advocates spoke to men with an authority which, since those days, because of dissent and nonconforming and the multiplying of isms and sects is no longer possible. Even John Wilson of Bombay, with all his simplicity and mildness of character and his undoubted earnestness for the christianizing of the natives of India, records in the journal of his visit to Goa in January 1834 (Smith's life of Wilson, P. 169)—"I could not but think of their devotedness (the martyr missionaries of the Augustinian order whose portraits adorn the walls of the convent at Goa) and wish that more of it were exhibited among Protestants," and then at page 171 we read, :—"I discoursed.........for a considerable time and gave a copy of Mr. Candy's 'Tracts' and my 'Exposure.' The Hindus of Goa have been well supplied with books during our visit and many of them have heard the Gospel in its simplicity. We guarded them against being misled by

Romish ceremonies. Many of them told us that they well knew that the Goakars do not walk according to the Christian Shastre." This is quite of a piece with Duff's record in his journal, of the ceremonies of the Greek Church as they presented themselves to him in St. Petersburgh. Duff declares that he has seen nothing in the most degraded and idolatrous countries of the East to equal the idolatry and degradation of the Greek Church ; the heartless irreverence of its priests, and the superstition of the people. The truth seems to be, that neither Wilson with all his scholarship and philanthropy, nor Duff with his impulsive earnestness and fervent zeal, could ever see beyond the rim of his own theology. It was quite unknown to Duff, and seems to be equally quite unknown to the great majority of British and American Christians, that the Greek Church has accomplished a Missionary enterprise in Siberia and Northern Asia, which may fairly rank in importance with any achievement of Christian endeavour in ancient or modern times ; and that some of the very finest hymns that are now to be found in the hymnals of Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Dissenters of all sorts, are translations from the Liturgies of the Eastern Church. Brahminism may be distinguished by "exaggeration, confusion, contradiction, puerility and immorality" as Dr. Wilson in his first "Exposure of the Hindu Religion" says it is—Mahomedanism and Buddhism have each been characterised as snares and delusions, and as unspeakably false and corrupt. Language equally strong and much more copious has been, and is sometimes, employed by certain writers and speakers to characterise the Christian church before the Reformation ; and Protestant controversial writers even yet speak of the Church of Rome as the Mother of all abominations, the scarlet woman, and the "whore of Babylon." Duff speaks of the Church of Rome to Father Strickland of the Negapatam Mission as "the mother of Harlots—drunk with the blood of Saints, destined ultimately to be utterly annihilated." (Duff's Life, Vol. II., p. 143.) Dissenters are yet eloquent over the moribund rottenness of Episcopacy, and State aided churches of all sorts ; the bench of bishops and the established clergy are a "band of dead dogs, not dividing the word of life aright," and it is only in their own little "Bethel" that purity and simplicity and adequacy of doctrine, ritual and government, are to be found. If within the sphere of Christian sects and *isms* there is such diversity of belief, such a formulating of antagonistic doctrines and practices as is compassed in the round from *Jumpers* and *Sandimanians* to the full ritual and dogma implied in a Romish Cathedral service, not to enumerate the frequent heresy hunting of Scottish Presbyterian divines, nor to take any account of *Comtism*, Mormonism and the latest phase of

Spiritualism, and other religious cults which lie mainly outside the bounds of distinctive Christian thought, and yet have been accepted as verities by men reared in Christian lands under the shadow of Christianity in some of its forms, then Christians themselves may well wonder—and the Heathen they preach to and proselytise may well be lost in astonishment and greater wonder,—what indeed, after all, are the essentials of Christianity?

Nor is this all. Even during the lastly fifty years, since the July morning of 1830, when Duff opened his school for Hindu boys in the old meeting place of the Brahmo Sabha in the Chitpore Road of Calcutta, and Wilson in Bombay began his work, the position of the Christian theologian has not been strengthened. The study of historical science, the growth of Rationalism, and the great advance in physical science, have made it imperative that the theologian should considerably curtail his pretensions, and that the Bible and Christianity should take their place among the other faiths of the world, a purer faith no doubt, as understood by Western minds; but, so far as age and numbers are concerned, a younger faith, and a faith, that dominates but a fraction of humanity—a faith which, if it is not to sink to the rank of a philosophy, must, like all other religions, contain mysteries, and statements and problems insoluble by human reason, and apprehended only by faith. It appears to us that the time is fast approaching in the history of Christian enterprise in India and the world when the question "What are the essentials of Christianity" will require to be faced and answered. If Christianity has any meaning at all, it clearly implies a Christ-like life, a human life, lived out to the bitter end, it may be, in a more or less near approximation to the human life of its great founder. There have been imported into Christianity an amount of dogmatic assertion regarding the unknowable; rash and utterly unprofitable speculation and fanciful and hair-splitting distinctions on subjects about which, however much may be believed, little can be known; petty squabbles on ritual, Church government, Headship and State aid, which have resulted in a long series of theological wrangling, schism, rupture and dissent, that are a standing reproach to Christianity and a deep disgrace to its professors. If the evil lives of Europeans in India and other non-Christian countries have, as we are frequently reminded, considerably retarded the spread of Christianity, the bickerings, and jealousies and rivalries of sectarian partisans who go amongst non-Christian peoples professing to teach universal brotherhood, a world-wide charity and a profound unselfishness, have resulted in mischief much more deeply rooted—have resulted amongst higher

castes of educated Hindus in a total rejection of Christianity—exceptions there are, no doubt; and in an attempt to purify and elevate the religion of their race from the centuries of accumulated myth and error that have slowly gathered round the germinating ideas that give vitality and permanence to their religion. The Brahmo Sabha of the great Hindu reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, and its lineal descendant, the Brahmo Samoj, are indications that, if Hinduism ever ceases to be the religion of the educated higher class natives of India, it will not be immediately succeeded by any form of Christianity as at present existing. Whatever opinions may be held regarding those claims to divine commission recently put forth by Keshub Chunder Sen, and however much the movement of which the Brahmo Somaj is the outcome, may be stigmatized as "vague, ethical rationalism," no one who has an intelligent understanding of the movement will set its leader down as a band-box of vanity, a vulgar quack, a sanctimonious impostor, and the movement itself as a delusion and a snare. Self-deceived and foolish, Brahmoism may be; but its self-deception and its foolishness have in them some of those startling qualities which, among early Christians, made the foolishness of preaching overcome the wisdom of the world. The power of Brahmoism as a factor in the religious life of Bengal is not to be despised, and its hold on the higher aspirations of Young Bengal, and we may say of India, is of a kind that Christian workers in India would do well not to undervalue or underrate.

The ideas and aspirations and life of that solitary thinker who wandered by the banks of the Lilijan and sat down, 2,500 years ago, exposed to summer's heat and winter's cold and rain, to think out for himself the mystery of pain, disease and death, duty, the universe, and God, even now rule the lives of more than a third of all mankind. Buddhism, darkened and overlaid as it is with error and myth, has in it a vitality and a reality inferior only to those of Christianity itself. Neither Buddhism, Hinduism nor Mahomedanism,—religions which have more or less completely satisfied the spiritual needs and aspirations of millions of human beings of all ranks and ages, and which have accumulated round them the wildest extravagance of imagination and the grossest error and yet retain their hold on such a large proportion of humanity,—can be expected to fall asunder and evaporate, at the touch of the Ithuriel spear of Christianity—least of all of a Christianity split up into numerous antagonistic sects. These religions are part of the race characteristics of the peoples who possess them; they are worked into the very tissue of their lives, and interwoven with their traditions and their history, and all that a people

hold dear; and, until events arise that shall materially alter the conditions of their existence, these historic faiths will retain their supremacy as living powers in the lives of their adherents. It is not wisdom, it is folly, to endeavour to shake the faith of a people in their historic and race-characteristic religion before they are prepared to accept or work out for themselves a suitable substitute, and in this respect the rule of the English in India has been on the whole consistent. Following in the wake of the wisest and greatest of all the Portuguese Viceroys, Albuquerque, the rulers of India, have affirmed, and again affirmed, that the people shall be left in the free exercise of their religion, and that there shall be no tampering with these rights and privileges so far as the Government is concerned.

It seems to us wise that this is so, that what is false and impure in them should be left slowly to fade before the light of knowledge and reason and the growth of purity, and that the accumulated myths and errors of ages that have saturated all these great non-Christian systems of faith, should be left to the slow, silent, ever-active influence that is sensibly making itself apparent in the efforts of some at least of the educated natives to purify and elevate the faith of their fathers. The ideas, potent now, as at their first promulgation, which have given these systems of belief an enduring vitality for centuries, it may be possible to exhibit as forming the essential principles of Christianity, the vivifying ideas of the whole structure of the Christian faith. If, on the other hand, Christians could be brought to realize that ritual and form of Church government, and the doubtful and dead theology and tradition of which the Christianity of to-day possesses so large a legacy, however convenient and interesting and historical they may be, are nevertheless but the work of men and the formulating of the ideas of the age that gave them birth—men and ages, with all their sanctity and scholarship, less able probably to deliver judgment on the points on which they dogmatized than the men of the nineteenth century—then it might be possible for good men and true, within and without the pale of Christianity, to have a common platform from which they might labour together for charity, purity and truth. Whether this be so, or not, the fact remains that many of these dogmas were utterly unknown to the early Christians, and were added to the Christian faith at intervals of hundreds of years from the age in which the founder of Christianity lived his pure, simple, unselfish, loving life, the friend and companion of the poor, the instructer of the ignorant, the feeder of the hungry, the clother of the naked, the nurser of the sick, with the green fields and roads and streets of Palestine for his teaching

ground, and the synagogue and hillside for his temple. A life such as this, seems to us, Christianity in its highest practical form; Christianity as its great founder himself exhibited it; a life and a faith sufficiently broad to enlist under its banner good men and true of every race and creed under the heavens; and to bind together, as one family, all nations of the earth. Wherever men are leading a life such as this, and teaching men so do to, whether we call them Heathen, Buddhist, Hindu or Muhammadan, they are nearer the Kingdom of Heaven, than if, with but a feeble pretence or half-hearted effort after such a life, they should ring the whole changes on dogmatic theology, and prate of the eternal damnation of unbelievers, the everlasting decrees of God, His intentions from all eternity, the fore-ordination of the elect; and squabble over candles and chasubles and the cut and colour of a priestly robe, or the form of church government in Apostolic times. It is this petty spirit of stickling and haggling over non-essentials, this tenacious adherence to dogmas evolved from the inner consciousness, and embodied in confessions of faith, and articles and catechisms, that has produced dissension, disunion and disgrace; and that has alienated, and is alienating, thoughtful men all over the world.

Dr. Wilson came to Bombay in 1825, at the age of 24, a missionary of the church of Scotland, and died in 1875. His life was mainly spent in antiquarian and philological research, in the duties of his calling as a missionary, and in the advancement of every work of humanity. During his long residence in India, where society changes so rapidly, he became a power and authority in Bombay and took the lead in every social, civic, and philanthropic object. In his relationship with the natives of India, he was kind and conciliatory, and in the controversies which arose out of his advocacy of Christianity he was distinguihsed by mildness, fairness, tact and an even temper. For nearly fifty years he worked at the educational, moral, and religious improvement of the Indian people, using their own vernacular in schools, sermons, tracts, itinerant preaching and house visitation. He saw Bombay rise from a mere military station to the rank of one of the great cities of the world. In all the plans and schemes implied in this change, Dr. Wilson took an active part; and in matters of great importance to the Empire he was frequently consulted by the Government. The life of such a man, spent as it was, in the manner we have indicated, and covering, as it did, so long, and to India so important an interval of time, thus forms, not only an important addition to Biography, but is at the same time a substantial contribution to the History of the Indian Empire.

Dr. George Smith's long residence in India, his position and his work as Principal of the Doveton College, Calcutta, in its palmiest days, as editor of this *Review* during part of 1856 and 1857, and again, in the same capacity, in conjunction with Sir Richard Temple, during 1859 and 1860, for many years editor of *The Friend of India*, and Calcutta Correspondent for *The Times*—gave him an almost unrivalled acquaintance with every topic of importance to India; and his lives of Drs. Wilson and Duff are not only valuable additions to Anglo-Indian biography and the ever-increasing record of noble Christian work, but at the same time they embody numerous and diversified details of nearly every great event and man of public note in India, as well as the policy of successive Governments during the last 50 years.

In the great task of educating the people of India, in successfully advocating the claims of India as a Mission Field, and in helping on every good work on behalf of the Indian people, Dr. Duff, as teacher, preacher and public man, occupies the foremost rank amongst those who have laboured for India's welfare during this century. Goethe has somewhere said, that two conditions are necessary to great men—they must be born at the right time, and they must die at the right time; or they may outlive their fame. Time and the man came together, when Alexander Duff, Missionary of the Church of Scotland, landed in Calcutta a youth of 24, in the May of 1830, five years after John Wilson reached Bombay. Duff's avowed endeavour was to break down the power of Brahmanism, and christianize the high caste Hindus. He did not break down Brahmanism, and the higher class Hindus are non-Christian to this day. What he did accomplish was, to leaven the minds of his pupils in the missionary schools and colleges with Christian doctrines, and Christian ethics: to educate them in the literature and the thought of England; and leave the leaven to work. That he could even accomplish this much, was due to the condition of affairs existing in India when he reached its shores. All attempts to christianise Brahmanical Hindus before Duff's day, and since his time, have been failures; and missionaries in the South, the East, the West and the North of India have been impelled to gather their converts from men of low caste, and men of no caste. Converts there have been from Coolin Brahmins in Duff's time, as well as after and before it; but it is a gross falsehood to assert that the power of the system of Brahmanism is shattered; it remains intact to this day, with probably as much vitality and power of endurance as it had three hundred years

ago, when St. Xavier, the great Apostle of the Indies, first saw the strand of India rise in the horizon. Duff's biographer admits this, and adds the "scholarly authority" of Mr. Burnell to the same effect. (See Duff's Life, Vol. I., p. 107). There is a popular fallacy abroad among evangelicals and others in Britain and America that the citadel of Brahmanism was stormed and overthrown by Duff and his colleagues, in conjunction with other missionary agencies in India. It is not so, the leaven is only working; and we incline to the belief that the result will be, not Free Churchism or Scottish Kirkism or Episcopacy, or, as we have said, any other form of Christianity as at present existing.

Two months after he landed in India, Duff began his life's work. Vernacular preaching and teaching had reached the lower classes only, and even these with but intermittent success. On the Southern shores of the Peninsula this was the case. Many of the converts seemed to die out or disappear, without leaving any visible successors. Kiernauder's Calcutta converts had so disappeared. Henry Martyn's native Chirstians could not be found by the missionaries that came after him. Lacroix, the greatest vernacular preacher India ever had, the friend and contemporary of Duff, affirmed, that after fifty years' work he was not conscious of having made a single convert. Vernacular preaching and teaching had been powerless against Brahminism. Duff realised the failure, and prepared his attack on the brain and motive power of Hinduism. Hitherto, then as now, the Brahmins had been able to seize on every ascetic, moral or spiritual development that offered, in any way to assail their position; and, by raising it to a caste, absorbed it into Hinduism, thus changing a foe to an ally. Would Duff's method succeed? He believed it would, if not in his day, then surely in the fulness of time.

Before attempting any explication of Duff's method, it is necessary that the condition of affairs in India at the time of his coming should be understood, in order that one may realise the conditions and causes that worked together to produce the measure of success he attained.

Until the year 1822 converts and perverts of all kinds had been excluded from the public service. Lord W. Bentinck threw the service open to all-comers of every caste and creed. Warren Hastings, in the Code of 1772, had secured to Hindus and Muhammadans their own laws of heritable succession. This included the disinheritance of perverts and remained in force till Lord William Bentinck's day. Now, for the first time in the history of India, it was possible for a convert to retain his personal inheritance, and

although a change of religion implied degradation from caste, and social and family ban and curse, and isolation, his personal inheritance was left, and a career was possible in some branch of the service. Neither of these was attainable before 1822. Amongst the natives there had been gradually growing and increasing in strength an eagerness to obtain an English education, brought about no doubt by the fact that the contest between the Orientalists and the Anglicans had ended in the defeat of the former. At all events the minute of Macaulay, February 1835, laid the question for ever. English was henceforth to be the language of the official classes, and Sanscrit and Persian handed over to students, scholars, politicals and others. An English education now meant an entrance to lucrative employment; it was the key that unlocked the gate that blocked the entrance to comparative wealth, and to place and power. It did not imply this only, but to the sons of native gentlemen shut out from the position their family had in many cases occupied, in the government of native States, by the spread of English rule, it in some measure implied a resumption of their former state; and to that earnest band of truth-seekers working silently and alone, common enough in all countries and all ages, the language of England laid bare a new world of ripe thought and speculation, and exact observation, a literature and a history full of the highest thoughts and the noblest efforts. There were "seekers after God," like Ram Mohan Roy, who procured Duff his first pupils, and whose attack on idola try and caste-prejudices raised the active opposition of his compeers; and the spirit of religious unrest that has helped to shatter Hinduism into multitudinous castes, was probably more apparent then than at the present day. These were some of the conditions and influences lying ready at the hand of the strong-willed, impetuous Celt, who dared to differ from his contemporaries and his predecessors, who set at defiance the express commands of the Kirk that sent him to India, and who preached the Gospel to the Heathen by teaching English in a school.

When John Knox saved from the rapacious maw of unscrupulous Scottish nobles some remnant of that Church property which, had they been permitted, they would have altogether appropriated, he took care that a school and a church should stand together in every parish in Scotland. From John Knox's day up at least to the regimen of School Boards, the school and the church were intimately connected. Here the Bible was the first easy reading book of every Scottish boy and girl, and lessons from its pages and the choicest of its Psalms and verses were daily repeated. As early in this century

as 1828, John Wood, in the Sessional schools of Edinburgh, had in active operation methods of working which were attracting the attention of every one interested in education in Scotland. About the same time David Stow, in the slums of Glasgow, was working out and perfecting what he afterwards gave to the world, *viz.* his training system—a system of moral and intellectual training, which in the hands of competent workers has produced the highest results and is likely to outlive more pretentious systems. The relationship of the Church to the school, as Knox established it, the reading and inculcation of Scripture, as practised in Scotland for the last three hundred years, and the kindred systems of Wood and Stow, Alexander Duff planted in Calcutta, and produced results which were the admiration of his visitors, and which disarmed objectors to his system. Five years of unceasing teaching, preaching, lecturing, and expounding; then, in broken health, home to Scotland in 1835. For the next five years broad Scotland rung, from end to end, with the clear full tones of Duff's voice, rousing to a pitch of unexampled enthusiasm the Christian public, North and South of the Tweed, on behalf of Christian Missions; then back to India in 1840; more organizing and the crowning of his educational edifice with a thoroughly equipped College staff; more schools and mission stations, native converts and native preachers; and so, with more or less energy and intermission, the work of his life went on till, at the age of 57, he left the shores of India for the last time, bequeathing to India, in the organizations he left behind him and in his life as teacher, preacher and public man, a legacy of usefulness and the highest good to its people.

As a teacher, Duff's success in India was unrivalled. The conditions which produced the eager desire for an English education, and which materially contributed to that success, have been shortly noticed. Duff's schools and colleges supplied that want, and they were filled to overflowing. But in our estimation there can be no continuous working on the lines laid down by Duff, unless the missionary agencies are prepared to supply education at a cheaper rate and of as sound a quality as that provided in the Government schools. Hitherto, missionary schools and colleges have been as fairly successful as those under Government control, if the results of the University examinations may be accepted as a test of success; and if the various missionary schools and colleges can still go on competing with each other and with Government establishments, and are able to offer a thorough education at a still cheaper rate, and are prepared to carry on their work with a yearly increasing balance on the wrong side of the ledger, to be defrayed by increased contributions from missonary funds, then,

no doubt, the pupils and students of their schools and colleges may show no diminution. But that they will be able to show students from as high a rank in native society as those who attend the Government colleges, where there is no tampering with religious beliefs—no one will be prepared to admit. As it is, the bulk of the higher class Hindus are students of Government colleges, and we venture to assert that there were more higher class Hindus in Duff's first school 50 years ago than there are at the present moment in all the missionary colleges in Calcutta combined.

The second condition necessary to produce a great man, according to Goethe, is that he should die at the right time. Duff outlived his fame, except with that circle of Evangelicalism of which he was so distinguished an ornament and advocate. As a great preacher, possessing the true power of the orator to move English-speaking assemblies, he, in his day, had few, if any, equals. As a missionary to the Hindus, to christianize the Brahmins, his success was probably neither better nor worse than that of the missionaries who had preceded and have succeeded him, if we bear in mind the conditions in existence at the time of his coming to India. That he utterly failed to grasp any of the vivifying ideas of the system of faith which he attacked, and to turn them to any effectual purpose in his crusade against Brahminical Hinduism, is not anywhere apparent in his work. Both Wilson and Duff had the greatest contempt for every form of faith but that which they themselves professed: those who differed from them were not only mistaken, they were wicked. They thus put themselves entirely out of sympathy, not only with the people whose faith they laboured to destroy, but with a large body of earnest self-devoted workers in the same field.

How this legacy of English thought and Western ideas may work on the people of India, their faiths and their institutions, lies yet in the future.

There are now two thousand years since the song of the angels fell on the ear of the Bethlehem shepherds, "Peace on earth, good will to men," and since the cry of the Baptist, and the Carpenter of Nazareth, "Repent for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand,"—startled into newness of life the dwellers on the shores of the Levant. Nevertheless there is no Christian city without its slums of poverty, devilry and disease, over which float in mid air the sounds of Church-going bells. How far from being realised is the "peace and good will" announced so long ago, is evidenced in the disgraceful ruptures, bickerings and vituperation of sects calling themselves Christians, and in the clang of arms and the tramp of armed men trained to "horrid war" in every

Christian land. That these halcyon days of "peace and good will" *will* come, is the hope of all earnest men and the dream of the poet—when men to men, the world over, will be clasped together in a common brotherhood.

"Lo ? the days are hastening on,
"By prophet bards foretold,
"When with the ever circling years
"Comes round the age of gold;
"When peace shall over all the world
"Her ancient splendours fling,
"And the whole world send back the cry,
"Which now the Angel's sing."

THOMAS EDWARDS.

THE QUARTER.

OWING mainly to the winter snows which had closed the roads and passes, the last three months have been marked, as far as active military operations are concerned, by a pause in the war in Afghanistan. Our troops have been engaged in no hostilities of importance, either offensive or defensive; but in the meantime they have not been idle. At Kabul great efforts have been made to strengthen our position by the demolition of cover and the construction of roads and defensive works, while General Roberts has been strongly reinforced by a brigade from the Khaibar line, the posts vacated to render this movement possible having been re-garrisoned from the reserve at Peshawar. The result of these movements is that there is at the present moment a force of about twelve thousand men of all arms at Kabul, so disposed and provided as to be ready for any emergency.

In Southern Afghanistan still more important movements have taken place—a Division from the Bombay Presidency having been successfully moved up, viâ Karachi, to Kandahar and the Peshin Valley, to relieve the Bengal troops that have hitherto held these positions. The object with which this relief has been effected is two-fold, the utilisation of the division relieved, in clearing the country between Khelat-i-Ghilzai and Kabul of the enemy, who at present hold undisputed possession of it, and their final return to India, viâ Ghazni and probably the Kuram Valley. The following are the arrangements for the march of the force:—

General Barter's brigade, consisting of four guns 11 Mountain battery; 1st P. C.; 60th Rifles; 15th Sikhs; 25th P. N. I., and a Company of Sappers, move to the Arghasan Valley, ten miles east of Khelat. The head-quarters and main body, consisting of A.-B. R. H. A., G.-4; 6-11th and 2nd Punjab Cavalry; 19th Lancers; 59th Regiment; 3rd Gurkhas; 2nd Sikhs; 19th P. L. I. and a Company of Sappers and Ordnance Park, march in two brigades up the Turnak Valley to Khelat, Barter's brigade being within heliographing distance. The two columns then move up the right and left banks of the Turnak, in parallel lines, up to Ghazni, where they unite. Barter's brigade will move from Sadu Khan's village by the western skirt of the Surkoh range. The heavy battery consists of two 25-prs., two 6 and 3-inch howitzers.

General Barter's brigade was to commence its march on

Monday, the 29th ultimo, one brigade of the main body on the following day, and General Hughes' brigade on Wednesday, the 31st ult.

Majors Clifford and Euan Smith were to accompany the force as political officers, the former being attached to General Barter's, and the latter to General Hughes' brigade.

A series of important and very successful reconnaissances have also been made in the Lughman Valley, where the people appear to have generally shown a friendly disposition.

On the side of the enemy there has been a good deal of threatening, but little more. The movements of Muhammad Jan, since his withdrawal to Ghazni, have been involved in obscurity. At first he seems to have succeeded in keeping a considerable force together, and it was at one time believed that he was organizing a formidable attack on Kabul, to be made, in conjunction with the Kohistanis, on the Nauroz. Not only, however, has no attack been made, but various circumstances seem to indicate that the power of Muhammad Jan is rapidly declining, and that he no longer commands any considerable following. He is reported to have had several serious engagements with the Hazarehs, in the last of which he was defeated; but the fighting appears to be still going on.

In the meantime General Roberts has taken advantage of the presence of the Mustafi, Habibulla, at Wardak, his native place, to open communications with Muhammad Jan and the local chiefs with a view of ascertaining whether there was any chance of a peaceable understanding being arrived at with them. This mission of the Mustafi's would appear to have been to a certain extent successful, many of the leading chiefs having expressed their willingness to come in to a conference at Maidan. Muhammad Jan himself is, indeed, reported to have declined these overtures, though, if it is true, as is stated, that Musa Khan, who is in his power, has declared his readiness to come in, it may be inferred that Muhammad Jan virtually accepts the situation, and, while indisposed to adopt a course which might be interpreted as formal submission, or perhaps distrustful of our intentions towards him, has made up his mind that it would be useless to continue the struggle. Soldier as he is, he could hardly, indeed, come to any other conclusion, seeing that before many weeks have elapsed, he will be hemmed in between General Stewart's force from Kandahar and the Kabul division. In Kohistan, though the people are distinctly unfriendly, such hostile gatherings as have taken place so far, have been of minor importance.

Of the movements or intentions of Abdul Rahman there appears to be as yet no absolutely trustworthy intelligence, though it

may probably be accepted as beyond doubt that he has crossed the border. According to the latest accounts he has advanced as far as Kunduz, and the entire military strength of the country, including the troops which were with Ghulam Haidar, has joined his standard, Gholam Haidar himself having been compelled to flee.

Should Abdul Rahman, as is not unlikely, be willing to come to terms, it would seem that the Government of India will have to choose between him and Musa Khan. A strong party appears at present to support the claims of the latter, but in all probability the appearance of Abdul Rahman on the scene, with Turkestan at his back, would place this party in a very decided minority. If, in short, the Government of India is prepared to give the country its choice between these two candidates, we have little doubt that the result will be, not the elevation of Musa Khan to the vacant masnad, but his restoration to the paternal arms at Masuri. It may possibly be, however, that the Government will consider Abdul Rahman's Russian antecedents a bar to his claim. In that case he will do wisely to stay where he is and content himself with pressing for a recognition of his authority in Turkestan.

The position is such that it would be altogether premature for the Government to disclose its policy, and it is not to be wondered at that the last Ministerial statement on the subject is marked by greater reticence than any of their previous utterances.

At Herat, Ayub Khan still maintains his power, but very little seems to be known either of his intentions or of the extent of his authority. There have been persistent rumours that the Home Government is prepared, on certain conditions, to acquiesce in the occupation of the Province by Persia, and that it has actually entered on negotiations with that Power on the subject. The ambiguous character of the reply given by Ministers to questions on the subject favours the belief that these rumours are not entirely without foundation. But, if so, there is as yet no sign that the negotiations have led to any definite result; and there is some reason to think that they have been broken off.

The collateral engagements which such an arrangement would necessitate are, however, of so important a character, that it will be easily understood that the Government would avoid pressing matters to a conclusion on the eve of a general election the result of which is so uncertain as that now about to be held. In the meantime the decision to occupy Farrah, if, as is alleged, it has really been arrived at, indicates a determination to be prepared for any eventualities in that direction.

The despatch of Mr. Lepel Griffin to Kabul, as chief Political Officer, was at first interpreted as symptomatic of an inclination on the part of the Government to a policy of compromise. While,

however, it may reasonably be regarded as indicating a desire to seize promptly any favourable opportunity for negotiation, the character of the arrangements that have just been made for the organization of the Political Department would rather seem to show that the Government contemplates the probability of prolonged occupation. Northern and Eastern Afghanistan have been portioned out into two political jurisdictions ; the one, extending from Mohmund Rud to Latabund, under Col. Tweedie, and the other, from Latabund to Kabul, under Major Hastings, both being under the supreme control of Mr. Lepel Griffin.

This view of the case is, moreover, bourne out by the declaration made by Mr. Griffin to the Kabul Sardars regarding the main lines of the Government scheme for the future administration of the country. He informed them that, the plan of a united Afghanistan having proved incompatible with the fulfilment of the treaty obligations, it had been decided henceforward to sub-divide the country, the provinces of Herat and Kandahar being detached from the jurisdiction of the ruler of Kabul. He further informed them that the re-instatement of Yakub Khan was impossible; that a British army would remain at Kabul till a ruler was appointed strong enough to carry out arrangements with the British Government and protect those who had befriended it, and that the measures to be taken for the future government of Herat and Kandahar would be decided on hereafter. Nothing, it will be observed, was said as to the future of Turkestan, and it was manifestly impossible to announce who the next Amir would be.

The general opinion appears to be that the Government desires to leave the chiefs of the country as free as possible to make their own selection, and there is little room for doubt that it would be better for it to annex the country outright than to attempt to force on it a puppet ruler of its own choosing, who would be *ipso facto* unacceptable to the people.

It is impossible, however, to ignore, and the Government is probably very far from ignoring, the chance that the Sardars will elect to go against us, rather than choose any ruler whomsoever under the conditions thus laid down. Already it is rumoured that Mr. Lepel Griffin's proclamation has been unfavourably received, the Sardars protesting that, deprived of Herat and Kandahar, the Amir will be no better than a Nawab, *i. e.*, than a feudatory of the British Government without any real power. The immediate outcome of the proclamation may not improbably be, that, while temporising with us, and secretly stirring up a guerilla warfare, the chiefs will make overtures to Abdul Rahman, and that, if he agrees to the position, there

will be a combined movement of the entire country against us under his leadership. That the Government anticipates some such eventuality is, we think, evident from the energetic military preparations that are being made.

On the evening of the 25th ultimo orders were issued for a re-disposition of the forces at Kabul, evidently designed to meet the exigencies of an early attack, while a strong force was simultaneously told off to hold itself in readiness for immediate offensive operations. At the same time arrangements were proceeding for the despatch of further reinforcements to the capital from Jellalabad.

The following troops now compose the Brigades of Divisions of the Kabul force :—

"First Division under General Roberts.—First Brigade ; 92nd Regiment, 28th Panjabis, 45th Panjab Native Infantry, under General Macpherson. Second Brigade ; 72nd Regiment, 5th Gurkhas, 3rd Sikhs, 5th Panjabis or a relieving regiment under General Baker. Second Division under Major General Ross.—First Brigade ; 67th Regiment, 2nd Gurkhas, 27th Panjabis, under Brigadier General Roberts. Second Brigade ; 9th Native Infantry, 4th Gurkhas, 24th Panjabis, under General Charles Gough. Cavalry Brigade under General H. Gough ; 9th Lancers, 3rd Bengal Cavalry, 3rd Panjab Cavalry, 17th Bengal Cavalry."

Besides these there are the Guide Corps and the 23rd Regiment which are not attached to any Brigade.

Any such general hostile movement as that which we are contemplating, would be likely to compel the Government to adopt a policy of annexation.

However onerous such a policy might at first prove, its net result would probably be, the substitution of a comparatively short and sharp conflict for a prolonged period of chronic trouble and embarrassment. The maintenance of an independent Amir, however friendly he might be, would leave the power of the country for hostility practically untouched, while the disposition for hostility, however long it might remain latent, would be sure to break out as fiercely as ever on the first favourable opportunity.

The dread of annexation entertained by a certain school of Indian politicians, and probably by the majority of people at home, is largely based on an erroneous notion that our rule would meet with undying resistance at the hands of the great mass of the population of the country. A notion seems to prevail that the people of Afghanistan generally are not only incapable of being reconciled to foreign rule, but that they are by nature averse to all orderly government whatever. That notion, we are convinced, is devoid of all reasonable foundation. The great mass of the

population of Afghanistan, as of every other country, would prefer peace to war if they could get it. Its apparent general turbulence is in reality the turbulence of the restless few ; of the class whose hand is against every man ; a class that exists potentially in every country and comes uppermost whenever, as in Afghanistan, the government is, for any length of time, too weak to preserve order. Not only are there whole sections of the population who are actually and by nature peaceably disposed, but the great bulk of the population would be found on the side of order whenever a Government, whether ours or any other, had established and proved itself able to preserve it.

That the Afghans proper would, without a prolonged struggle, submit to being deprived of the power which, as the ruling clan, they have so long enjoyed, of carrying things with a high hand, is not to be expected. The Ghilzais might probably be conciliated by judicious treatment. But there is another race, fully as brave and as sturdy as either, who would hail British rule with delight, and who, with the aid of arms, money and military instruction, would enable us to hold the country with a minimum of British troops. Sanction has, we see, just been given to the enlistment of men of this race in our regiments, a wise measure which might have been long since adopted with advantage, and, should annexation be forced upon us, one of our first measures should be to organise a strong Hazarah contingent.

We cannot refrain from quoting here part of what Dr. Bellew says of this people in his excellent little work on "The Races of Afghanistan."

" This people differ entirely from all the other races of Afghanistan, and occupy a very extensive area of country, extending from the borders of Kabul and Ghazni to those of Heart in one direction, and from the vicinity of Kandahar to that of Balkh in the other. They hold, in fact, all the country which formed the Paropamisus of the ancients, and in their possession of it are isolated from all the other peoples of Afghanistan, with whom they are in contact only where their borders march together. This region is mountainous throughout, and for the most part the soil is poor. But it contains many fertile and populous valleys, and is the source of several important rivers, the Arghandab and Helmand, the Harirud or Herat river, and the Murghab or river of Marv. It is formed by the two great western prolongations of the Hindu Kush, which are separated from each other by the valley of the Harirud, and is divided into Ghurjistan, or Sufed-band, on the north, and Ghor, or Sipah-band, on the south : whilst the point on the east, whence the two ranges start from the Hindu Kush, is the Ghor-band of Bamian.

"The interior of this country is entirely unknown to Europeans, but we know from history that in former times it was a highly populous region, and took the famous conqueror Changhiz Khan a full decade to subdue and devastate. In his time it abounded in strong fortified places held by a population mostly of Persian race. . . .

"Regarding the ethnic affiliation of the Hazarah people there can be no doubt, their features and forms declaring them distinctly to be Tatar of the Mongol division. But little or nothing appears to be known for certain regarding their history and settlement in these parts, and they seem to have no traditions on the subject themselves. The name, too, by which they are now known affords no clue, as it is not a native one, but of foreign derivation. The general idea regarding the origin of the word Hazarah is, that it is derived from the Persian word *hazar*, "a thousand," and was applied to these people by their neighbours, in consequence of their having been planted here as military colonists in detachments of a thousand fighting men each by Changhiz Khan in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. . . .

"Amongst themselves this people never use the term Hazarah as their national appellation, and yet they have no name for their people as a nation. They are only known amongst themselves by the names of their several principal tribes and the clans subordinate to them respectively. . . . They acknowledge the Charaymac, Jamshedi, Firozkohi, Tymuni, and other Tatar tribes in the western parts of the country as kindred, but have no very intimate relations with them. With the exception of a few Turki words, they have entirely lost their mother-tongue and adopted in its place the Persian language of the thirteenth century, and with it the national form of religion of that people, namely, the Shíá doctrine of Islám. This is the case with the eastern tribes throughout, though some towards the north-west of the country are of the Sunni sect. . . .

"Very little is known of the manners and customs of this Tatar people. They are said, however, to be simple-minded people, and very much in the hands of their priests. They are for the most part entirely illiterate; are governed by tribal and clan chiefs, whose authority over their people is absolute; and they are generally very poor and hardy. Many thousands of them come down to the Punjab every cold season in search of labour either on the roads, or as well-sinkers, wall-builders, &c. In their own country they have the reputation of being a brave and hardy race, and amongst the Afghans they are considered a faithful, industrious, and intelligent people as servants. Many thousands of them find employment at Kabul and Ghazni and Kandahar during

the winter months as labourers—in the two former cities mainly in removing the snow from the house-tops and streets. In consequence of their being heretics, the Sunni Afghans hold them in slavery, and in most of the larger towns the servant-maids are purchased slaves of this people.

"As a race, the Hazarah are irreconcilably hostile to the Afghan, and they have always shown a good disposition towards us on the several occasions of our military operations in Afghanistan. The independent tribes in the interior, who have hitherto baffled the attempts of the Kabul Government to reduce them to subjection, are described as a very brave people, with many of the warlike characteristics of the Goorkha. In fact they may very properly be considered as the Goorkha of the west, for they are of the same race, and in physiognomy there is no difference between them, the Hazarah being of fairer complexion only. Of the numbers of this people nothing is known for certain, though they are roughly reckoned at one hundred and twenty thousand houses, exclusive of the Charaymac and western tribes. For us, in our new relations with Afghanistan, this people has a special and very important interest. With good management they may be entirely attached to us and our interests, and are capable of being converted into a very powerful advance-guard of our military position in the country.

The following, according to latest information, is the disposition of the Bombay Division, in South Afghanistan :—

"The troops stationed at Sibi will be furnished from Jacobabad.

"At Thull : 2 guns No. 2 Bombay Mountain Battery ; 2nd Sind Horse 3 Troops ; Head-quarters and 6 companies of 5th Bombay N. I.

"At Harani : 2nd Sindh Horse 1 Troop ; 2 companies 5th Bombay N. I.

"Nos. 3, 4, and 5 companies Bombay Sappers and Miners will be employed on the Railway line near Gwal, under the direction of the Chief Engineer.

"At Kushdil Khan-ka-Killa : Head-quarters 2nd Brigade Bombay Division ; 16th Bombay Native Infantry, and 1 squadron consisting of 40 sabres of the Puna Horse.

"At Chaman : 3 companies of the 28th Bombay Native Infantry. All the above troops are placed directly under the orders of the Brigadier-General commanding the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Bombay Division.

At Quetta : 14-9 R. A. Garrison Battery, now *en route* from Bombay :—2 guns No. 2 Mountain Battery, Head-quarters and 1 squardon 2nd Sindh Horse, 4th Bombay Native Infantry.

The guards now maintained at the transport stages in the Bolan Pass are furnished by this latter regiment, and 2 companies detailed to Khelat are located temporarily at Mach, pending the arrival of the Assistant Agent Governor-General at Khelat. 4 companies of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry are temporarily employed in the protection of the Railway line above Harnai. The escort, when required, for the Agent Governor-General in Beluchistan, will be furnished from the Quetta garrison, to consist of 2 Mountain Guns, 1 troop of Cavalry, and 160 Rifles:—

"At Khelat: 2 companies of 4th Bombay N. I. These, however, are temporarily detained at Mach in the Bolan Pass.

"At Gulistan Karez: 1 company 28th Bombay N. I.

"At Killa Abdulla: 1 company 28th Bombay N. I.

"At Chaman: 2 guns No. 2 Mountain Battery, 1 native officer and 40 sabres 2nd Puna Horse; Head-quarters and 3 companies of 28th Bombay N. I.

"At Abdul Rahman: 1 native officer and 30 sabres of the 3rd Sindh Horse. The Cavalry at this post will hereafter be furnished by the 2nd Puna Horse on arrival; 1 native officer and 30 rifles 19th Bombay Native Infantry.

"At Mundi Hissar: 1 native officer and 30 sabres 3rd Sindh (to be similarly relieved by the Puna Horse.)

"The following troops of the Bombay Division are detailed for Kandahar:—

E-B Royal Horse Artillery.
C-2 R. A. 4 guns.
5-8 R. A. Mountain Battery 4 guns.
5-11 R. A. Heavy Battery.
66th Regiment, 1st Brigade.
1st Bombay Grenadiers. 1st Brigade.
19th Bombay N. I., 1st Brigade.
7th Fusiliers, 2nd Brigade.
30th Bombay N. I., 2nd Brigade.

"The 29th Bombay Cavalry.

"Head-quarters and 2nd squadron Puna Horse; 3rd Sindh Horse and No. 2 company Sappers and Miners.

"The garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilzai furnished by the Bombay Division will be—

C-2 R. A. Field Battery 2 guns.
5-8 R. A. Mountain Battery 2 guns.
66th Regiment 2 companies.

29th Bombay Native Infantry and 1 squadron 3rd Sindh Horse."

Any record of the progress of affairs in Afghanistan during the past quarter would be incomplete without some reference to the unusual action of the Commander-in-Chief in removing General Massy from the command of the Cavalry Brigade, and recalling

him to India. The previous reputation of the disgraced officer, while it makes it almost inconceivable that His Excellency can have adopted such a course except on a most careful consideration of the whole of the evidence, also renders it inevitable that his action should be subjected to the severest scrutiny.

The disastrous result of the cavalry action of the 11th December in the Chardeh Valley was the immediate occasion of the enquiry that led to this decision. The charges against General Massy appear to be that, having been ordered to proceed with his guns and Cavalry by the Ghazni road for the purpose of joining General Macpherson at Argandeh, he disobeyed his instructions by striking across country. That he unnecessarily, and contrary to the rules of scientific warfare, engaged overwhelming numbers of the enemy with guns and cavalry unsupported by infantry; and that, in continually advancing his guns, and so losing their fire in the interval, and in dismounting thirty lancers with carbines to stop the advance of ten thousand men, he showed himself unable to cope with the difficulties of the situation in which he had thus entangled himself.

The arguments brought forward in defence of General Massy are that, by cutting across country instead of proceeding by the Ghazni road, he saved a distance of more than two miles, and was enabled to check the enemy so much further from Sherpur, if not to prevent them slipping through to Sherpur while he was traversing the circuitous route.

That he attacked the enemy only when it was impossible to avoid a collision without leaving them free to advance on Sherpur, and that by engaging them he not only warned General Macpherson of the true state of affairs, but actually delayed their advance for a time, and so rendered it possible to make arrangements to save Sherpur. That the tactics adopted by him were the only ones open to him, and that the charges which resulted so disastrously, and the advance of the guns to the position in which they had to be abandoned, were ordered by General Roberts himself, after his arrival on the scene of action.

It is not our intention to prejudge the case on manifestly imperfect evidence, but there is one important circumstance, which seems to be generally admitted, *viz.*, that the orders given to General Massy, and disobeyed by him, were given on the assumption that the facts, as regards both the number and the position of the enemy, were widely different from what they actually proved to be, and that General Massy's action in disobeying them was taken in view of the actual facts, or at all events of facts which enabled him to make a much more correct estimate of the actual facts.

The close of the quarter has been marked by a decided access of excitement among the tribes on the Khaibar line, where, on the 26th ultimo, a body of eight hundred Khugiánis attacked Fort Battye, inflicting on the garrison a loss of seven killed, including Lieutenant Angelo, and nineteen wounded.

On our North Eastern Frontier the Fabian policy of Brigadier General Nation has been rewarded by the unconditional submission of the Khonoma Nagas, and the surrender of their guns. As a set off, however, against this somewhat inglorious success, we have to record a lamentable catastrophe in the neighbouring province of Cachar, where a body of the enemy swept down by night on the Baladhun tea-plantation, and, after murdering Mr. Blyth, the European manager, sacked and burnt the factory and made good their retreat unscathed.

In the domestic history of the Quarter the most noteworthy feature is the Financial Statement presented to the Council by Sir John Strachey on the 24th February, and embodying the most unexpected results. When the Budget of 1879-80 was framed, it was estimated that the year would close with a deficit of £1,395,000, and this unfavourable forecast had led to something like a panic in England, one of the consequences of which was the imposition on the Government of India of a starvation scale of public works expenditure accompanied by a wholesale reduction in the personnel of the department. Instead of this deficit the regular estimates show a surplus of £119,000, and this surplus is arrived at after providing an increased expenditure of no less than £2,886,000 on account of war and extraordinary public works connected therewith, and of £89,000 on famine account. Instead of £64,562,000, the revenue promised to yield £67,583,000; while the expenditure had exceeded the original estimate by only £1,507,0C0.

On the receipt side the most important variations from the estimate were an improvement in land revenue of £450,000, more than half of which was due to the collection of arrears of former years; an improvement in the net revenue from salt of £362,000; an improvement in the net revenue from opium of £1,900,000; an improvement of £114,000 in the revenue from stamps, and a deficiency of £93,000 in the receipts from assessed taxes.

On the expenditure side the most important variations were a saving in Exchange amounting to £1,010,000; of £389,000 in Interest on Debt; of £747,000 in construction, and £638,000 in working, of ordinary Public Works, with smaller savings in Telegraphs, and Stationery and Printing, a surplus of £265,000 in the place of a payment of £191,000, on account of Provincial

Services, and, *per contra*, an increase of military expenditure amounting to £2,768,000; of £168,000 for Superannuations and smaller increases under the heads of Post Office, Railways and Productive Public Works.

For 1880-81 the revenue is estimated at £66,746,000 and the ordinary expenditure, including excess military charges to the amount of £4,060,000, at £66,329,000, thus showing an expected suplus of £417,000. In arriving at this result the net revenue from Opium is taken at £1,150,000 less than in the past year; that from Salt at £194,000 more; that from Railways at £1,080,000 more; that from Telegraphs at £25,000 more; that from Customs at £56,000 less, and that from Assessed Taxes at £247,000 less, while on the expenditure side of the account, exchange, reckoned at 1*s.* 8*d.*, is taken at £310,000 more; grant for productive Public Works at £388,000 less; Interest at £282,000 less; superannuations at £112,000 less, Irrigation and Navigation at £96,000 less, and Famine Relief at £94,000 less.

Two important fiscal changes are included in the financial arrangements of the year, *viz.* the abolition of the export duty on indigo and shellac and the exemption of incomes of less than Rs. 500 a year from the operation of the license-tax. The former measure is based on economic considerations, the validity of which is generally admitted. The latter is a measure of relief which was urgently demanded, not so much because the class relieved are unable to bear the tax, as because of their powerlessness to resist the oppression and extortion of which its assessment and collection are apt to be made the occasion.

It was orginally the intention of the Government to couple the exemption of these incomes with another amendment of the Act, rendering official and professional incomes liable to the tax. But this proposal, which would have recouped £240,000 out of the £340,000 surrendered, has been abandoned.

The original object of the proposed extension had been two-fold; to compensate for the loss arising from the exemption of incomes under Rs. 500 and to advance a step in the equalization of taxation. The state of the finances, however, rendered it possible to dispense with the £340,000 surrendered without embarrassment, and the alleged equalisation would have been rather specious than real. Sir John Strachey himself admitted that it would have been too partial to warrant the extension of the tax. "If," he said, "it had now been possible to attempt the removal of the numerous inequalities and anomalies which are inseparable from any such partial system of taxation as that which now exists, this would have been an object of high importance; but

the mere extension of taxation to the official and professional classes would clearly be no complete solution of such a problem, although it might be a step towards it."

Though the Government is authorised by the Secretary of State to borrow £2,500,000 for productive public works, it has been determined to endeavour to meet all the demands for the year, inclusive of the public works expenditure, without recourse to a loan, the deficiency, amounting to Rs. 2,74,89,000, being taken from cash balances which, it is, estimated, will thus be reduced to 11½ crores of rupees at the end of the year.

If the above estimates are open to any obvious exception, it is that, looking at the experience of late years, the rate of exchange has been calculated at a dangerously high figure, and that an unduly sanguine view has been taken of the prospects of the railways. On the other hand, it may fairly be expected that the revenue from customs will be somewhat better than the estimate.

As was freely predicted at the time, the exemption of the lower grades of cotton goods from duty, granted last year, has resulted in a much heavier loss of revenue than was estimated by the Government, the actual sum being £230,000, as compared with the anticipated sum of £150,000; and for the current year it is estimated that the loss will be £20,000 more. This, however, has not been the most serious result of the ill-considered measure in question. When the partial exemption was under discussion, it was foreseen that it would operate to create a new class of shirtings, made of yarns slightly within the minimum dutiable standard, in the place of the large class of somewhat finer goods previously imported. The actual result has been completely in accordance with this expectation. "The immediate consequence," said Sir John Strachey, "of the exemption from duty of goods containing no yarn of a higher number than 30s., was the rapid development of the manufacture and import of a new class of goods made of 30s. and lower counts. In consequence of their superior cheapness these duty-free goods have rapidly become popular; and the experiment having thus proved successful, the tendency is now to make of the coarse yarns all cloth for which they can be used, and to subtitute the coarser for the finer fabrics formerly made of yarns ranging from 30s. to 40s. This process has already reached such a point that last month the duty-free shirtings and long-cloths constituted more than 74 per cent. of those kinds of imported goods, and the dutiable qualities of some other classes of goods have almost disappeared from the market."

A premium has, in short, been placed on the manufacture of a certain class of goods, which amounts to a serious interference with the natural course of trade, while at the same time it is

extremely doubtful whether any real or lasting benefit to the home manufacturer has resulted. The ultimate choice appears to lie between a uniform duty on all classes of imported piece-goods and the entire abolition of the duty, and there can be little doubt that the latter course will sooner or later be forced on the Government, with the effect of inflicting on it a further loss of revenue to the extent of £615,000. With a view of recouping this, it is suggested by Mr. Hope that all import duties, with certain exceptions, might be abolished and a uniform registration fee of one per cent. imposed, either on all exports and imports, or on all imports.

Two important points of principle have been much discussed in connexion with the financial arrangements of the year, *viz.* whether the expenses of the Afghan war should be defrayed by India or England, and whether, the former alternative having been accepted, they should be defrayed out of revenue or by loan. As regards the first of these questions, it is argued on the one side that the war is an Imperial war, the necessity for which has arisen entirely out of the exigencies, or what the Government chose to regard as the exigencies, of Imperial policy. The threatening attitude adopted by England towards Russia in the spring of 1877, it is maintained, was the cause of those intrigues on the part of Russia in Afghanistan which ultimately led the Government to take up arms against the Amir. On the other hand, it is argued that the war was undertaken to guard against a prospective danger to India, and that, even if it be admitted that the danger arose out of the European relations of England, this circumstance is an accident of British rule in India, the consequences of which India must accept along with the benefits of that rule. Further, it is argued, the attitude adopted by England towards Russia in Europe was itself dictated by the necessity of protecting India; and England might as justly call upon India to contribute towards the cost of a war undertaken by her in Europe for this purpose, as India calls upon England to contribute towards the cost of a war undertaken by her in Asia for the same purpose, on the ground of its connection with her European relations.

These arguments appear to us quite unanswerable. Nor do we think it can be considered that the liability entails any hardship on India. For, though in rare cases her connexion with England may subject her to hostilities to which she would not otherwise have been exposed, there can be little doubt that, on the whole, her liability to attack from without is not only not increased, but largely diminished, by it.

The decision of the Government to defray the cost of the war entirely out of revenue, instead of partly by means of loan, strikes us as being far more open to criticism. It is, no doubt, a good

rule to discharge war expenses out of revenue where the amount is moderate and where the money is available for the purpose, or can be raised without undue pressure on the existing resources of the people. But, looking at all the circumstances of our financial position, we do not think it can be justly said that this is the case in the present instance. Sir John Strachey does, indeed, assert that the cost of the war is provided out of surplus revenue. But, though true to the letter, this assertion is very far from being true in the spirit. In part, at least, the cost of the war has been provided from money levied for the specific purpose of securing the country against famine, and no one can reasonably contend that it is a proper way of doing this to spend it in waging war in Afghanistan. Had there been no works of a protective character waiting to be carried out, it might indeed have been urged with a certain amount of force, that it was better to borrow for famine relief, if necessary, hereafter, than to borrow for war now. But it is notorious that, while this money is being spent on war, important and urgent works are being left unconstructed. So far, in short, the surplus is a purely factitious one, created by curtailing outlay which had been accepted by the Government itself as indispensible for the safety of the country: and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, in adopting a course at once so tortuous and so improvident, the Government has been actuated by a desire to make the burthen of the war appear lighter than it really is.

Among the events of the quarter has been the retirement of Sir Richard Temple from the Governorship of Bombay, amid a blaze of popularity, such as it is rarely the fortune of an Anglo-Indian Governor to achieve. Possessed of boundless energy and resource, the circumstances of the hour presented him with unsurpassed opportunities for their exercise; and no generous man will grudge him the fame of his success because the path of duty happened to coincide with that of ambition.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

General Literature.

A Hand-book of Modern Greek. By Edgar Vincent, Coldstream Guards, and T. G. Dickson. With a preface by Professor J. C. Blackie. London: Macmillan and Co.

THIS handy and neatly got-up volume supplies a want which has long been felt, not only by tourists, but also by our representatives in Greece, Turkey in Europe and Asia, and even Egypt. It will be welcomed by Indian officials who are looking forward to posts in Cyprus or in Asia Minor on the reconstruction or dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. Civilians and others in India, who are making abortive attempts to keep up their knowledge of Ancient Greek, will find that Modern Greek will impart new light and a lasting life to a buried study. For Modern Greek is not a mixture of Turkish, Italian and other elements of a *lingua franca*, which popular opinion or classical prejudice supposes it to be. It is the Aeolo-doric dialect of Ancient Greek and at the time of its worst degradation had not a tenth of the foreign element which, for instance, characterises Urdu. In the hands of modern writers it is being reconstructed, as a literary language, into the Attic of Xenophon, not without detriment to the piquancy and joyousness of the vernacular. Were our schools to abandon their caricature of a practically pre-historic pronunciation, they could at once draw from the living fountains of a modern language and gain a far deeper insight into ancient Greek, that incomparable vehicle of both culture and mental discipline, for which alone the stately, cold and poorer Latin is a substitute. Ancient and modern Greek, studied together, as Latin and Italian, or classical and modern Arabic, should be, would be acquired in less than half the time that is now devoted to the former alone; and it could not be forgotten, as classical lore now too often is, for it would engraft ancient thought and beauty on daily life and modern aspirations. Nor is the political advantage of the suggested combination undeserving of attention. Too long has British prestige in the Levant suffered from the linguistic shortcomings of our agents. To know Greek is to have the key to the sympathy of the most pushing race in the Levant, who, whatever may be their actual descent ethnologically, are in language,

spirit and aspirations, the true descendants of the ancient Greeks, and whose surpassing patriotism, desire for education and love for their ancient literature may be directed in the best interests of civilization, of which England is still the principal exponent.

The veteran Professor, J. C. Blackie, of Edinburgh, stands Godfather to a production whose practical utility can scarcely be overrated. It must be a great satisfaction to this undismayed advocate of the modern Greek pronunciation of ancient Greek to find that the work of Messrs. Vincent and Dickson enables even "practical Britons" to support his views. The writer of this notice, after a long sojourn in the Levant, endeavoured in vain to introduce the study of modern Greek at King's College, London, between 1858 and 1864, for, although the authorities of that Institution, with singular liberality of views, considering the ossified condition of classical opinion on the subject, allowed the subject to be taught, yet only one student was attracted to it. Now, however, the time has arrived when either that or some other Institution will establish a school of interpreters for the East, somewhat on the model of the *E'cole des langues orientales vivantes* at Paris, which may enable our consular, diplomatic and judicial representatives in the Levant to contend on more equal terms with their French, Russian, German and even Italian colleagues.

We have been led into the above apparent digression because we consider that the little book before us answers the requirements of temporary as well as permanent English residents in the Levant. Every grammatical rule is accompanied by sentences which are to the point, which convey information, and which avoid the tedious reiteration of that most delusive of all systems—Ollendorff. Sometimes, indeed, the sentences are too long and too difficult at the beginning of the work. Again, we consider that the English translations should occasionally be more literal, for the object of the work is not to teach English idiom, but good modern Greek, for instance: *πολὺ καλὰ κάμνετε* is not "a capital plan," but "you are doing very well." It would also be an additional facility, as well as a pleasure, to the student to be shown old acquaintances, as "practice," "catalogue," "glossary," "technical," "ephemeral," "chart," in their modern Greek form, or present application. Any ordinarily educated Englishman knows hundreds of modern Greek words which would "come in useful" if he only knew what they exactly meant, and how to pronounce them. We would therefore suggest that in the next edition of the Hand-book a list of the more important of these words be added, or that the English form be placed underneath the Greek word when it first occurs.

The authors of this Hand-book have shown themselves to be men of great common sense and of considerable thoughtfulness in the dialogues and letters which they have added to the work. These are full of exactly the sort of information that one requires in "travelling by a steamer," "arriving at an hotel," "asking one's way about Athens," "travelling in the interior," writing or presenting a letter of introduction, complaining to officials, remarks whilst out shooting. &c., &c. The very prices asked "at a bookseller's," "stationer's," "in a café," are correct.

To us the third part has been the most interesting. It contains passages from Greek authors from B. C. 850 to A. D. 1821, given with the view of showing that the language has been one and the same all that time. This view certainly is not proved by the juxtaposition of an extract of Homer's Odyssey and the modern Greek rendering of D. Vikelas. No two languages could, at first sight, be more different, for although the roots in both are Greek, yet they are used differently. It is like comparing Anglo Saxon with the Somersetshire dialect of English. Again, the Ionic of Herodotus is compared with its version in the Aeolo-doric Modern Greek striving to become Attic in the able hands of Gennadios. Xenophon's Anabasis and Gennadios stand closer, and so do the corresponding versions in ancient and modern Greek respectively of Plutarch's Themistocles. A *Nubian inscription* A. D. 300, by a King Silco, affords striking evidence that the pronunciation of Greek at that period was the same as now. We then follow in review Theophanes and Malalas A. D. 750, who introduced a host of ancient words with new meanings; Anna Comnena, A. D. 1100; "Belthandros and Chrysantza A. D. 1370, which shows the influence of the crusades in Greek literature; 'a fragment,' probably written soon after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, A. D. 1453," an extract from the Rhetoric of Scuphos, A. D. 1681, and a stirring Klephtic Ballad. "By whom it is deemed to be an honor to do it (robbing) well" says Thucydides of those to whom it still applies, though, as the writer can testify, the dangers of travelling in Greece are altogether overrated, whilst it is simply untrue that the hotel-keepers *et hoc genus omne* are more grasping than their *confrères* all over Europe. This by the way, but we cannot refrain from quoting a few lines from the burial of Demos, the patriot robber.

> "*Καὶ τώρα μ'ἦρθε θάνατος, καὶ θέλω νἄπαι θάνω*
> *Κάμετε τὸ κιβοῦρι μου πλατὺ, ψηλὸ νὰ'γένη*
> *Νὰ στεκ' ορθὸς νὰ πολεμῶ, καὶ δίπλα νὰ γεμίζω*"

"And now death has come to me and I want to die,
Make my grave broad, let it be high
That I may stand upright to fight and stoop to load my musket."

We then get a specimen of the fervid eloquence and exalted patriotism of Coraes, the greatest figure in the history of modern Greece and a funeral oration by Tricoupis on Lord Byron in 1824, who was then rightly called Μπαί́ρων, pronounced as in English, but is now spelt, as in English, Βύρων and pronounced "Veeron."

Part IV. gives judiciously chosen extracts from contemporary Greek writers, articles from newspapers, a first-rate translation of Othello's speech to the Senators and an extract from the Rabagas of Sardou, which, as is pointed out in one of the dialogues, makes it almost a pleasure to read modern Greek with the help of the spirited French original. Some poetical specimens conclude this part, which, we trust, we have shown to be as interesting as it is useful. Part V. is a vocabulary of the most useful words, preceded by an alphabetical index, the English words in each subject being also, as far as possible, arranged alphabetically. A specimen of modern Greek handwriting concludes the volume.

As regards its deficiencies, the foremost is that it is not the work of one man or even of two, a circumstance which, in other respects, tends to render it more complete and interesting. Some passages are idiomatic to a fault; others combine ancient with modern forms in a manner which, although perfectly legitimate in the present stage of modern Greek, is incongruous. Some English renderings are done by a more careful hand than others. Nor are the definitions of modern Greek sounds always happy, even at the outset. For instance, the third letter of the Greek alphabet is said to be a sound "between *g* and *h*." It may be no doubt *transliterated* by *both* "gh," (though the *sound* is certainly not like any rendered *by* or *between* those two letters), but it is *pronounced* like the "ghain" of Arabic words in Hindustani or like the Northumbrian "r," or like the French "r grasseyé." If these definitions do not convey any meaning to the reader, then the sound must be learnt by practice. Again, χ is as "ch" in *loch* in certain cases and as "ch" in "nicht" in German in other cases. The author, however, flounders between some fanciful notion of the pronunciation of the German "ch" and the Florentine "c." We also can scarcely believe that the ear would always tell "whether ἀφ' and καΘ' or ἀπ and κατ' are right" according as to whether the word following these prepositions begins with a hard or soft breathing, (*Vide* page 10.) "Εἰς τὸν τόπον" is "in the place" not "in the country." It is rather hard to have the hybrid passage regarding "the Protestant Church" before one has even mastered the pronouns. Why are not all the exercises as brief and sensible as those that follow the pronouns, with the exception of the sentence "the neutral powers offered their mediation?" "These horrid antiquities," in a

letter, is scarcely exact for παλαιοαρχαιότητας, which queer word is equivalent to "old antiquities." The exercises on certain "Rules of Syntax," pages 117 to 119, appear to be written by an intelligent native. The dialogues require a little more careful editing. The starved passenger on board the steamer to the Piraeus says "I must *have* something" in good English, it is true, but the Greek πρέπει νὰ φάγω κάτι τι is "I must eat something," or even more accurately, in French, "Il faut que je mange quelque chose." "Dragomen," as if "Dragoman" were composed of "drago" and "man," is too absurd. However, these are mere blots in the sun. The authors invite hints or suggestions which may render the book more useful or more complete, in view of a future edition, which, we are convinced, will be called for, because the work is not only *facile princeps* among hand-books of modern Greek, but also, in its practical arrangement and thoughtfulness, a model for linguistic hand-books generally.

G. W. L.

MATHEW ARNOLD ON WORDSWORTH.

IT is but fit that Wordsworth's love for Mathew the schoolmaster should be repaid by a distinguished Inspector of Schools who bears the same Christian name. Mr. Arnold has lately selected and edited a volume of poems by the Late Laureate which is sure to attract the attention of students of English literature, no less for the value of the poems themselves than for the preface with which the editor has introduced them. His principal points may be thus summarised. He commences his introductory essay by an anecdote of Lord Macaulay, and, in accordance with the historian's dictum, admits that Wordsworth enjoyed his chief popularity about ten years before his death. But he argues that this was due to the facts that the best poems were written before the first decade of the century had closed; that Wordsworth's shorter pieces were his best; and that he seemed almost blind to the difference between his own best work and his worst. Mr. Arnold, however, pronounces that, without being, as he says he himself is, a member of the Wordsworthian clique or persuasion, the poetical reader will, or ought to, place this author among the greatest of modern poets. The only modern poets entitled to take rank before him, it is maintained, are Shakespeare, Milton, Moliere, Goethe; and though, after these, he is upon the same level, and above Spenser, Dryden, Burns, Byron, Keats, Lamartine, Musset, and Victor Hugo, this superiority is claimed, not it should seem in virtue of the *Laodamia*, or the *Ode on Immortality*, but rather of those minor works in which the poet is most

natural in his manner. The editor's own favourites are said to be *Michael*, the *Fountain*, and *The Reaper*. Thus nakedly stated, the proposition must be confessed to be strained, and to wear the air of a paradox. Mr. Arnold's own poetry is of so different a type, so permeated with antique influences, and so full of an exquisite artificialness, that it comes with a better grace from him than it would from an ordinary critic. But is it true? To be sure we cannot say what the poetical reader *should* do; but what is his practice may be adumbrated by experience. And, tried by such a test, it can scarcely be said that the pieces mentioned, whatever be their purity of thought or their directness of utterance, have been found to excel the *Faery Queen*, the *Absalom*, *Don Juan*, *Rolla*, or *Les Châtimens* "in power and in interest," the two qualities especially claimed as touchstones by Mr. Arnold.

Michael is a tale in blank verse, about 450 lines in length, about an aged couple whose only son went to live in a town and "gave himself to evil courses;" while the old couple, after vainly trying to occupy themselves in building a sheep-fold of uncemented stones, died nearly at the same time. The cottage was deserted, "the ploughshare has been through the ground

"On which it stood, great changes have been wrought
In all the neighbourhood. Yet the oak is left
That grew beside their door; and the remains
Of the unfinished sheep-fold may be seen
Beside the boisterous brook of Greenhead Ghyll."

This is all; nor does poem atone by power of diction for its debility of plot or incident. There is nothing in it that has become household words, like so many quotations from poets whom Mr. Arnold deems far inferior—say Pope or Campbell. The passages which he himself selects for especial commendation are these two:—

(1.) "Think
"On man, the heart of man, and human life."
(2.) "And never lifted up a single stone."

The *Fountain* is a short set of stanzas relating a conversation with the school-master mentioned already, in which the poet begins by asking "the grey-haired man of glee" to sing him a comic song. The old gentleman declines, alleging that "many love him, but by none is he enough beloved." On which Wordsworth, taking him by the hand, offers to take the place of his dead children. The school-master curtly declines this offer, and accedes to the former proposition.

"And, ere we came to Leonard's rock,
"He sang those witty rhymes
"About the crazy old church clock
"And the bewildered chimes."

The Fountain remains unchronicled. Last on Mr. Arnold's list of

instances of power and interest comes *The Solitary Reaper*, a pretty little poem, expressive of the sweet voice of a Highland lass and the hearer's inability to understand what she was singing, probably by reason of its being in Gaelic. It consists of four stanzas.

Surely perverse audacity could not well go further than claiming for these commonplace efforts a rank not below that of *Samson Agonistes*, *Lycidas*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, or the first part of *Faust*. (It is not clear on what ground a prose writer of comedies, Moliere, is associated.) But the others!

The explanation probably is that Mr. Arnold is, as he says, a Wordsworthian; and it is the part of those idolatrous disciples to accept their master's words as gospel. About 1748 Wordsworth wrote a prose essay—the original preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*, in which he contended that poetry ought to speak the language of common life. Whether this doctrine was true or false, it was hardly original, having been largely adopted by both Burns and Cowper, to the former of whom Wordsworth has distinctly referred as his master in the following lines on that poet's death:—

> " He was gone,
> " Whose light I hailed when first it shone,
> " And showed my youth
> " How verse may build a princely throne on humble truth."

But in sober earnest this system did not greatly prosper in Wordsworth's hands; and the somewhat drivelling manner into which it led him, goes far to justify the persistent ridicule of the professional critics who were then paramount. Even Mr. Arnold is obliged to admit that Jeffrey was right in saying of such work as *The Excursion* that " this will never do." [The famous review which began in this way has never been quite proved to have been the work of Jeffrey; we have heard it attributed to both Brougham and Empson. But this is not very momentous.]

Mr. Johnston's selection (*Early Poems of Worsdworth*, Moxon, 1857) will be found, we think, a simpler and a better selection than that now before us; as the preface, though without the luminous glow of Mr. Arnold's undoubted genius, is more suited to plain readers. In this essay we are told that the author's original objections to " the established poetic diction" were carried to such an extreme, that in the earlier editions many of the verses " were so familiar and prosaic as to be unsuitable to his own theory of the nature of poetry.—' The spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings.'" But however opinionated and self-trustful he may have been, Wordsworth learned from his own matured judgment that the judgment passed on him by the world was true. And Mr. Johnston goes on with perfect propriety to observe that the alterations made in subsequent editions " will be found to be

almost all in the direction of greater dignity and refinement." These alterations, so far as they have been recorded by Mr. Johnston, occur most in the very pieces which Mr. Arnold least approves, but which have furnished the most numerous quotations and portable phrases to the ordinary run of mankind, by whose award even the greatest writer must be ultimately bound. From the judgment of contemporaries there is an appeal to the high court of posterity; but there is no tribunal beyond. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*

Mr. Arnold bows no more to the verdict of the public than to the decision of his author.

In the *Laodamia* he gives the first stanza as it appeared in 1815, ignoring without remark the form in which it was afterwards re-written by Wordsworth. In a subsequent stanza he adopts the certainly happy substitution of

"A fervent, not ungovernable love.

For the somewhat ludicrous line of 1815.

In the *Ode to Duty,* the second stanza, as amended by the author, ended thus :—

"O ! if through confidence misplaced
They fail, thy saving arms, dread Power, around them cast."

Here, again, Mr. Arnold reverts to the rejected reading.

"May joys be theirs while life shall last,
And Thou ! if they should totter, teach them to stand fast."

Lastly, in the *Ode on Intimations of Immortality,* a like course is adopted. Wordsworth's deliberate emendations are adopted in stanzas III., IX., but rejected in VIII. For instance, in the last, where Wordsworth wrote "Forbide not," Mr. Arnold wilfully read "Think not of."

This seems wild work. If Wordsworth was right in giving greater elaboration and richness to his expressions, his corrections should in all cases be followed, hallowed, and preserved. If we say that he was only partly right, we put ourselves above Wordsworth, whom we have already put above Byron and Victor Hugo. Perhaps, in sometimes using Wordsworth's corrections and sometimes treating them with silent scorn, Mr. Arnold meant to assume for himself that elevated position. Humbler readers would probably prefer to see the poems as the author finally delivered them.

No doubt, in mere productive power, he lost as he grew older; though his judgment—as was naturally to be expected—improved with the cultivation, such as it was, of his taste. Of his extreme old age we have heard a story from an eye-witness, which, in a chastened form, we will endeavour to repeat. In return for Mr.

Arnold's story of Macaulay's estimate of Wordsworth's waning popularity, the present writer may be allowed to finish with an anecdote told him by one who, as a schoolboy, knew Macaulay well.

This young scholar had been on a visit to the aged poet at Rydal Mount, and, on his return, related to his distinguished friend what he thought an odd trait of his host. It was, he said, the habit of the Laureate to retreat after breakfast to a cabinet in the garden, which was something more private and necessary than a mere summer-house; and here he would remain till lunch, when he would join the party with a copy of verses, the produce of his retirement. The clever schoolboy added that, though the custom was highly interesting as a feature in the life of so illustrious a man, the verses themselves were not, as a rule, remarkable for any very extraordinary merit, so far as he could perceive. Macaulay instantly replied by quoting that sad strain of pessimism from the *Ædipus Coloneus*, which may be thus paraphrased :—

> "Not to have been excels all history ;
> But—having been—to go the soonest back
> There whence you came is far the second best."

On the whole Wordsworth must be taken for a rural poet, gentle and disinterested ; not of the very highest culture, yet by no means unsophisticated ; theoretically a slave to nature, yet never so great as when most artificial. His ultimate place in the favour of posterity is probably determined already, and Mr. Arnold's pleadings will not affect the question. A few of the poems will live ; the latest and longest are already rotting on Lethe Wharf along with *Joan of Arc, Madoc,* and other growths of that active time "when George was King."

Select Epigrams from Martial for English Readers. Translated by W. T. Webb, M. A., Professor of History and Political Economy, Presidency College, Calcutta. London : Macmillan and Co. 1879.

TO readers who wish to make the acquaintance of the most genial of Roman humourists, and who lack the knowledge of Latin that would enable them to do so in the original, we can safely recommend Mr. Webb's clever and fairly faithful translations of Martial. Latin scholars may feel inclined to think that undue liberty has been sometimes taken with the text, but it will generally be found that, where this is the case, a more literal rendering would have been comparatively pointless. Of all the ancient authors, perhaps, Martial is most successful in recreating for us the atmosphere of the age and place in which he lived, and

he is at the same time especially rich in those touches of nature that make the whole world kin. His stand-point is essentially that of the man of the world, rather than the moralist, and even when he hits hardest, he does so more or less playfully.

In his more serious moods, it is to tears rather than anger that he inclines, and his verses abound in touches of exquisite pathos.

Take, for instance, the last two lines of the following elegy on the death of the little Canace. As illustrative of the difference between Roman habits of thought and our own, it may be noted that they follow a description the minuteness of which would revolt modern delicacy of feeling.

Aeolidos Canace jacet hoc tumulata sepulcro,
Ultima cui parvæ septima venit hiemps.

Ah scelus! ah facinus! properas quid flere, viator?
Non licet hic vitæ de brevitate queri.

Tristius est leto leti genus; horrida voltus
Abstulit et tenero sedit in ore lues,
Ipsaque crudeles ederunt oscula morbi,
Nec data sunt nigris tota labella rogis
Si tam præcipiti fuerant ventura volatu,
Debuerant alia fata venire via.

Sed mors vocis iter properavit eludere blandæ,
Ne posset duras flectere lingua deas.

Little Aeolian Canace
Lies buried 'neath this marble floor,
Seven winters did the maiden see,
And after them no winter more.

"Ah bitter fate, ah timeless bane!"
Nay, mourn not thus, kind passer-by.
Enough, we may not here complain.
That she, while yet so young, should die.

For cruel cancer's hateful doom
Her child-face wasted in its ire,
Devoured her kisses' fragrant bloom,
Nor left whole lips to grace her pyre.

Twice sad is death that comes like this:
For if the Fates were purposed still
To seize with sudden swoop, I wis'
There yet were other ways to kill.

But death with hasty footsteps went
To close the doors of speech, for fear,
Those cruel goddesses relent,
If her sweet voice should reach their ear.

As examples of the poet's satiric vein, the following may serve for specimens, the first purely jocular, the last probably too bitter to be altogether serious.

Cur non mitto meos tibi, Pontiliane, libellos?
Ne mihi tu mittas, Pontiliane, tuos.

Why, Sir, I don't my verses send you,
  Pray, would you have the reason known?
The reason is—for fear, my friend, that you
  Should send me, in return, your own.

Omnes quas habuit, Fabiane, Lycoris amicas
  Extulit: uxori fiat amica meæ.

Lycoris, Sir, has made an end
  At length of every female friend.
'Tis now my only wish in life,
  That she, for friend, would take my wife.

Not the least valuable portion of Mr. Webb's work is the admirable introduction on domestic life and manners in Martial's day. It is to be regretted that he has been so sparing of his selections.

A Hindu Gentleman's Reflections respecting the Works of Swedenborg and the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church. James Speirs, 36 Bloomsbury Street, London: 1878.

THIS curious little work presents us with the story of a Hindu who, after seeking in vain in the theosophy of his co-religionists, and of Christianity as accepted by various sects, for a satisfactory explanation of the Divine purpose in respect of man, has found what he believes to be the true solution in the doctrines of Emanuel Swedenborg. Apart from the question of the merits of Swedenborgianism, it possesses a two-fold interest,—first, as containing a searching exposition of the difficulties of Christianity as viewed from a stand-point at once friendly and, in a certain sense, independent, and secondly, as exhibiting a close relationship between certain of the transcendental views of the Swedish mystic and the doctrines of the Upanishads.

We speak of the writer's point of view as in a certain sense independent, because, though free from bias as to the mode of solution of the problem, he stands on the same platform as the Christian in respect to its main conditions. In other words, he assumes, and seeks to reconcile, the existence of an All-wise, all-powerful and beneficent Creator, of moral evil and of human free will. In Dadoba Pandurang's statement of the difficulties of Christianity, as ordinarily received, there is nothing that will not have presented itself to most persons who have considered the subject in the light of reason, or that has not been frequently urged before. They concern chiefly:—

The Doctrine of the Trinity.

The Origin of Evil or Sin, as related in the early chapters of Genesis.

The Eternity of Future Rewards and Punishments, and their nature and description.

The Doctrine of Justification by Faith and Charity.

The Doctrine of the Resurrection.

The Doctrine of the Last Judgment.

Free Will or Free Determination.

The Doctrine of Salvation through the Sacrificial Atonement made by Jesus Christ.

The Fate or Future Destiny of the Gentiles or Heathens, as it is understood by Christians in general.

The following passages from the chapter "on the Eternity" of rewards and punishments will give the reader some idea of the writer's attitude, as well as of the curious similarity between Swedenborg's ecstatic experiences and those of the Indian jogis, a similarity which, it will be seen, has led them to employ almost identical expressions to describe some of their phases :—

"The idea of the eternity of rewards and punishments, as it is alleged by the Christians as their future destiny, in my opinion militates against all our notions of the justice and mercy of the benevolent Creator and Preserver of this universe. This difficulty is greatly increased when viewed in connection with the extreme narrowness of the path which, according to the Christian doctrine (Matthew vii. 13-14) as it is usually preached, leads to man's salvation and final beatitude. . . . The Christian, accustomed as he is to read and hear of the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments as a tenet of his belief and matter of faith, is apt naturally to treat and view it in no other light than that, and consequently fails to discern in it the awful injustice and inexorableness of God, which are involved in it. . . . The difficulty is increased when we consider that man is a being He has created out of His pure love, and that judgment is supposed to be passed some thousands of years after his death. . . . However sinful a man may be conceived to be, and however intense may be the nature of his sinful acts, living even to the full period allotted to his existence in this world, the mere mention of the Divine Judge pronouncing against the culprit a sentence, under which he is to be consigned to a hell in which the fire will never be quenched, and in which the worm will never die, from which he is never, never to come out, even to take the breath of repentance, is too horrible to be listened to by the sensitiveness of a Hindu ear. . . . Not to speak of the ordinary run of wicked men in this world dying prematurely, and yet subject indiscriminately to the same everlasting punishment in hell, a very insignificant, almost infinitesimal number indeed, of good and pious Christians—good according to the dogmas of each sect and denomination among hundreds, and exclusively Christian minds—are destined, on the other hand, to join in the chorus of the seraphim and cherubim in heaven for ever and ever. Well may the Christians heartily laugh at and treat with contempt the doctrines of the transmigration of the soul, so tenaciously held by the Hindus, as quite unreasonable and puerile. The Hindu has still more reason to repudiate strongly the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments, as entertained and preached by almost all the Christians. . . .

"With this view which I held on the subject, it was not a little satisfaction that I must be supposed to have derived from the fact that this narrow exclusiveness and the great irrationality which characterise the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments, as is held by the generality of the Christians, have been most truthfully and sternly avoided in the broad and

rational view which the New Church appeared to me to have presented to the world on that subject. With this view, I exclaim that while the doctrines of all other Christian Churches are silent with the finger on the lips on this most important question, on which every man and woman may be secretly meditating, every human being may be naturally more or less inquisitive as to what must be the immediate state of the dear soul which has just left this world. When they meet together to weep over its departure, yours is the only Church that comes forward, to the great joy, I exclaim, of the whole human family, to break this everlasting silence, by assuring us that no sooner the human soul leaves its earthly tabernacle, than it opens its spiritual eyes (of the existence of which no man can entertain any rational doubt) in another world, in every respect similar to the one in which it had been moving but a few hours before.

"I cannot but consider Swedenborg to be fully competent to afford us correct insight, not only into the state of the soul immediately after its release from the earthly habitation in which it had dwelt, but also into the various states and stages of its future peregrinations in the spiritual world. I have been fully convinced of such competency on his part from the account which he gives in his book of the state of his own mind, when he alleges that he witnessed the different scenes in the spiritual world. I fully believe in the fact that the human mind is capable of attaining to a state which he describes in his own words as follows :—

"'When man is withdrawn from the body, he is brought into a state between sleeping and waking, in which he cannot know any other than that he is quite awake. All his senses are as active in this state as in the highest wakefulness of the body ; the sight, the hearing, and, what is wonderful, the touch—for the touch is even more exquisite now than ever it can be when the body is awake. Spirits and angels are seen in all the reality of life ; they are heard also, and, what is wonderful, they are touched—for scarcely anything of the body intervenes between them and the man. This is the state which is called being *absent from the body*, of which it was said by one who experienced it, *whether he were in the body or out of the body he could not tell*. I have been let into this state only three or four times that I might know the nature of it, and be assured that spirits and angels enjoy every sense, and that man does also, as to his spirit, when he is withdrawn from the body.'"—(*Heaven and Hell*, No. 440.)

"This very state of the mind or soul to which Swedenborg alludes, is largely dwelt upon by the Hindu psychologists, and is particularly distinguished by them under the technical term of *Túrya*, or the fourth state, in addition to the three states of wakefulness, dreaming and profound sleep, of which three every human being is fully cognisant.* As a mere hint to the unknowing, they (the Hindus) described the Túrya state of the mind exactly in the language in which our Swedenborg describes it in the above extract—*viz.*, a state of the mind 'between sleeping and waking'; not a dreaming state though, as it is apt to be mistaken for, but a state in which a man feels, and is fully conscious that he is not dreaming, and is yet not fully awake as regards the outward objects around him, of which he takes no cognisance whatever, though all his senses are exquisitely active in the knowledge and enjoyment of their respective objects. It would not, I hope, be thought too much, or in any way suspected as egotistic or self-assertive on my part, were I, with all due submission, to assure my readers at this place that I myself have had an experience of this state of the mind two

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* It is also called by the Hindu Yogis as the translation of Swedenborg's "being the *Vidéha sthiti* of man, which is exactly absent from the body."

or three times—once just about the time one morning of my waking early. Not yet fully awake to any object in the room in which I was then sleeping, I felt, and felt most vividly indeed in a manner I had not done ever before, as if I had sat up on my bed eating a plantain, which I peeled off in a most satisfactory manner, and ate with all the exquisite pleasure of reality; and yet I felt that I was fully conscious of all this having been done as in a state of my wakefulness, and not in a dream. It was this sensation of consciousness, if I may so express it, of my being then fully awake that has left so vivid an impression on my mind, that I have ever since remembered it as that very fourth state, or something resembling it, on which those who practised the Yoga in India have so largely, vividly, and rapturously dwelt in all their mystic writings and songs, and regarding which I now find Swedenborg has thrown out a most significant hint in the above quotation. . . . This is no doubt a probationary life, in which every man appears to me to be unconsciously manufacturing for himself his own future destiny, if I may be allowed so to express it. I see every human being in this world as a manufacturer of his own futurity, according to the reception by him of good and evil, which is to constitute the basis on which rest his future rewards or punishments, in obedience to the turn which the inward man seems incessantly to be giving to his mind, by his good and pious, or by his evil and wicked thoughts and propensities, and by the nature and amount of the acts in which those thoughts are ultimately seen constantly ending as their ultimata. The constant revolution of the mind, or rather of the soul, with such thoughts in individuals, strengthened as they continue to be by their practical acts, ultimately prepare it (the soul) for its future destination. Swedenborg reveals to us, in his description of heaven and hell, the nature and duration of such destination, and this appears to be in perfect harmony with the wisdom, justice, and mercy displayed in God's government of the universe. His division of heaven into three, called by him the ultimate or first heaven, the middle or second heaven, and the inmost or third heaven, if not quite coincident with the three divisions of the universe known to the followers of the Vedas under the name of their holy *Vyarhiti*, or by the word Triloki or Trilokyam, has at least a re-echo in these terms. His division of the heavens into kingdoms and societies innumerable is quite in harmony with the notion which the Indian Aryans hold in reference to the existence of Swargas (spiritual heavens above), and as many Patalas (heavens below), and twenty-one Narkas (hells),* and the innumerable Lokas (spiritual or celestial societies and communities).

"I have met with no satisfactory solution elsewhere of the most irreconcilable and desponding doctrine, which is universally believed in by almost all the Christians, *viz.*, that the salvation of the human soul, and the attainment of heaven consequent upon it, can hardly be effected without a belief in Christ through baptism and the administration of the Holy Sacrament, except in the clear exposition of the tenets on this most vital question brought forth by the Church of the New Jerusalem in the writings of its great founder. What parents, whether Christians or heathen, I ask, would not feel a most heartfelt consolation in the fate after death, as it is described by Swedenborg, of the little children, and of the millions of heathens who are daily and hourly ushering into the next world, but who, from their helpless and unavoidable condition, are precluded from the benefits accessible to grown-up Christians of mature age and consideration? Let us see what

* These spiritual heavens, above and below, and the twenty-one Narkas (hells), are found fully described in the various *Puranas*, and, among these, in the *Shrimad Bhagavata Skandha, &c.*, v. *Adhyaya*, 24, 25, 26, (*See* Burnouf's translation of ditto). Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, 1st Edition, page 212.

Swedenborg says regarding the fate of children in the next world, in the following extract from his *Heaven and Hell* and other works:—

"'Some believe' (says Swedenborg) 'that only the infants who are born within the Church are admitted into heaven, but not those who are born out of the Church; and they assign as a reason that infants within the Church are baptized, and are thus initiated into the faith of the Church* (How unreasonable is this opinion!), but they are not aware that no one receives heaven or faith by baptism, for *baptism is only a sign and memorial that man is to be regenerated,* and so forth.'"—(See *Heaven and Hell*, No. 329.)

"Here Swedenborg gives his correct view as to the efficacy of the rite of baptism. Further he goes on to tell you how the infants fare after they have died.

"'When infants die' (says he) 'they are still infants in the other life. They possess the same infantile mind, the same innocence in ignorance, and the same tenderness in all things. They are only in rudimental states introductory to the angelic; for infants are not angels, but become angels. Every one on his decease is in a similar state of life to that in which he was in the world; an infant in a state of infancy, a boy in a state of boyhood, and a youth, a man, or an old man, in the state of youth, of manhood, or of age; but the state of every one is afterwards changed. The state of infants excels that of all others because they are in innocence, and evil is not yet rooted in them by actual life; for innocence is of such a nature that all things of heaven may be implanted in it, because innocence is the receptacle of the truth of faith, and of the good of love'—(*Heaven and Hell*, No. 330.)

"How sound and reasonable this view is. He then goes on to describe the state in which infants are placed, and the treatment they receive at the hands of their guardian angels.

"'As soon as infants are raised from the dead,' says Swedenborg, 'which takes place immediately after their decease, they are carried up into heaven, and delivered to the care of angels of the female sex, who in the life of the body loved infants tenderly, and at the same time loved God. Since these angels, when in the world, loved all infants from a sort of maternal tenderness, they receive them as their own; and the infants also, from an affection implanted in them, love them as their own mothers. Every female angel has as many infants under her care as she desires from a spiritual maternal affection,' &c., &c.—(*Heaven and Hell*, No. 332.) . . .

"Swedenborg has devoted a whole chapter to the subject of the children's treatment, pastimes, and education in heaven, up to the time they are grown up and perfected into full-grown angels.

"Let us now hear what he has to declare concerning the heathens and gentiles who die beyond the pale of the Christian Church, and see how perfectly his declaration is in harmony with our intuitive knowledge, and with the wisdom and mercy of the great Heavenly Father of mankind.

"'It is a common opinion,' says Swedenborg, 'that they who are born out of the Church, and are called heathens or gentiles, cannot be saved; because they do not possess the Word, and thus are ignorant of the Lord' (*but this is no fault at all of the heathens, but, according to the opinion of such thinkers, if accepted, of the Lord himself, in having thus kept them ignorant*), 'without whom there is no salvation; but it is certain that they may be saved, because the mercy of the Lord is universal, and extends to every individual' (*no doubt of it*); 'because they are born men as well as those who are within

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* The words in italics in the parentheses here and every where in the quotations are my own.

the Church, who are respectively few, and because it is no fault of theirs that they are ignorant of the Lord.' (*I can make no distinction between the pride of some Christians on this score that they belong to the Church of God, and that of the Jews and the Pharisees in the Old Testament, who believed that they were the only chosen people of God, and the rest of the world, whom they called Gentiles, were not the objects of His equal care and mercy.*) 'Every one who thinks from any measure of enlightened reason may see that no man is born for hell, because the Lord is 'love' itself, and His love consists in being willing to save all; and therefore He has provided that all shall have some kind of religion, and thence acknowledge a Divine being, and possess interior life; for to live according to religion is to live interiorly, because then a Divine being is respected, and so far as he is regarded man does not regard the world, but removes himself from the world, and consequently from the life of the world, which is exterior life.' (This is a sound, reasonable, and universally acceptable doctrine.)—*Heaven and Hell*, No. 318.)

"Then Swedenborg goes on reasoning very cogently, showing in the relation of his vision of heaven that good and pious heathens have as easy an entrance into heaven as the good and pious Christians themselves; of course, after their being perfected in the knowledge of the Lord, and of His unalterable mercy in having so far condescended as to have assumed the form of a man on our earth, to show to the whole human race the way of salvation,—a fact on which most of the Christians have but a vague and imperfect notion."

In one respect Dadoba Pandurung's reflections are disappointing. He gives no reason for attaching to the visions of the "fourth state" an objective significance which he would refuse to the dreams seen in sleep, still less for the special interpretation which is assigned to the visions of Swedenborg in the "New Jerusalem." Our object, however, is not to enter upon a philosophic examination of the truth of the writer's views, but merely to set them before the reader.

The chapter on the doctrine of the Resurrection furnishes some remarkable points of agreement between Swedenborg and the Upanishads and other Hindu writings.

Across the Zodiac: The Story of a Wrecked Record, deciphered, translated and edited by Percy Greg, author of the "Devil's Advocate," &c. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1880.

ON the 25th August, 1867 Colonel A—, through a strange accident, became possessed of the record from which the story of this remarkable voyage is derived. The vessel that was carrying him to Brisbane, ran upon a coral reef, about a mile from a small island in the South Pacific, and out of sight of all other land. While lying on a hillock in this island, the crew being employed at the time in constructing a raft, he suddenly saw what appeared, at first, like a brilliant star, which increased in size, as it approached, with such rapidity

that it presently obscured the sun. In another moment a tremendous shock deprived him of consciousness, and, when he recovered, he found that some great convulsion had occurred. Trees were torn up and broken in all directions, and fragments of stone, earth, and coral rock flung around.

Proceeding towards the centre of the disturbance, he found that the earth had been torn open as if by some gigantic explosion, and a crater formed, some two or three hundred feet in circumference. Digging subsequently amid the *debris* with which this crater was filled, he discovered, among pieces of glass, of various metals and of wood, some of which seemed to have been portions of furniture, a case of enormous thickness and solidity, made of some metallic alloy, the principal constituent of which resembled aluminium, and containing a manuscript, written in cipher, on a substance, like a very fine linen or silken web, but closer in texture and resembling nothing used for a similar purpose upon this earth. On being deciphered, an operation which occupied several years, the manuscript proved to be composed in a species of mediæval Latin, and to contain the narrative part of which has been condensed by Mr. Percy Greg in these volumes. The narrator, having become possessed of the secret of apergic force, and of the means of generating it in large quantity, determined to utilise it in the realisation of a desire that had haunted him from his childhood and undertake a voyage across the Zodiac, first to Mars, and subsequently to such other planets as circumstances might suggest. The facilities offered by the apergic force for this purpose depended on its property of acting, by repulsion, through air or in a vacuum, in a single straight line, without deflection and seemingly without diminution, pursuing indefinitely the direction in which it emerged from an antapergic sheath, or conductive bar.

Thus, by collecting the current from the generator in a vessel cased with antapergic material, and leaving no other aperture, its entire volume could be sent into a conductor, and, by a convenient device, turned upon a Sun or planet, as a resistant body, and so made to propel the vessel in any direction.

"Having determined," says the author of the MS., "to take advantage of the approaching opposition of Mars in MDCCCXX . . . , * I had my vessel constructed with walls three feet thick, of which the outer six and the inner three inches were formed of the metalloid. In shape my Astronaut somewhat resembled the form of an antique Dutch East-Indiaman, being widest and longest in a plane equi-distant from floor and ceiling, the sides and

* Last figure illegible: the year is probably 1830.

ends sloping outwards from the floor and again inwards towards the roof. The deck and keel, however, were absolutely flat, and each one hundred feet in length and fifty in breadth, the height of the vessel being about twenty feet. In the centre of the floor and in that of the roof, respectively, I placed a large lens of crystal, intended to act as a window in the first instance, the lower to admit the rays of the Sun, while through the upper I should discern the star towards which I was steering. The floor being much heavier than the rest of the vessel, would naturally be turned downwards; that is, during the greater part of the voyage towards the Sun. I placed a similar lens in the centre of each of the four sides, with two plane windows of the same material, one in the upper, the other in the lower half of the wall, to enable me to discern any object in whatever direction. The crystal in question consisted of . . . , which, as those who manufactured it for me are aware, admits of being cast with a perfection and equality of structure throughout, unattainable with ordinary glass, and wrought to a certainty and accuracy of curvature which the most patient and laborious polishing can hardly give to the lenses even of moderate-sized telescopes, whether made of glass or metal, and is singularly impervious to heat. I had so calculated the curvature that several eye-pieces of different magnifying powers which I carried with me might be adapted equally to any of the window lenses, and throw a perfect image, magnified by 100, 1,000, or 5,000, upon mirrors properly placed.

"I carpeted the floor with several alternate layers of cork and cloth. At one end I placed may couch, table, bookshelves, and other necessary furniture, with all the stores needed for my voyage, and with a further weight sufficient to preserve equilibrium. At the other, I made a garden with soil three feet deep and five feet in width, divided into two parts, so as to permit access to the windows. I filled each garden closely with shrubs and flowering plants of the greatest possible variety, partly to absorb animal waste, partly in the hope of naturalising them elsewhere. Covering both with wire netting extending from the roof to the floor, I filled the cages thus formed with a variety of birds. In the centre of the vessel was the machinery, occupying altogether a space of about thirty feet by twenty. The larger portion of this area was, of course, taken up by the generator, above which was the receptacle of the apergy. From this descended right through the floor a conducting bar in an antapergic sheath, so divided that, without separating it from the upper portion, the lower might revolve in any direction through an angle of twenty minutes (20′). This, of course, was intended to direct the

stream of the repulsive force against the Sun. The angle might have been extended to thirty minutes, but that I deemed it inexpedient to rely upon a force, directed against the outer portions of the Sun's disc, believing that these are occupied by matter of density so small that it might afford no sufficient base, so to speak, for the repulsive action. It was obviously necessary also to repel or counteract the attraction of any body which might come near me during the voyage. Again, getting free from the Earth's influence, I must be able to steer in any direction and at any angle to the surface. For this purpose I placed five smaller bars, passing through the roof and four sides, connected, like the main conductor, with the receptacle or apergion, but so that they could revolve through a much larger angle, and could at any moment be detached and insulated.

"My steering apparatus consisted of a table in which were three large circles. The midmost and left hand of these were occupied by accurately polished plane mirrors. The central circle, or metacompass, was divided by three hundred and sixty-five lines, radiating from the centre to the circumference, marking as many different directions, each deviating by one degree of arc from the next. This mirror was to receive through the lens in the roof the image of the star towards which I was steering. While this remained stationary in the centre, all was well. When it moved along any one of the lines, the vessel was obviously deviating from her course in the opposite direction; and, to recover the right course, the repellent force must be caused to drive her in the direction in which the image had moved. To accomplish this, a helm was attached to the lower division of the main conductor, by which the latter could be made to move at will in any direction within the limit of its rotation. Controlling this helm was, in the open or steering circle on the right hand, a small knob, to be moved exactly parallel to the deviation of the star in the mirror of the metacompass. The left-hand circle, or discometer, was divided by nineteen hundred and twenty concentric circles, equi-distant from each other. The outermost, about twice as far from the centre as from the external edge of the mirror, was exactly equal to the Sun's circumference when presenting the largest disc he ever shows to an observer on Earth. Each inner circle corresponded to a diameter reduced by one second. By means of a vernier or eye-piece, the diameter of the Sun could be read off the discometer, and from his diameter my distance could be accurately calculated. On the further side of the machinery was a chamber for the decomposition of the carbonic acid, through which the air was driven by a fan. This fan itself was worked by a horizontal wheel with two projecting squares of

antapergic metal, against each of which, as it reached a certain point, a very small stream of repulsive force was directed from the apergion, keeping the wheel in constant and rapid motion."

On the 1st August the adventurous voyager entered the Astronaut, as he names his vessel, and after a passage through the regions of space during which, with slight exceptions, things happened as he had calculated, he found himself, on the thirty-ninth morning, within about 1,900,000 miles of his destination. Turning the whole force of the apergion against the centre of the planet, so as to moderate its attractive force, he then commenced his descent, which occupied four days, and finally landed, without a shock, on an isolated Martial mountain, about half an hour after the Sun had disappeared below the horizon.

The remainder of the book is occupied with an account of the narrator's life and adventures in the Martial world, of the planet itself, and of the language, laws and mode of life of its inhabitants.

Of the former, all we intend to disclose is that, after being attacked by the inhabitants, by means of trained dragons and infernal machines, as a being unrecognised by Martial science, our traveller was saved, through the intercession of the powerful leader of the Secret Society of the Star, pending the decision of the Campta, or sovereign authority of the planet regarding his case. That he subsequently received Eveena, the daughter of his protector, in marriage, was presented at Court, and compelled by the Campta to accept half a dozen of the loveliest maidens in the Royal Nursery as additional wives; that, having unintentionally offended the Regent by an overdose of the apergic force, directed upon his sacred person in illustration of its properties, he was pursued by the enmity of that official, and finally compelled in consequence to make his escape from the planet in the Astronaut, under circumstances of a highly tragic nature, and after his protector and his wife had been killed before his eyes.

The most interesting part of the narrative, and that to which the plot of the story is probably intended to be subordinate, is the description given of the past history and present state of Martial society. Physically resembling Tellurian humanity in every thing but their less majestic stature and proportionately longer and wider chests, the inhabitants of Mars had reached a stage of intellectual and moral development which has been attained in this world only in the dreams of certain schools of philosophers. An uncompromising utilitarianism, crushing out all the finer sentiments and every altruistic motive, had grown up in combination with an equally uncompromising intellectual subservience to the exact logic of science. The utmost enjoy-

ment of the longest possible life for himself was the paramount motive for each individual. Belief in a Creator or a future state had, long since, not only been consigned to the limbo of effete superstitions, but pronounced fatal to the progress of the race, to morality, and to the practical devotion of the Martial energies to the business of life. The conclusions of science, as accepted by the Martial understanding, were the final crux to which all personal testimony must submit itself, and the worst offence was to maintain the existence, or suggest the possibility, of anything which public opinion, as the exponent of those conclusions, had pronounced impossible. In the subordination of the forces of nature to human purpose, and in knowledge of the chemistry of life itself, they had attained to a perfection compared with which the existing state of human progress may justly be called barbarism. Elaborate mechanical devices had almost entirely supplanted manual labour, the necessity for which was still further obviated by the marvellous success achieved in the training of various animals to the performance of more or less intelligent services. Death, indeed, the Martials had not conquered, but they had eliminated disease from life. "We have found," says Esmo, "remedies for that hardening of the bones and weakening of the muscles which used to be the physical characteristics of declining years. Our hair no longer whitens; our teeth, if they decay, are now removed and naturally replaced by new ones; our eyes retain to the last the clearness of their sight. A famous physician of five thousand years back said in a controversy on this subject, that 'the clock was not made to go for ever;' by which he meant that human bodies, like the materials of machines, wore out by lapse of time. In his day this was true, since it was impossible fully to repair the waste and physical wear-and-tear of the human frame. This is no longer so. The clock does not wear out, but it goes more and more slowly and irregularly, and stops at last for some reason that the most skilful inspection cannot discover. The body of him who dies, as we say, 'by efflux of time' at the age of fifty, is as perfect as it was at five and twenty.* Yet few men live to be fifty-five,† and most have ceased to take much interest in practical life, or even in science, by forty-five."‡

The chief fatal disease recognised by physicians was 'efflux of time.' Life went out like a lamp when the materials sup-

* Equivalent in time to ninety-three and forty-seven with us; in effect corresponding to eighty and forty.

† About ninety; in time, one hundred and six.

‡ Seventy; in time, eighty-three.—*Narrator.*

plying the electric current are exhausted. The symptoms were reducible to one, exhaustion of the will. The patient ceased to *care*. So it became too much trouble to work; then too much trouble to read; then too much trouble to exert even those all but mechanical powers of thought which are necessary to any kind of social intercourse; then the passions died out; finally, the energy to perform the most ordinary personal acts disappeared. Then the patient was allowed to die.

In the course of Martial history communism had been tried and abandoned as an impracticable failure. As long as 13,218 years ago, when all races and nations were united in a single State, the land had been possessed by fewer than 400,000 proprietors. Factions and divisions arose; and, to gain their ends, each party in turn admitted section after section of the proletariat to the suffrage, till in 3,278 universal suffrage was granted. Then ensued a struggle between labour and wealth, ending in the establishment of universal communism. But communism resulted first in the disappearance of all perishable luxuries; then in bitter quarrels arising out of the apportionment of labour; then in general idleness and want, leading to inquisitorial processes for the restriction of population. At last secessions took place, followed by conflicts between the communists and the secessionists, in which the former sustained a crushing defeat, and private ownership was restored. In the course of time equality between the sexes was established, only to result, by its practical consequences, in re-establishing "in a more absolute form than ever the principle that the first purpose of female life is marriage and maternity; and that, for their own sakes as for the sake of each successive generation, women should be so trained as to be attractive wives and mothers of healthy children, all other considerations being subordinated to these."

As our readers will doubtless have gathered from the above brief sketch of its contents, "Across the Zodiac" is a satire, set in the frame-work of a romance after the manner of Swift or Jules Vernes.

Though distinguished by marked literary ability and abounding in proofs of great constructive ingenuity, we hesitate to pronounce it a complete success. For a work of imagination, it is too heavily weighted with technical details which will repel the general reader, while the scientific reader will see in them only a waste of power; and as a satire, it lacks humour. We venture to predict for it a fair degree of popularity, but hardly a permanent place in literature.

The Great African Island. Chapters on Madagascar. A Popular Account of recent Researches in the Physical Geography, Geology, and Exploration of the Country, and its Natural History and Botany; and in the Origin and Divsions, Customs, and Language, Superstitions, Folk-lore, and Religious Beliefs and Practices of the different Tribes. Together with Illustrations of Scripture and Early Church History from Native Statists and Missionary Experience. By the Rev. James Sibree, Jun., F.R.G.S. of the London Missionary Society; Author of "Madagascar and its People," &c. *With Physical and Ethnographical Sketch-maps and four Illustrations.* London: Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill. 1880.

THIS is, as far as it goes, an admirable, and, in some respects, a very complete, work. The reverend author brings to his task varied learning and large experience, combined with considerable literary ability and a broad and tolerant spirit. His chapter on the early notices of the island of Madagascar displays extensive research, and is by far the most complete account of the subject we have seen. Scarcely less satisfactory is the graphic picture of the physical geography and geology of the island which occupies his second chapter, while his survey of its fauna and flora, though making no pretensions to scientific precision, is full of valuable information. In treating of the origin and divisions of the Malagasy people, he enters the lists against those who dispute their Malayo-Polynesian origin, with a result which, we think, leaves little room to doubt the accuracy of his views. The remainder of the work, dealing with the language, customs, beliefs, folk-lore, arts and manufactures of the people and with their religious and social condition, is somewhat sketchy, and will not compare for exhaustiveness with some previous accounts, but it is nevertheless highly interesting.

One serious defect marks Mr. Sibree's work. It is absolutely devoid of information regarding the administration, political economy or commerce of the island. We learn, indeed, incidentally, that there are few taxes, personal service taking their place, and we are told in one place that land is so plentiful that any one who takes the trouble to cultivate it, may do so. But this is all. Of the machinery of government; of the facilities for trade, of the status of foreign settlers in the island, and the like, we learn nothing whatever. Considering that the area of the country is four times as great as that of England; that it possesses a fertile soil, capable of yielding luxuriantly almost every tropical product; that it abounds in mineral and vegetable wealth, this is a grievous omission. The following passage about coffee plantations would almost seem inconsistent with the

author's statement regarding the tenure of land. "The coffee plant grows well in most parts of Madagascar, and in recent years large coffee plantations have been formed along the banks of the rivers on the eastern side of the island. These are chiefly managed by Creole traders, who, through their native wives, manage to get hold of land, and also employ slave labour, thus evading both their own country's laws and those of the Malagasy. Coffee promises already to become a very important article of export, and a source of wealth to the country." The inconsistency may be apparent only; but it stands in need of explanation. Elsewhere, we are told, that, by the application of European skill and capital, indigo might probably be largely grown and exported.

Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian Subjects. By Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq., F.R.S., Late of the Bengal Civil Service; corresponding Member of the Institute; Chevalier of the Legion of Honour; Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society and the Societie Asiatique; Member of the Asiatic Societies of Calcutta and London; of the Ethnological and Zoological Societies of London; and late British Minister at the Court of Nepal. 2 Vols. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hiil. 1880.

NO man, living or dead, has done more for the ethnology and philology of the Non-Aryan tribes of Northern India and the adjacent countries than our late distinguished Resident at Khatmandu, and Messrs. Trübner & Co. deserve the gratitude of all scholars for collecting and republishing in these volumes the multitude of valuable papers from his pen which were scattered through the journals of the Asiatic Society and other works more or less inaccessible to the world at large. A large number of these papers are ethnological or philological; others are of a more miscellaneous character, dealing with physical geography, routes, politics and sociology.

Not the least interesting portion of the work is Mr. Hodgson's eloquent defence of the vernaculars as media of education in India.

Kings of Kashmira; being a Translation of the Sanskrita Work, Rajataranggini, of Kahlana Pandita. By Jogesh Chunder Dutt. Calcutta: Printed by I. C. Bose and Co., Stanhope Press, 249, Bow-Bazar Street, and published by the Author. 1879.

THIS is a literal translation, into not very idiomatic or correct English, of a portion of Kahlana Pandit's metrical history of Kashmir.

A critical analysis of the contents of the original, properly executed, would have been a valuable work; but whether the Rajtarangini was worth translating in its entirety, may be doubted. The translator has made no attempt to sift the chaff from the wheat, or to compare the half history, half romance of his author with information derived from other sources. Nevertheless the work does credit to his industry, and may prove useful.

Kahlana Pandit wrote the history of Kashmir from the earliest period to his own time, A. D. 1148, and the present translation comes down to the reign of King Harsha, A. D. 1101.

The Races of Afghanistan, being a brief Account of the principal Nations inhabiting that Country. By Surgeon Major H. A. Bellew, C.S.I., Late on Special Duty at Kabul. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1880.

DR. BELLEW'S book, written in the intervals of business at Kabul, contains by far the most complete and readable account of the races of Afghanistan that has yet been published. The facts set forth suggest two conclusions, the one that there is so little possibility of cohesion between the diverse nationalities that make up the population of Afghanistan, as to make the subjugation of the country, with proper management, a comparatively easy task; the other that the bulk of the population are ready to accept British rule, with contentment, if not alacrity, when once our supremacy is fairly established. Of the five principal tribes of Afghanistan, the Afghans and Ghilzais are irreconcilably hostile to one another and the Tajiks and Hazarahs are well disposed to the British. Dr. Bellew is a strong advocate of annexation, and he makes out a powerful case in favour of such a course. He appears to entertain no doubt of the complicity of Yakub Khan in the massacre of the Embassy.

"Yakub Khan," he says, "came down to the British camp at Gandumak to be acknowledged as Amir, and make a treaty of peace, with this idea of our timidity uppermost in his mind. His whole conduct whilst there proves that he did not consider himself or his country in our power. He saw us eager for a peace and a treaty. He on his part was eager to get us out of his country and take up the rôle which his father, who died in his refuge at Mazari Sharif beyond the Hindu Kush whilst these operations were in course of prosecution, had left him to carry to completion. To him a treaty with the British, whilst the relations of the Kabul Government with Russia were still unbroken, was not the serious thing he should have understood it to be. He had never been a friend of the British, his tendencies were on the other

side. Though an intriguer, and ambitious from his youth up, he had never evinced any partiality for the British alliance. And it was his hostility against his father, after the Amir's return from Amballa, that drove Sher Ali to make a close prisoner of him. It was out of prison that he came to Gandumak to sign a treaty with a subordinate British officer, and to get rid of us. He accepted our articles, even to the forgiving of his enemies, and to the reception in his capital of a British Embassy; but he had no intention to carry them out. And this, as was at the time predicted, and in many instances openly stated by those of his sirdars in our interest, has now been proved, sadly to our cost—by the massacre in one day of our Envoy, his staff, and escort, to the number of one hundred and twenty-three souls—all within a stone's throw of his own palace, without the Amir so much as moving a finger to help his overwhelmed guests, fighting, as they were, for their lives like heroes of the Homeric period.

"*Yakub Khan*, on the 26th May 1879, signed the Gandumak Treaty. On the 24th July he received the British Envoy, and installed him in the embassy assigned for his residence in the Bala Hissar of the city. On the 3rd September they were all destroyed by two regiments of his own household troops supposed to be in open mutiny, though they furnished guards around the Amir's palace at the very time that their comrades were doing to death a handful of strangers, the confiding guests of their master. Yakub, after the dastardly tragedy had been enacted, punished not a soul. His thoughts were turned to the subject of British vengeance, and, with strange ignorance, he satisfied himself that no British army would come to Kabul at least till the winter were past, during which interval there would be ample time to make arrangements to oppose it. How far he was out of his reckoning, he has now learned very practically."

The Science of Logic. Kawaif-ul-Mantiq, yane Ilm i Mantiq ka mufassal Bayàn. Jis ke wáste Sarkàr ne inám diyá. By Rev. T. J. Scott, M.A., D.D. *A Government Prize Book.* Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Lucknow: Printed at the American Methodist Mission Press, 1879.

THIS is one of the most useful works for Hindustani students that we have seen. In its matter it follows the ordinary text-books of logic, with such modifications as were required to adapt it for the use of natives of this country, in consulting whose mental wants Mr. Scott has shown great skill. The Urdu version, which deservedly gained a Government prize, appears, as far as we have been able to test it, to be admirably done. The

only fault we have to find with the book is the disproportionately small space devoted to inductive logic, and the secondary position assigned to it.

Nilgiri Sporting Reminiscences. By an Old Shikarri. *With Twenty-six Photographs.* Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1880.

WITHOUT pretending to any very high literary merit, these sporting notes are full of valuable hints and stirring episodes, and, though they deal chiefly with the Nilgiris, will be welcome to sportsmen all over India.

The illustrations, of which there are twenty-five, have mostly been photographed from the author's sepia drawings, and, with few exceptions, they reflect high credit on his artistic skill. The landscapes, some of which are works of great beauty, are, however, far superior to the figures. The photographs from the stuffed heads are, we presume, taken direct from the originals, and leave nothing to be desired.

Under the Southern Cross. By Henry Cornish. Second Edition, revised, enlarged and illustrated. Madras: Higginbotham & Co. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. Bombay: Thacker & Co. 1880.

THIS is at once a highly interesting and a thoroughly practical account of life in Australia and Tasmania, and it possesses a special value for Anglo-Indians, in being written from their point of view, which is in many respects different from that of the ordinary English colonist. Is is no mere book of travels, but enters with unusual fulness of detail into those economic questions on which it is most necessary that intending colonists should possess information. Mr. Cornish has a very high opinion of the capabilities of the Colonies, but he has, at the same time, a very keen sense of their unsuitability as places of residence for those who, from constitution or education, are incapable of roughing it, and are yet not rich enough to maintain expensive establishments. Among the matter which has been added to the present edition is a valuable chapter on commerce between India and Australia.

Peepul Leaves: Poems written in India. By H. G. Keene, Author of "Ex Eremo," and "Under the Rose." London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1879.

LIKE his previous volumes, these efforts of Mr. Keene's muse will inspire a very general regret among his admirers that he is not tempted to essay a more sustained flight; some critics might,

perhaps, be inclined to add, that he does not address a wider class of readers. Where the subjects dealt with are not in themselves slight or ephemeral, the mode of treatment is incidental or fragmentary, and the point of a view is generally more or less remote from the beaten track. The one feature in Mr. Keene's poetry is probably due to lack of opportunity, for he gives us abundant evidence of power; the other, we take it, reflects the tone of the writer's mind. " *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo*" might appropriately be prefixed as a motto to these poems, as, indeed, to all that Mr. Keene writes. The cultured reader will regard this as a thing to be thankful for; and Mr. Keene would probably despise the wider popularity to which it must in the nature of things prove an insuperable bar.

Always polished and graceful, in form as nearly perfect as possible, and generally pregnant with thought, Mr. Keene's poems are entitled to a high rank among compositions of their class.

Their most prominent defect is, perhaps, a certain coldness, which some readers will be inclined to connect with the agnosticism that breathes through them. The spirit in which the sonnet on " Hope " is written, is scarcely, it will be said, compatible with fervour.

The following lines on " The Taj" may be quoted as a fair specimen of the author's method in description :—

> WHITE, like a spectre seen when night is old,
> Yet stained with hues of many a tear and smart,
> Cornelian, blood-stone, matched in callous art :
> Aflame like passion, like dominion cold,
> Bed of imperial consorts whom none part
> For ever (domed with glory, heart to heart)
> Still whispering to the ages," Love is bold,
> And seeks the height, though rooted in the mould";
> Touched, when the dawn floats in an opal mist,
> By fainter blush than opening roses own ;
> Calm in the evening's lucent amethyst ;
> Pearl-crowned, when midnight airs aside have blown
> The clouds that rising moonlight vainly kissed ;
> —An aspiration fixed, a sigh made stone.

This combines power with delicacy, and is full of suggestive touches which sympathetic readers will probably prefer to a more realistic picture.

A Sanskrit Grammar, including both the Classical Language and the older Dialects of Veda and Brahmana. By William Dwight Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Yale College, New-haven ; Correspondent of the Academies of Berlin and St. Petersburg, and of the Institute of France, &c. Leipzig, Breitkropf and Härtel. London, Trübner and Co., 1879.

THERE are two ways in which grammar may be written, according as the object in view is the art of writing and speaking the language concerned as it exists at the time, or that of interpreting what has been spoken and written in it at different periods of its development: the one statical and exclusive, and properly applicable only to the treatment of a living language; the other dynamical and comprehensive, and applicable to either a living or a dead language. The work of Panini belonged essentially to the former class. Sufficient for the purpose for which it was intended, it is manifestly inadequate for the study of Sanskrit literature as a whole; for, though Panini and his commentators succeeded in fixing the forms of Sanskrit for posterity, their influence did not extend to the reconstruction of previously existing texts, including the most important of the sacred books. European grammarians have, however, hitherto been content to follow Panini; and it has been left for Professor Whitney to present us with the facts of the language as exhibited in the whole range of extant Sanskrit literature, and not exclusivly as laid down by the native grammarians of a particular period.

The mode of treatment adopted by him in the grammar before us is, in short, the historical one; and while necessarily embracing the results arrived at and recorded by other scholars, it also includes much that it is the outcome of original research.

That such a work should, in the existing stage of Sanskrit studies, be exhaustive, is not to be expected. But it represents a very thorough search over a very wide range of materials.

It is distinguished by other special features, which will generally, we think, be accepted as improvements. Thus it has been the author's object "to treat the language throughout as an accented one, omitting nothing of what is known respecting the nature of the Sanskrit accent, its changes in combination and inflection, and the tone of individual words—being, in all this, necessarily dependent especially upon the material presented by the older accentuated texts."

Care has also been taken to cast all statements, classifications, and so on, into forms consistent with the teachings of linguistic science. "In doing this," says Professor Whitney, "it has been

necessary to discard a few of the long-used and familiar divisions and terms of Sanskrit grammar—for example, the classification and nomenclature of 'special tenses' and 'general tenses' (which is so indefensible that one can only wonder at its having maintained itself so long), the order and terminology of the conjugation-classes, the separation in treatment of the facts of internal and external euphonic combination, and the like. But care has been taken to facilitate the transition from the old to the new; and the changes, it is believed, will commend themselves to unqualified acceptance. It has been sought also to help an appreciation of the character of the language by putting its facts as far as possible into a statistical form. In this respect the native grammar is especially deficient and misleading."

The grammar is preceded by an introduction, containing a succinct account of Indian literature, with a view of showing the relation between the different periods and forms of the language treated in it.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Life of Maharaja Nava Krishna Deva, Bahadoor, of Sobhabazar, Calcutta. By Bipin Behary Mittra. Printed by I. C. Bose & Co., Stanhope Press, 249, Bowbazar Street; and published by the Author. 1879.

THE life of Maharaja Nava Krishna Deva is, in one sense, the history of Bengal from 1753 to 1797 A.D. It was during this eventful period that the Black-hole tragedy took place; that the Battle of Plassey gave the East India Company a hold on Bengal; that Nawabs were set up and knocked down like nine-pins; that the Company obtained the Dewany of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

Nava Krishna was born in the village of Govindpore in the year 1732 A. D. He was the youngest son of Ram Charn, who, though a "Dewan," had, on his death, left his widow, a family consisting of three sons and five daughters, in very straitened circumstances. The encroachments of the river compelled the mother to leave Govindpore, and to remove with her children to a place in *Sootanaty*, now known by the name of *Sobhabazar* (probably because one Sobharam Bysack had a *Bazar* there), where, notwithstanding her extremely limited means, she gave her sons some sort of education. A knowledge of Persian then was, as that of the English now is, the only passport to Government employ, and young Naba made the best use of his opportunities. He learnt also "Bengally, Urdu, Arabic, and English." He then appeared as an "*Ummedwar*" before one Nakoo Dhur, the Rothschild of the

day in Bengal, by whom he was brought to the notice of the English merchants, and was subsequently appointed by Mr. Hastings his "*Moonshee.*" From this time we must date the commencement of his prosperity. His biographer gives prominence to the following facts connected with his personal history :—

"Noboo Moonshee" was with Mr. Hastings when the latter was at Cossimbazar. While there, he heard of a contemplated attack on the factory by the troops of Surajud Dowlah. Thinking, no doubt, that discretion was the better part of valour, he left behind him both his employer and his employment and beat a stampede to Calcutta.

When the licentiousness and cruelty of Surajud Dowlah drove his principal Hindu ministers to the necessity of thinking of a change in the Government, they secretly deputed an agent to Mr. Drake with promises of cooperation and help, but requested him, at the same time, to get their letter read, and a reply to it written, by some confidential Hindu. It was on this occasion that Nava Krihsna was sent for, and he performed this delicate business with such success that he was appointed Moonshee to the Hon'ble East India Company on a salary of Rs. 60 per mensem.

Nava Krishna had been sent with presents and overtures of peace to the Nawab when he lay encamped at *Halshi Bagan* (1757). The shrewd Moonshee, while ostensibly engaged on the business upon which he had been sent, carefully observed the weak points of the enemy, and communicated the result of his observations to Lord Clive. As might be expected, the British attacked the camp the following morning, which led to a peace on very favourable terms.

After the battle of Plassey, when Mir Jaffier had been installed on the throne, Messrs. Wallace, Watson, Dewan Ram Chund Roy and Moonshee Nava Krishna, as representatives of the English, went to the treasury, where they found two *crores* of Rupees, which they divided amongst themselves. It is said there was also another treasury in the *zenana* which contained silver, gold and precious stones to the value of eight million pounds. This money was appropriated to themselves by Mir Jaffier, Amir Beg Khan, Ram Chand and Nava Krishna. Thus, in the course of a single day, the Moonshee of sixty rupees per month became *per saltum* a millionaire!

When treaties of peace were concluded by Lord Clive with the Emperor of Delhi and the Nawab of Oude, Nava Krishna exercised something like ambassadorial powers. He had also the drafting of the treaties. He was afterwards intrusted with the duty of settling all differences with Maharajah Balwant Sing

of Benares and Rajah Sitab Roy of Behar, which business also he discharged to the entire satisfaction of his employers. For these various services, Lord Clive obtained for him, from the Court of Delhi, *sunnuds* conferring on him the title, first, of *Rajah Bahadoor* and afterwards of *Maharajah Bahadoor*, and appointed him likewise "*Mootsooddy*" of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

The sudden rise of "Noboo Moonshee" to power and affluence naturally created a host of enemies, among whom we may name Rajah Nund Coomar and Mr. W. Bolst. Various serious charges (and that of bribery was one of them) were brought against him, but, in their attempt to stem the full tide of his prosperity, the accusers themselves were swamped; Doorga Churn Mookerjee and others might growl and lash their tails, but for all that, Nokoo Dhur's *Omedwar* got the *Sootanaty talook*, and they had to keep their dignity in their pockets.

The Rajah's biographer seems to have taken some pains to prove that Navakrishna *Deva* was descended from a respectable *Kaistha* family. For the enlightenment of our readers, we will explain how matters actually stood, and what was Nava Ḳrishna's *status* in the society of his countrymen.

Rajah Adisor had to perform a great ceremony; he could find no Brahmin in Bengal learned or pure enough to do it, and he had, therefore, to indent for five Brahmins from Kanouj, who were the progenitors of the Banerjees, Mookherjees, Gangoolys, Ghosalls, and Chatterjees. These Brahmins were accompanied by five *Sudras* in the capacity of servants, whose descendants to this day glory in the honor of being permitted to add *Dása* (servant) after their names, to distinguish themselves from *Sudras* of a lower class. Bullal Sein afterwards classified the Brahmins according to certain standards of excellence, and *Koolin* Brahmins even now stand the highest in rank among the Hindoos of Bengal. The *Kaistas (Sudras)* were divided into three classes—*Koolin*, *San-Moolik*, and *Báhatariyas*. The first contains *Ghose*, *Bose* and *Mittra*; the second, *Dey*, *Dutt*, *Kur*, *Palit*, *Sein*, *Singha*, *Das* and *Gooho*; and the last contains other seventy-two sub-families of the *Sudras*. Now "*Deva*" occurs in none of these lists; can it be then that Maharajah Nava Krishna adopted the surname to conceal an obscure birth? It does not appear to us likely that *Dey* was manipulated into *Deva*, for in that case the other "*Deys*" would have been "*Devas*" likewise, and the sons of Ramdoolal *Sircar* could *not* be *Devas*.

We have hitherto followed Rajah Nava Krishna's biographer, and noticed all the salient points in his hero's official character. We wish he had given us something more than a mere distant glimpse of his moral character. But what we have before

us is, we believe, enough to enable us to form a pretty accurate estimate of both the official and the man. Rajah Nava Krishna was certainly a great man. The architect of his own fortune could not but be a great man. To be able to make head through a thick array of divers and hostile interests —to be able to compel time and circumstances to yield to the dictation of a sovereign will—to be able to dissever all co-relationship in the pursuit of a grand idea requires a combination of powers which nature seldom bestows on one individual. Nava Krishna had, of course, none of these things to do. He was not, and could not be, a great man in that sense. Nokoo Dhur supplemented certain natural abilities, and his pupil (Hastings) did the rest. Basking in the sunshine of patronage, any body can, as thousands have done, here and elsewhere, make himself the "observed of all observers." Yet we are bound to admit that Nava Krishna's rise is not to be attributed wholly to adventitious circumstances; that he was not a man of the ordinary stamp. Of the man we are sorry we have not much to say in his favor. We are glad to hear that he celebrated with great *eclât* the Doorga Pooja, his daughter's marriage, and his mother's *shrad* (which latter, we are told, cost him more than nine lacs of rupees). These ceremonies, however, are performed in every Hindoo family; and we feel convinced that any family that possessed the lamp of Alladdin could and would have performed them with even greater ostentation than the Rajah did with the spoils of the Moorshedabad treasury, and perhaps also with the perquisites that ought to have flowed into the pocket of the "right hand man of the chief ruler." Vanity had induced him to gather round him a few Pundits, because, like *Vikramaditya*, and, in later days, like the Rajahs of Burdwan and Nuddya, he wanted to show that he was a great encourager of learning. The ghost of Hurroo Thakur, who got a thousand rupees for having extemporised four slip-shod verses, ought to be made king's evidence. The Rajah is said to have paid Rs. 45,000 for the building of a Christian Church, very consistently no doubt; for only a short time before he had had temples built for two idols, *Gopenath* and *Govind*. Strange that Englishmen do not, or will not, see through these devices. We know the late Scotch missionary (Dr. Duff) would not have touched a farthing from such questionable sources.

We should, therefore, like to know whether Rajah Nava Krishna was the sort of man whose memory we would fain snatch from the reluctant hands of oblivion. Is he to serve as a great exemplar whom the rising generation are to imitate? Decidedly not. "*Kritti jashya sha jibati.*" We fear the consolation of living

in works cannot be his. These *Krittis* are often times, if not always, deceptive. As we have said, at the outset, isolated acts, however good, cannot establish a claim to be remembered—the principle is wanting, and the motive is either selfish and contemptible, or mean and demoralizing. The Rajah's precipitate exodus from Cossimbazar may adorn (?) a tale, but we have, in vain, turned over the pages of the biography to find any thing that can point a moral, unless it be a moral of a negative kind—what to avoid, and what not to imitate. His biographer apologetically observes that some palliation of his character is to be found in the character of the times in which he lived; that, when educated Englishmen, like Clive, Vansittart, Hastings, and others, could not resist the love of gold, it was too much to expect that a half-educated man would be able to withstand the temptation, a view of the case which we would not be so uncharitable as not to endorse.

We should be doing great injustice if we concluded our notice of the biography without saying a word about the biographer. His book is well-written, and affords much pleasant reading. The style is neither of the *Bazar* nor of the *Tol*, which is saying not a little in his favor. His opinions on debatable points are such as we are bound to respect. Most biographers are hero-worshippers, a failing which we are glad to find Baboo Bipin Behary has succeeded in escaping. On the contrary, a tone of impartiality runs through the book which, we must confess, we had not expected. It gives us much pleasure to commend this biography to the patronage of the public.

Kánchí Kávirí, or The Captive Princess. By Baboo Rungo Lal Banerjee. Printed at the Ganesh Press, by Shosheebhooshun Doss. 1879.

THIS poem, consisting of seven *Sargos* (or Cantos), is founded upon a story which the author read in Sterling's History of Orissa when he was only fifteen years of age, and which, at the time, made a deep impression upon his mind. The substance of the story is this :

Padmini was the fair and accomplished daughter of the Rajah of Kánchinagar (Conjeveram). Gajapati, the Rajah of Orissa, wanted to marry her, and the father, although he had no objection to such an alliance, was quite disgusted when he came to know that Gajapati performed the duties of a sweeper (*Chundal*) before the image of Jagannátha. The match being broken off, Gajapati swore that he would obtain Padmini by force, and marry her to a real sweeper. A war followed, in which Jagannáth and Ballodeo

took a part; Kanchinagar was lost, and Padmini fell into the hands of the victor. On the occasion of the ensuing *Ratha-Jattra*, when Gajapati was engaged in sweeping, he was reminded of his oath, and, induced by the intercession of his subjects, he married her. "The end of this lady's history is as romantic as the preceding portion of it. She is said to have conceived and brought forth a son by Mahadeo, shortly after which she disappeared."

The author requires no introduction to the public. He has been so long before them, as a writer of both prose and poetry, that his bare name is sometimes held as a guarantee that something rich is in store for the reader. Baboo Rungo Lal has a marvellous command over the language in which he writes. The various measures he has introduced, in imitation of the distinguished poets of Bengal, are remarkable for their general smoothness and elegance. The following extracts will show that he possesses descriptive powers of no mean order.

কত দিনান্তরে ঋতু নিদাঘ প্রবেশ।
খরতর কর শর বরিষে দিনেশ॥
প্রতপ্ত পৃথিবী, পয়ঃ, প্রতপ্ত পবন।
উপবনে যায় লোক, তাজিয়া ভবন॥
কিবা বনে, উপবনে, কিবা গিরিবনে।
ম্লানবর্ণ, শীর্ণপর্ণ, দ্রুম লতা গণে॥

পদ্মাবতি।

কিবা অপরূপ, পদ্মাবতি রূপ,
অল্প বয়সী বালা।
কেতকী কুসুম, কেশর কুঙ্কুম,
লাবণ্য ফুলের ডালা॥
নয়ন সুন্দর, নিল নিভাধর,
কাজলে উজল ভাতি।
যেন ইন্দীবরে, অলি শোভা করে,
রবহীন মদে মাতি॥

Raktadantá, or the Fall of Ahmudnagore. By Baboo Jogeswar Bundopadhya. Albert Press, No. 46, Shibnarain Ghose's Lane, Bahir Simla, Calcutta. 1286.

THIS is a metrical, dramatic composition, and we are glad to say that it has never fallen to our lot to come across any thing more stupid. We have watched many of the eccentricities of Young Bengal, but this attempt to place the horse's head on the human trunk, which Horace so wittily ridicules—to transpose the blood of Western versification into the veins of the Prosody of Bengal—is an affectation which surpasses all the rest in

absurdity. We would ask Pandit Ishwar Chander Vidyashágar and Baboo Bankim Chander Chatterjee whether the following is Bengally :—

আজিও পড়িলে স্মৃতিপথে অত্যাচার
ভয়ঙ্কর তা'র* কাঁপে অঙ্গ থরথরি :—
নহে ভয়ভীত। ভয়?—কিসের? যাহার'
ভ্রূভঙ্গ কুটিল সদা সবম্পে নেহারি,
পূজয়ে চরণদ্বয় ভীরু পাপী জনে,
কভু না কল্পনাকারে,—শূন্য প্রাবেশে
লভিয়াছে অধিকার এ হৃদিভবনে
তাহা।

Bhárátya Granthábalí. By Rajendra Nath Dutta. Bhawanipore, Shomaprokash Press, Calcutta. 1285.

THIS book is not merely a *catalogue* of ancient Sanscrit works. It also attempts to ascertain the dates of those works, and professes to give a description of their contents, with running commentaries. Such a book cannot but be of incalculable service to the reading public, but its value greatly depends upon its arrangement; if not easy of reference, its recommendation is *nil.* A *catalogue raisonné,* without an index, is very disappointing. The catalogue before us has no pretension to classification or order, and is simply provoking.

In his introduction, which extends to one-half of the book, the author discusses the question of the origin of the *Ariyas,* and supports his view—that all the civilized nations of ancient times lived in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus mountains, that they were descended from the same stock, and that they spoke the same language—by citing a few words which, with slight variations, are to this day spoken by those nations. We must confess that we have doubts as to the propriety of some of these words being pressed into service for such a purpose. A great deal of information, however, connected with the history, language, literature, religion, manners and customs of the *Ariyas* is to be found in this introduction, which will more than repay the trouble of a perusal.

The works the author notices are, among others, the *Gitgovind, Kadambini, Ramayan, Mahabharat* and *Bhattikavya.*

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* Ram Raja, the reigning monarch of Beejoynugur in the middle of the sixteenth sentury, had recently wrested several districts for Beejapore; he had also overrun Telingana, blockaded the capital, and constrained the king to make large concessions.

Marshman's History of India.

Joaner Jibanbrittantya. By Koilas Chandra Singha. No. 12, Serpentine Lane, Bowbazar, Calcutta.

To English readers, of both sexes, the leading incidents in the history of the *Maid of Orleans* are familiar as household words—not so to the females of this country, to whom the very name of *Joan* is strange. Either totally illiterate, or very imperfectly educated, as a few of them now are, Native females have no opportunities of hearing of any thing that transpires in the world around them, and the war in Affghanistan is even of less importance to them than the squabbles between the cookwoman and the servant-maid. Yet their desire to learn is not the less keen on that account, nor do they treasure up the less willingly the scraps of information they pick up from sons or husbands. They would gladly extend their knowledge if domestic cares left them leisure, which means if Hindoo society had been differently constituted. They read, when they can read, with great avidity, the few books, principally of a rudimentary character, which form their little library, and to which the *Life of Joan*, dedicated to a Hindoo lady, and therefore evidently intended for the class of readers we are speaking of, will be a valuable accession. The author's style of composition is easy, chaste and graceful, and the subject he has chosen cannot, on account of the reputed tragic end of the unfortunate peasant-girl, fail to deeply affect the female mind. We should be glad indeed to see similar works undertaken by other writers.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

General Literature.

A Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages, with special reference to Eastern Hindi. By A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Ph. D., Fellow of the University of Calcutta, Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, &c., &c.

(Contributed.)

THIS work principally concerns one branch of the great family of Sanskrit-derived languages. While discussing its peculiarities, Dr. Hoernle shows the affinities which the other members of the family bear to it, and to one another. Yet it was his original intention to compile a grammar of one division of this branch merely, and it was only owing to an after-thought that his purpose was expanded, so as to include a grammar of all the North Indian tongues. The consequence is that the form of the work is not of that scientific character which it might otherwise have assumed. Perhaps there is no disadvantage in this, however, as the result undoubtedly is a more homogeneous and detailed exposition of the Eastern-Hindi dialect than would otherwise have been given. The volume, for the most part, covers the entire ground traversed by Mr. Beames, in his Comparative Grammar of the modern Aryan languages of India, giving additional information on the derivation of Gaudian grammatical forms derived from the Prakrits. It is elaborate in its scope, is much compressed, and bears marks throughout of honest investigation, and of immense and patient toil. The writer is evidently desirous of being thoroughly accurate in all his statements, and brings to his task considerable learning. No work of this character has yet appeared; for Mr. Beames' volumes, although on the same subject, differ greatly from the present volume in method as well as in matter. We make these observations while fully acknowledging the value of Mr. Beames' Grammar.

Dr. Hoernle discusses the affinities subsisting between the Sindhi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, and Hindi languages. Strangely enough, however, he is manifestly troubled

in regard to the last mentioned language, especially as he is to make it the basis of his remarks on the remainder. As the Hindi has a great many dialects, it was important to select a principal one as the foundation of his investigations into the comparative grammar and mutual relations of all the languages concerned. Unfortunately for the main purpose in hand, a grammar of the Eastern Hindi was already commenced before the plan of the writer was enlarged to its present dimensions, and consequently this dialect forms the centre around which all his observations on other topics are grouped. Eastern Hindi comprehends the dialects of the villagers and of the uneducated classes generally in the eastern portion of the North-Western Provinces as far as Behar and Tirhoot, and extending southwards to Jubulpore, the chief of which is commonly *known* as Kaithi or Bhojpuri. The greater part of the book is directed to this dialect, of which it furnishes a complete and exhaustive exposition. Such a grammar is unquestionably of much importance, especially as hitherto none on this scale had ever been attempted. Indeed, it seems to have been generally understood that a grammar of a village dialect was unnecessary; and the idea would have been correct, had the dialect stood to Hindi as that of Yorkshire or Somersetshire stands to English. But Kaithi confessedly exhibits a multitude of primitive forms, both of inflection and structure, to a much greater extent than the two dialects referred to in relation to ordinary English. In this consists a sufficient justification of a voluminous and intricate grammar of a mere dialect.

But Dr. Hoernle is not contented with this position for his favourite Kaithi, and claims for it the dignity of a distinct and separate language. He says that it differs from *the Hindi* of the Braj Bhasha and other dialects of the West, which he designates by the term Western Hindi, as one language differs from another. Both these differ from the Hindi of literature, the language spoken and written by the educated and upper classes of society. So that, in the opinion of the author, we have three distinct Hindi languages. This announcement comes upon us with surprise, and if it be correct, very much complicates the investigation of Hindi, for, when we suppose by mastering one branch, we have gained a key to all Hindi dialects, we are told that it is by no means so, that we have only learnt one language, and that others differing from it, as German does from English, are yet to be studied. But is this really so?*

* On this question of the difference between Braj and Bhojpuri, and the title of the latter to be regarded as a distinct language, we are inclined to side with Dr. Hoernle, as against our contributor.—Ed., *C.R.*

Dr. Hoernle affirms that Eastern Hindi differs from Western Hindi chiefly in the following points:—First, as to pronunciation; it has a tendency to dentalise cerebral semi-vowels; it inserts a euphonic h, while Western Hindi sometimes omits the medial h; it never tolerates an initial y or v, Western Hindi sometimes inserts them; it has the short vowels e, ai, o, au, which are unknown to the other; and it retains the hiatus aï and aü, while Western Hindi contracts them to ai and au simply. Secondly, as to derivation, the strong form of masculine nouns of the *a-base* has in Eastern Hindi a final a, and the short form of pronouns a final e, but in Western Hindi a final au or o. Eastern Hindi has a medial o, Western has e or a; the one has the weak form of a in masculine nouns with *a-base*, the other, the strong form in au or o. Eastern Hindi has the long form ava or au of substantives; Western Hindi, aya or ai. Eastern Hindi adopts the short form of pronouns, while the Western has in addition a long form in na. Thirdly, as to inflexion, Eastern Hindi does not admit the affix ne in the active verbs, which the Western does; and in strong masculine nouns in a of the oblique form singular, it has a final a, which in Western Hindi becomes e. In regard to conjugations, Eastern Hindi makes its present tense by adding the auxiliary participle la to the ancient or Sanskrit present, but Western Hindi does so by the addition of ga or hai or chhai. The former makes its past tense by al or il, the latter by yau or yo. The two agree in having the infinitive ab or ib in common, but Western Hindi has in addition the form in an. Fourthly, as to construction, Eastern Hindi has a regular active construction with a proper active past tense, but Western makes use of a passive construction with the help of the active case in ne of the subject. Fifthly, there is considerable difference in the vocabularies of the two dialects. For example, in Eastern Hindi, batai, he is, rahal, he was, jin, the prohibitive particle, bade or bare, for the sake of, are in Western Hindi severally expressed by hai or chhai, ho or chho, mat, and liye.

Such is a brief outline of the main differences between Eastern and Western Hindi, expressed, for the most part, in the words of Dr. Hoernle. It is indisputable that a marked distinction in many points exists between the two dialects; and Dr. Hoernle deserves great credit for the clear and scholarly manner in which he discusses them in his work. Nevertheless, though granting the correctness of all his statements, which we do merely for the sake of argument, as we are far from coinciding in all his views—the differences existing between the two dialects are not sufficient to elevate them into the rank of separate languages. Moreover, we contend that people in the Western Provinces understand

those in the Eastern, and *vice versâ*, with as little difficulty as men of Northumberland and of Sussex understand one another. While discussing the differences between these dialects, Dr. Hoernle does not permit himself to discern the many points of agreement which they exhibit. Take, for instance, the two words mat, the negative of prohibition, and liye, for the sake of, Dr. Hoernle surely does not wish it to be understood that these words are simply in use in Western Hindi, seeing that, as a fact, beyond all dispute, they are commonly employed by persons speaking Eastern Hindi, *in addition to* other words of the same meaning peculiar to themselves.

Another matter of importance concerns the Hindi, which is the language of literature, and is the ordinary language of the educated and polite classes throughout the whole of the Hindi-speaking country. Dr. Hoernle styles it High Hindi, and makes the following observation respecting it. It is, he says, "nowhere the vernacular of the people, but is the language of literature, of the towns, and of the higher classes of the population"—and, consequently, in his work he makes little or no account of it. But virtually to ignore the classical form of the Hindi language, that in which nearly all the books are written, that which is taught in thousands of schools in Northern India, and that which is the principal medium of communication among the educated classes wherever Hindi professes to be spoken at all, is to occupy a false position, and to place this very valuable and important philological work under a great and unnecessary disadvantage.*

The critical estimate which Dr. Hoernle has formed of Eastern, Western, and High Hindi, is, after all, a matter of opinion, and of judgment, and has little or nothing to do with the substance of the book he has written, any further than the ignoring of High Hindi, for the most part, in the numerous discussions on which he enters, is concerned. Proceeding on the basis of the Kaithi dialect, he shows the points of agreement and disagreement, the root-forms, and the changes in vowels, consonants, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, and the remaining parts of speech, throughout their divisions and sub-divisions, subsisting between this and other dialects of Hindi, and all the other North Indian languages derived from the Sanskrit stock. Thus it is a Kaithi grammar of the fullest and completest character, and

* We entirely agree with Dr. Hoernle as to the limited currency of High Hindi, at least *quoad* the tract of country in which Eastern Hindi is the vernacular of the people. Possibly the use of High Hindi may be more common in the Western Hindi area, to the vernacular of which it is more closely related.—Ed., *C.R.*

is also a rich and intensely interesting comparative grammar of the seven great and separate languages spoken in the like number of provinces. The value of the book is not affected by the peculiar views which the writer entertains respecting the relation of the Hindi dialects to one another. It should be in the hands of every student of Indian philology, to which it is a most important contribution.

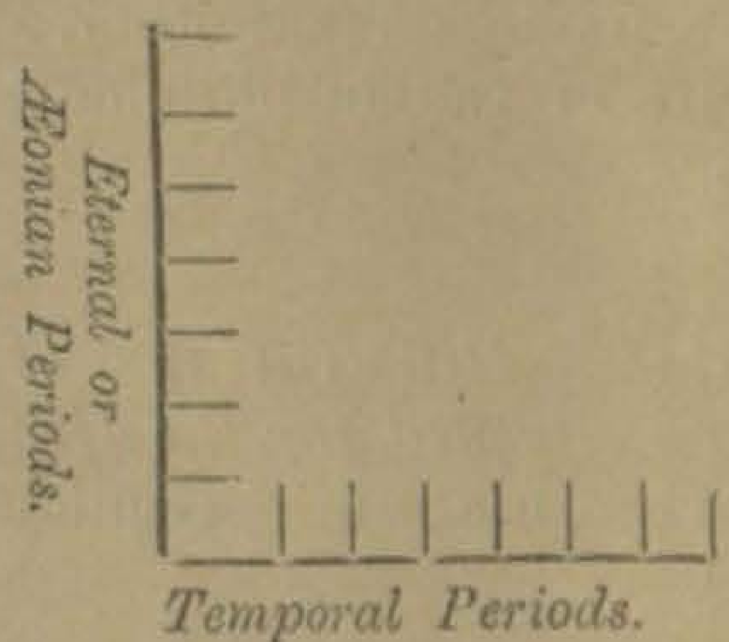
Physiology of Religion. Illustrations of the Physiology of Religion, in Sections adapted for the Use of Schools. Part I. By Henry Lee, F.R.C.S., etc., etc. London. Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill. 1880.

WE have read Dr. Lee's work from beginning to end without finding a single line to justify its title, or, indeed, its publication. Not only does it contain absolutely nothing about the physiology of religion, but what it does contain refers not to religion in general, but to certain prophecies and dogmas of Jewish and Christian writers, recognised by its author and his co-religionists as inspired. As far as we can make out, the purpose of the author is not to examine the genesis and development of the religious principle, or even to trace those of the particular religious ideas embodied in these prophecies and dogmas, but to indicate a certain mode of interpretation of the latter, deeply tinged with mysticism, and marked at the same time by a highly convenient latitude. Dr. Lee, it is evident, regards religion from a stand-point which places it outside the pale of physiological enquiry, unless we are to accept some interpretation of the term physiology equally remote from its etymological meaning and from every sense in which it has hitherto been understood. Of the science and the history of Biblical criticism he appears, moreover, to be completely ignorant. At least, the pages before us contain no indication that he is conscious of the existence of either.

We can no more hope to review his extraordinary production with satisfaction to ourselves or our readers, than we could to weave ropes out of cobwebs. A fair idea of both his manner and his matter may be gained from his second chapter, entitled "Days of Creation." As it is very short, we give it in full :—

"The history of man may be traced with regard to his physical condition on this earth, and also with regard to his condition beyond the grave. Each of these states may have several periods ; the next in either case is not necessarily the final one. The prophecies of the Old and New Testaments have very generally been interpreted as having reference to man's physical condition on this earth. Such an interpretation must necessarily be incomplete, having respect to one or more generations of men only, and not to

man in general. The other mode of reading man's history has reference to the race, and may apply equally to man in every age of the world. The one refers to the successive generations of men on the earth, the other to the state of man here and hereafter.



"A difficulty has long been felt by those who have studied the prophecies of the Bible, from the fact that some of these prophecies, relating at first sight to the same facts, state different things. This difficulty is in great part, if not entirely, met by considering that different parts of those prophecies may relate to different periods in man's history, and that prophecy in its fulness cannot be limited to any one period, and relates to man's eternal as well as temporal condition. Those who have written on prophecy have very generally attempted to show its accomplishment in man's physical history on this earth, past, present, or to come. Such an interpretation must necessarily be most unsatisfactory, inasmuch as it leaves out his future destiny, in which those who have passed away are equally interested with those who are to come. Again, that the resurrection state is not the final state in man's eternal history, appears clearly indicated by the forty days, a definite and complete period, that our Lord remained on earth in His resurrection body. Some prohecies with regard to man's eternal state may have reference to this period, while others, apparently at first sight alluding to the same subject, may principally refer to a more distant time. To take an illustration: the tabernacle of David will be restored; that which was shown to Moses in the Mount will be realised; there will be a house of prayer for all nations; the temple spoken of by Ezekiel will be set up. This may all occur in man's eternal history, and be perfectly consistent with another period, or condition described by St. John, when there should be no temple and no night.

"Through faith, we understand that the worlds were formed by the word of God, so that the things which are seen were not made of things that do appear. Faith to us is, in this as in other things, the evidence of the unseen. The Spirit of God in the *beginning* moved upon the face of the waters, and in six periods all the host of the heavens and the earth were created, in "the day" that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens. This mighty work was finished in spirit by the Word of God before the foundation of the world. In the same day, and in the same way, was created every plant in the field before it grew, and before there was a man to till the ground; or, as it might be expressed in terms of modern science, the laws were first formed, and the visible outcome of those laws appeared afterwards.

"Solomon, in his wisdom, has given us a brief account of this creation: "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old I was set up from everlasting; from the beginning or ever the earth was; when there were no depths I was brought forth; when there was

no foundation abounding with water. Before the mountains were settled, before the hills, I was brought forth; while as yet He had not made the earth or the fields, nor the highest part of the dust of the world. When He prepared the heavens I was there; when He set a compass upon the face of the depths; when He established the clouds above; when He strengthened the foundations of the deep; when He gave to the sea His decree that the waters should not pass His commandment; when He appointed the foundations of the earth, then I was by Him, as one brought up with Him, and I was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him; rejoicing in the habitable parts of the earth, and my delights were with the sons of men."

The words of David convey the same idea in a more personal sense: "I will give thanks unto Thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are Thy works, and that my soul knoweth right well: my bones are not hid from Thee, though I be made secretly and fashioned beneath in the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being imperfect, and in Thy book were all my members written, which day by day were fashioned, when as yet there were none of them."

The present visible outcome of this creation is, to us, the evidence of things not seen as yet, and follows, as far as we can ascertain, much the same order as the spiritual. Light must necessarily exist before a plant will grow. The lower forms of life precede the higher; the grass must have existed before the *herbivora*, and the *herbivora* before the *carnivora;* but, in the spiritual as in the natural order, the light did not at once—although first created—penetrate the mists of this lower world.

It has been supposed that every star was, in the first instance, a nebula, which gradually assumed its present form. Be this as it may, physical science appears to demonstrate that there was a time when the surface of this earth was in a fluid or semi-fluid form; this is indicated by its shape. For had the earth been formed originally perfectly round, with the waters and the dry land irregularly scattered on its surface, as soon as it began to rotate the waters would have accumulated at the equator, and have left the poles comparatively dry. The present shape of the earth, flattened at its poles, is consistent with its having once been in a semi-fluid condition, and is not consistent with any other existing theory. It would be highly probable, if not physically certain, that a long period, during which the earth was being made "continually," or in successive ages, elapsed before the light of the sun or of the moon was made to shine upon the dry land. Spiritually, we reckon that at least four thousand years elapsed in the history of the world—although there were abundant indications of what was coming—before the visible appearance of that light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. The length of the days of creation cannot, therefore, be measured by our present modes of noting time. Light, when first created, was called day. That day still continues, and may continue for ever. The day which the Lord hath made is directly associated by David with the "gates of righteousness" (Psalms cxviii. 24).

This, we suppose, is one of the sections which Dr Lee describes in the title as adapted for the use of schools. It is certainly very well adapted for the conversion of schools into hot-beds of lunacy.

Miracle Plays and Sacred Dramas. A Historical Survey. By Dr. Karl Hase. Translated from the German by A. W. Jackson, and edited by the Rev. W. W. Jackson, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1880.

IN this work Dr. Hase has treated a deeply interesting subject in a manner at once learned and attractive. Besides reviewing the history of the religious drama, from the *Passion of Christ*, a tragedy of the time of the Apostate Julian, and attributed to St. Gregory Nazienzen, to the polemical plays of the Reformation period in Germany and the revival of the Passion play, at a comparatively recent date, at Oberammergau in the Tyrol and at Liesing in Carinthia, the author discusses the relation of the Sacred drama to the French Classical Tragedy and the modern theatre generally, and the attitude of the Church towards the theatre in past and present times.

The first introduction of religious plays was probably the result of a compromise between the asceticism of the early Church and the passion for the theatre inherited by the Christians from Pagan times, though Dr. Hase rather hints than positively states this The first Christian drama, already referred to, not only had its foundation in the Greek tragedy, but was largely plagiarised from the works of Euripides. Dr. Karl Hase, however, is of opinion that this work was not intended for representation, but for the schools, and had little influence on the Passion plays of the Middle Ages. The first recorded development of the latter, he informs us, occurred in France as late as the eleventh century, and the first German Miracle play extant is the *Rise and Fall of Antichrist*, an Easter play of the twelfth century, found in the Convent of Tegernsee in the Bavarian Highlands. But the entertainmnet rapidly spread among both Latin and Teutonic nations. Regarding the rise of the sacred drama in England, Dr. Hase says:—

"No early English offices, such as those which form the basis of the play in France and Germany have been hitherto discovered, although such usages must have been common: cf. Hone, p. 222, *note*. But at the time when miracle plays or mysteries were gradually growing up in Europe, England was undergoing the changes which followed the conquest. The introduction of the miracle play into England was probably due to French ecclesiastics. The earliest play acted in England, the *Ludus de S. Katharina*, about the year 1110, which was probably in Latin, was composed by a Norman monk; the first dramas from the pen of an Englishman, those of Hilarius, were also in Latin, and were written in France not many years later. The mysteries, however they were implanted on English soil, soon reached

their full development. Traces of their existence are found in the end of the twelth century, but they received the greatest impulse from the institution of the festival of Corpus Christi in 1264. The earliest mystery extant in English is probably the *Incredulity of St. Thomas*, written for perform ance by the Scriveners' Guild at York, and evidently forming one of a series of plays on the New Testament. It is one of the peculiarities of the English mysteries that they are combined into series in which the whole course of Divine Providence from the Creation to the Day of Judgment is placed before the spectator. Three such groups have been preserved, known as the Chester Plays (which have been ascribed to so early a date as 1268), the Towneley or Widkirk, and the Coventry Plays."

But, as Dr. Hase remarks, from the time of Gregory the Great the mass itself, embracing, as it did, "the whole scale of religious emotion, from the mournful cry of the *Miserere* to the jubilee of the *Gloria in excelsis*," became an almost dramatic celebration of the tragedy of Golgotha, and we are inclined to doubt whether it is not due solely to the imperfect character of the record that we do not find evidence of the common performance of religious dramas much earlier than the eleventh century. Certain it is that comedies of a semi-religious character were acted in Convents in the tenth century. "It surprises us to find," says Dr. Hase, "that in the tenth century, especially termed the dark or starless, the comedies of Terence were diligently read in a Saxon cloister. In order to do away with this scandal, a nun, Hrosvitha, the 'loud voice from Gandersheim,' devised six Latin comedies, which show the influence of the semi-Greek culture of the Imperial House of Saxony. They are in servile imitation of Terence, and consist of legends in the form of dialogues—mere rhymed prose, which has for its theme martyrdom and the glorification of chastity. The pious sisters of Gandersheim may perhaps have found edification and amusement in the representation of these comedies—although the exhibition of supersensuous modesty may have demanded for its illustration some rather vivid pictures of the opposite quality. This is certainly the case with the subject of two comedies [*Abraham* and *Paphnutius*], which depict the repentance of an erring woman, and even the corpse of a noble lady needs a miracle to save it from the passionate lover whom she died disdaining. Only one of these dramas corresponds in some measure with our received ideas of a comedy; it has a burlesque scene in juxtaposition to the martyrdom of three virgins. Their persecutor, a high official under Diocletian, who wishes to wrong the already imprisoned maidens, is made to appear as if struck by sudden insanity. In the dark he embraces

dripping pans and all sorts of cooking utensils, and at last, as he is returning home, as black as a chimney-sweep after his imaginary gratification, he meets with ill-usage from his own soldiers, who take him for a devil."

At first the Miracle play, as it rose in the bosom of the Church, was enacted in the Churches. But from the thirteenth century this was prohibited. At the same time the priests ceased to take an active part in the performances, their places being taken, not by paid actors, but by volunteers from among the people.

"Occasionally Lay Brethren devoted themselves to the pious work. In Antwerp the Brethren of St. Luke, a brotherhood consisting principally of artists and artificers, acted the old Flemish pieces; and in Paris the *Confrérie de la Passion*, a body of artizans, received from Charles VI., in 1402, a charter for the exclusive performance of miracle plays in the town and suburbs. In Rome, the Fraternity *del Gonfalone* represented in Passion Week the sufferings of Christ on the arena of the Coliseum, once consecrated by the blood of so many martyrs, shed in combat with wild beasts. In York, on the introduction of the Feast of Corpus Christi, every guild had to exhibit some scene from the Holy Scriptures, and the procession passed through the midst of the spectacle, till, on the application of a pious mêndicant friar, the Town Council in 1426 decided to have the play on the previous day, in order that the procession for the attainment of the Great Indulgence might alone take place on the divine festival.

If a whole town undertook a play, a solemn trumpet call *(le cri du jeu)* summoned all who wished to join in the representation for the honour of Christ or the good of their souls. Such persons had to place in the hands of an officer of Justice a signed paper, in which they swore, on pain of death or the forfeiture of their goods, that they would carefully study the role they undertook, and that they would appear on the day fixed for the performance. As the common people found many suitable parts—for instance, those of the Israelites in the wilderness, or the Jewish spectators at the entry into Jerusalem, at the judgment-seat, and during the crucifixion—great numbers flocked to offer their co-operation. Sometimes nearly half a town acted, while the other half looked on, in company with the people from the surrounding districts.

Regarding the mode of performance in these early times, Dr. Hase says :—

We may here remark that generally no entrance-money was paid, only sometimes voluntary gifts were received to provide for the expenses incurred. The same had been the case in the churches where offerings had been accepted. As regards in particular the Parisian Brotherhood of the Passion, a prologue exists which may be taken either for or against the question of a fee—

"Now will we hold an Easter play,
'Tis merry, and there's little to pay."

The pieces were not divided into acts, but the larger ones were portioned into days; as sometimes the performance was carried on unwearyingly through all the principal points of the revealed narrative from the Creation of the World to the Judgment-day; and the entertainment lasted, with some interval for the noontide meal, from morning until evening, or not

unfrequently like the feasts of the good old times, for several successive days.

Such great popular plays could only be performed in the open air, and we hear of prayers for favourable weather, and of interruptions on account of rough weather. In the play found at Tours (see page 13), the scene of the heavenly Paradise is laid in the church, and God the Father comes out whenever He wishes to speak to Adam. The earthly Paradise appears to have been so arranged outside the great western door, that space was still left to represent the world beyond Paradise, into which there was a descent of a few steps. We are hence led to suppose that in the drama of *Antichrist*, the Temple of the Lord in the background to the east may have been a real church. Later many other spots, conveniently situated for a spectacle, were not disdained.

The great number of actors, and the desire for a complete illustration of the scene of important events, while the art of shifting the scenes was still unknown, necessitated a very large stage, on which the different places, whether towns, houses, or woods, were fenced off, sometimes with the names affixed on a scrip. In the middle a sort of common ground was always required for the mass of actors, and for the representation of events which demanded less definite scenery.

As the action of the Miracle play extended beyond this world into the upper and lower worlds as well, we find in France a stage of three stories. The topmost represented Paradise, and in it were the Trinity, the saints and angels. It was carefully adorned with tapestry, and shaded by trees, of which it is incidentally remarked that they were green, and that they appeared to blossom and emit sweet odours; it also contained an organ. In the middle was the earthly stage, which was made as large as possible. Below was Hell, sometimes represented as the jaws of Hell by the opening and shutting of the mouth of an enormous dragon. The poet's words were then literally true:

> "Within the stage's narrow bound,
> The whole creation circles round;
> Each soul, with measured haste, is driven
> Through this wide earth to hell or heaven."

Brunelleschi, who could arch the great cupola of the Florentine cathedral, did not consider the erection of the stage for a festival play a degradation of his art.

In Germany, less care was usually bestowed on the accessories. There Paradise was generally at one end of the stage, raised a few steps above the rest. In one Easter play, the devil had for his infernal habitation only a very large cask, in and out of which he could spring like a true hell-hound; while another large cask set on end served for the mountain of the Temptation.

If unity of place was thus preserved amid all changes, unity of time seems to have caused even less anxiety. The Divine Hero was born and laid in the manger in the morning; and in the evening He hung on the cross; while a mere wave of the hand could dispose of centuries or ages.

All the players, or at any rate all who were required for the half-day's performance, came on the stage at once, even the ass appeared according to his Scriptural prerogative. Each actor was supposed to be invisible till he received his cue and stood forth. It occasionally happened that the action went on at the same time in different parts of the stage, in cases where there was no immediate personal manifestation—as, for instance, when a voice was heard from heaven or from hell. It was then

possible to carry on the action in one place by dumb show only, while in another the words would be spoken.

On his first appearance in the play every actor had to state what he represented, or else some appointed person announced him to the audience. A similar herald often introduced the play by a prologue in the style of an oration, which he continued by a simple description of the action, whenever it was not trusted to proclaim itself. Some times he appeared in the form of an angel, or of St. Augustine, the celebrated teacher of the Western Church, who unexpectedly, though perhaps not altogether undeservedly, had to act as stage manager. It was part of his work to admonish the spectators to silence : *Silete.* This was also the duty of the deacon in old churches before the reading of the Gospel. In the theatres, judging by the manuscripts, the admonition was often repeated, and appears to have belonged to the part. It was probably necessitated by the crowd of spectators, and the discomfort of the places where they had to sit or stand ; and even by the very warmth of their sympathy, as is still often the case in Italian theatres.

At first in the churches the costume of the players was only the ordinary priest's gown, and for the sacred personages the officiating robes. Even in the beginning of the twelfth century, we find that a learned Norman who had been summoned to England to fill the Rectorship of the Great School of the Abbey of Dunstable, when he caused his scholars to perform a Miracle play of *St. Catherine,* borrowed the priestly vestments from the sacristan of St. Alban's for the dress of the players. The women's parts, which had to be acted by men and boys, were the first to require a fancy dress. In the popular festival plays, as far as we can discover, the sacred personages wore the Byzantine robe, Christ, as well as the Jewish High Priest, being sometimes attired as a bishop. For the crowd of subordinate players the ordinary costume of the Middle Ages was picturesque enough ; but as the people liked mummery, some would at their own cost provide a more fantastic attire. As in hell the condemned souls were supposed to wear no clothes, this was indicated by close-fitting shirts. Children might wear the garment of Eden.

The stage tricks which are occasionally revealed are of the simplest order. In an Easter play at Donaueschingen, Judas was to be hanged in due form by Beelzebub—“ The devil must take care of the fastening and sit behind him on the bar of the gallows.” Judas was to carry concealed in his coat a black bird and the entrails of some animal, so that when the devil tore his coat the bird might fly away and the entrails fall out. Then both he and the devil slid down to hell on a slanted rope. Sometimes, however, more ingenious mechanism was invented, so that Aron's Rod suddenly blossomed, or the fig-tree withered at the curse of Christ. Instead of the ladders which ascended from the infernal to the earthly stage and thence to heaven, ropes and pinions were brought into play. One scene at the execution of a martyr was particularly admired, in which the head made three jumps, and at each jump a stream of blood issued.

The division between *Mysteries* and *Moralities* first arose in France, the *Moralities* being at first allegoric representations. Parables from Scripture were also represented. Plays derived from legends of the Saints and the plays of the Virgin occupied a middle position. For a complete view of the subject, however, we must refer our readers to Dr Hase's book. The performance at Oberammergau was instituted, as is well known, in fulfilment of

a vow on the occasion of a disease of the flax plant, in 1633. The piece acted up to 1811 was entirely in verse. That performed since is by one Pastor Weise, formerly a Benedictine of the Convent of Ettal, who was still alive in 1840. The book under review gives a most interesting account of both the play and its performance.

Extracts from the Koran in the Original, with English Rendering. Compiled by Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D. London: Trübner and Co.

OWING to the principle on which they have been made, these selections cannot be taken as a fair sample of the general character of the teaching of the Koran. The compiler has expressly avoided passages embodying the special tenets of Islam, and, for the rest, has chosen those which enforce truths accepted equally by Christians and Muhammadans. The result is to show that in a multitude of matters Muhammadan views of man's duty both to God and to his fellow-men coincide with those of Moses and the prophets and of the Founder of Christianity Himself. But none but very ignorant or very prejudiced persons would have expected that it should be otherwise. Thus to the vast majority of those who read the book, it will suggest no new conclusions. To the minority who take it up without any independent knowledge of the subject, it is not unlikely to prove misleading, by presenting them with an entirely one-sided view of Muhammadanism. Perhaps the most useful purpose the book is likely to serve is that of furnishing the curious in such matters with a very fair idea of the diction of the Koran, so far, that is, as any idea of that diction can be formed from a translation, for, though the original text is given, most carefully printed, and pointed, those to whom it is intelligible will probably be acquainted with the Koran itself.

The translation, though in places somewhat free, appears on the whole to be admirably done.

Mohammed, Buddha and Christ. Four Lectures on Natural and Revealed Religion. By Marcus Dods, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

DR. DODS' lectures on the three great religions of the world, while they are written from a thoroughly Christian point of view, are not only remarkably free from intolerance, but exhibit an ungrudging appreciation of what is good in the rival systems of Muhammadanism and Buddhism. Few independent

critics will, we think, we disposed to accuse the writer of doing less than justice to the merits of Buddhism in the following summary of its qualities:—"Though the framework of the Buddhist ethic is beautiful and all but perfect, the moving spirit of it is radically selfish. It not only professedly excludes all consideration of a higher will than a man's own, but it also excludes all idea of duty. It takes its departure from man's sense of misery, not from his sense of sin; it builds its well-proportioned and exquisitely-chiselled temple not on conscience, but on man's craving for happiness; and its ultimate aim is not to free men from inward evil, but to emancipate them from misery, that is, from existence. And therefore, while the admirable purity and elevation of its moral teaching must have found a hopeful response in many a soul, it has signally failed in moving the multitude. It has in it the makings of the purest moral system men have ever developed, but it lacks the two elements which are chiefly needed in any system which is to be extensively efficacious among men: it lacks the appeal to conscience which furnishes the steady support of a sense of duty, and it lacks the idea of a personal God which calls out the still stronger, if as yet less constant, principles of love and hope."

His criticism of Muhammadanism, though less appreciative, is not less liberal.

But the merit of Dr. Dods' lectures is not confined to their freedom from sectarian bias. They contain about as complete and accurate account of the tenets and practical working of the religious systems treated of as it would be possible to embody in popular discourses, and they are couched in language at once eloquent and scholarly. We are not surprised to see that they have reached a fourth edition.

The Pársís of Bombay: a Lecture delivered in February 26, 1880, *at a Meeting of the Bethune Society, Calcutta.* By Rajendra Lala Mittra, LL.D., C.I.E. Published by order of the Council of the Bethune Society. Calcutta: Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co.

STARTING with a concise account of the religious difference which is supposed to have caused the feud between the Indo-Aryans and the cognate Perso-Aryans, Babu Rajendra Lala Mittra, in this interesting and eloquent lecture, first glances at the early history of the Parsi Empire, from its foundation to its final overthrow by the Arabs on the field of Nuhvand; then traces in somewhat greater detail the fortunes of the band of pilgrims who, after concealing themselves for a hundred years in the mountains of Khorassan, found a refuge successively in the

island of Hormuz, in the island of Diu, at Sanjan in Guzerat, at Bansoda and other places in Western India, at Puna, and finally, after its cession to the British, in Bombay, and concludes with a very full and appreciative description of the present state of the community, its manners, customs and character, in the latter place.

We take a view somewhat different from that of the writer regarding the early antagonism between the two branches of the Aryan race, believing that comparatively slight religious differences were gradually widened and intensified into a bitter feud in consequence of political antagonism, and that that antagonism was due to the conflicting interests of agricultural dwellers in the plains and highland nomads, rather than that the separation was originally the result of the religious schism. This, however, by the way. Babu Rajendra Lala Mittra's account of the Pársís of the present day in Bombay; their commercial enterprise, which he contrasts with the apathy prevalent in Bengal; their independent and go-ahead character, and their domestic life, is an admirable one.

In curious contrast with their enlightenment in most matters, we see, he notices their slavish attachment to astrology. "They will do nothing without consulting the stars, their conjunctions, and their oppositions. They rarely start on a journey without being satisfied that no adverse star stands in the way, and no marriage can be solemnized among them without a careful scrutiny of the relative position and disposition of the heavenly bodies. Their literature on the subject, however, is limited. The only work I know of is a Persian treatise entitled *Siroza* or the 'thirty days,' which gives an account of the thirty days of the month and their influences on human action. It is puerile in the extreme, and as stupid as such books usually are; but it exercises a potent influence on the actions of its followers. By way of illustration I shall quote its account of a highly lucky, of a moderately lucky, and of an unlucky, day.

The Pársí era begins from the date of accession of Yazdjird, the last of the Sassanians, in the middle of September, and reckons 12 months of 30 days each, with five intercalary days at the end, which are passed as holidays. The first day of the month is called Behdin, and is sacred to the god Harmazd. 'This day is reckoned auspicious for all good undertakings, especially such as commencing new buildings, sending children to school (for the first time), and commencing the cultivation of a field or garden. It is auspicious for all kinds of consultation, for selling and for buying, for uniting together, and for marrying; for dressing in new clothes, and for cutting nails. Shaving, going to the bath, and perjury, on this day, meet with instantaneous punishment from God. If a person be taken ill, he will soon be restored to health. The day is well adapted for a short journey. If a

person may have mislaid anything, he will recover it. Should a child be born, it becomes very fortunate, and enjoys long life. Dreaming is attended with good, and the dream ought not to be revealed to any person, till its result be known. The signification of a dream will be manifested, and not occult.'

The second of the month affords an instance of a moderately lucky day. It is 'sacred to Bahman, the angel who presides over increase of mankind, and protects horses and goats. It is a moderately fortunate day, and well suited to sensual indulgences, to the performance of marriage ceremonies, to the drinking of wine, to putting on new clothes, to scraping nails, to forming new hopes, to contracting friendly alliances, and to giving instruction.'

The third day is an unlucky one. 'It belongs to Ardebehisht, the angel who is the guardian of fire. This day is inauspicious; we should desist on it from doing any work. Fire must be worshipped. Nothing else must be done, lest its issue should prove unfortunate. It is to be maintained that whoever shall work this day, will repent it at the end. The day is certainly not good for selling and buying. The child born this day will be miserable, stupid, deceitful, during a long life. Good reports are neither to be approved nor credited. The visions of dreams will not be realized. Should a person fall ill, his life is in danger. If anything be lost, it will never be recovered, unless by a special interposition of providence.'

Other days are described in the same way, some highly fortunate, others moderately so, while others are frightfully bad. The Pársís, however, do not rest satisfied with the guidance of these directions. They resort freely to Hindu astrologers, and no marriage is solemnised without consulting them. Horoscopes are always cast by the same class of persons, and no child is named until its horoscope has been got ready."

In spite of their ardent pursuit of business, too, they observe an inordinate number of festivals. Of their exemplary charity the writer says:—"Want is the most potent incentive to change, and lest that cause should lead to any of their community forsaking them, the Pársís have devised every means at their command to prevent it. They hold it as one of their most important duties to befriend the poorer members of their body. Funds are always forthcoming to relieve the needy, and such a thing as a Pársí beggar is never seen in the streets of Bombay. Public women of that sect are also, I am told, unknown. Medical relief is abundant. There are several dispensaries and hospitals for their use; and the Pársís have always maintained in Bombay their high character for liberality and benevolence. Number for number they distribute more money in charity than does any other community in India."

Kafiristan. Section I. The Bashgeli Kafirs and their Language. By G. W. Leitner, LL. D. (of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law), (Late on a Linguistic Mission by Order of the Panjab Government), Principal of the Government and Oriental Colleges, Lahore, and Registrar of the Panjab University College. (Reprinted from the Journal of the United Service Institution of India.) Printed and published by Dilbagray at the Albert Press, Lahore. 1880.

THE author of "Kafiristan" is already well known to the public, both as a traveller and as a linguist. It was in 1866 that he made those remarkable discoveries which first brought his name more prominently before the world. In that year he was selected by the Government of the Panjab, at the instance of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to travel on a mission of linguistic discovery into the hitherto almost unknown regions lying immediately on our North-Western frontier, between Kabul, Badakshan, and Kashmir, and including Kafiristan. The success of that mission was fully acknowledged by the Indian Government, as well as by a number of learned societies in England. There is much yet left to be done, before we can say that we fully understand those countries as to language, religion, race, etc. It is no fault of Dr. Leitner that this is so. With the scant allowance of time at his disposal, he has done as much as, nay, a great deal more than, any one else would have done. His travels extended only to a few weeks. Nevertheless, in that short time, he was able, as he tells us, to make himself acquainted with eleven languages, regarding the grammar and vocabulary of which he collected materials for after publication. That this was not a mere random statement, as some people were at first inclined to think, Dr. Leitner soon demonstrated by the publication of his work on Dardistan, in three parts, between 1867 and 1873, in which he, besides much general information, made known the grammatical forms, vocabularies, dialogues, and songs of four languages and four dialects. And it is to be noticed that that work gives but a comparatively small fraction of the mass of linguistic and ethnological material which the author has been able to collect, and which it is only want of leisure, as he tells us, that has prevented him from publishing hitherto, and thus completing what he has already issued. All the more it is a matter of congratulation to the world of science that Dr. Leitner has allowed himself to be prevailed upon by "Sir Robert Egerton not to delay any longer the publication of his materials regarding the Siah Posh Kafirs, which he had collected in 1866-67, and to which he had added in 1872." We all know what an amount of daily work almost every person

who holds an official position in India has to get through, and Dr. Leitner deserves our full acknowledgment for having made time, in the midst of his multifarious and heavy official duties, to publish this welcome instalment of the remainder of his material.

The larger and the more important part of the section of Kafiristan, now published, is, of course, linguistic, containing a vocabulary and grammar of the Kalasha language. But it is introduced and followed by a few notes on the manners and customs and religious opinions of the Bashgeli Kafirs, which, brief though they are, are not without interest, which is further enhanced by the addition of two maps and a few photographs and woodcuts of Bashgelis and other Kafirs. The claim of these Kafirs to be worshippers of Mahadeva, Indra, and other specifically Hindu deities, is hardly admissible, and no doubt founded, as Dr. Leitner himself thinks, on some misunderstanding, as they have probably learned these names from the Hindus.

The vocabulary and sketch of grammar of the Kalasha grammar that follows the introduction, is specially interesting, and the most valuable part of the section. Kalasha is the name of the language of the Bashgeli Kafirs, one of the four Kafir tribes; they live near Chilas and Gilgit, and belong to the Dardu race. The Kafir languages have been sometimes affiliated to the modern Sanskritic languages of North India. But the vocabulary would hardly bear out that view. There are comparatively few nouns among those that Dr. Leitner gives, which strike one at first sight as related to Indian ones, such as *gordok* "ass," Sanskrit *gardabhaka*, Hindi *gadahá*; *itz* "bear," Skr, *riksha*, Prakrit *ichchha* (Hindi *richh*); *ati* bone Skr, *asthi*, H. *amthi* or *haddi*; *etsh* "eye," Skr, *akshi*, Pr. *achchhi* (H. *amkhi*), etc. This, however, may be owing partly to the peculiar and unusual system of spelling followed by the author; but still more to the uncertainty attaching to the identity of many of the words given in the vocabulary. Of this uncertainty the author himself was not unaware, as may be concluded from the signs of interrogation attached to many of his words. This remark applies still more to the grammatical portion of the section, which appears to be mainly based on what Dr. Leitner could learn from the Bashgeli Kafirs who for some time were in his servive, and with regard to whom the author admits hat he "had not the same opportunities for checking the torrectness of what he heard, or thought he heard, which he enjoyed in compiling his vocabularies." This, however, is a drawback which is unavoidable in a first attempt at reducing a language to writing, and does not detract from the value of

Dr. Leitner's labors. Nevertheless, it so happens that the nominal forms given by him afford more real ground for affiliating the Kafirs to the languages of North India, than the vocabulary. Thus the identity of the genitive and dative cases and their termination in *as*, is clearly Prákitic, *e.g.*, *putras*, "of a son," Sk. *putrasya*, Pr. *puttassa*, Marathi *putas*. Similarly the locative termination *somm* (p. 36, but *som* on p. 45) reminds one of the Sk. *smi*. The agreement in the numerals is very striking, *e.g.*, *ek* "one," *du* "two," Sk. *eka*, *dvau*, Prak. *ekka*, *do*; Hindi *ek*, *do*. The similarities regarding the pronouns, the author has pointed out himself. In the foot-notes there are a few curious misprints; *muyú* is not Hindi, nor is *majyá* a Prakit form; probably the Hindi *mujhe* and Prakit *majjha* are intended. The verbal forms again diverge more widely; especially the infinitive and first person plural, both ending in *k*, are very curious. But unfortunately the uncertainty already noticed is especially observable in this portion about the verb.

In spite of these little blemishes, unavoidable under the circumstances, Dr. Leitner's First Section of Kafiristan cannot fail to be of much value to linguists, and not to them only, but also to all whom duty or curiosity may move to travel in the Kafir country. For the Kalasha language, the author informs us, is spoken, or at least understood, by the neighbouring independent Kafirs also. Let us then hope that the first section may soon be followed by the other sections of the work. There is, it appears, a good deal of material still remaining to be published. A list of it is given on pages 49 and 50 of the present section, enough to make up thirteen further sections. Some of this material is linguistic, as the accounts of the Khajuná, Arnyiá, Gilgití, Chilási, Kashmírí, etc.; others are historic, as the recent history of Badakshán, Heywood's work and death, etc.

It can hardly be expected that Dr. Leitner shall be able to elaborate all this material in a satisfactory manner, while he has the burden of his official duties upon him. .Some it may be hoped he will be able to give us notwithstanding.

But if the whole is ever to be made public, and there can be no question that for the interests of science this is very desirable, it will, we think, be necessary for Government to temporarily relieve Dr. Leitner of his official duties, so that he may have the required leisure while staying in Europe, and within reach of the best libraries, to bring the great undertaking which was commenced so many years ago to a speedy and satisfactory termination.

History of Materialism and Criticism of its Present Importance. By Frederick Albert Lange, late Professor of Philosophy in the Universities of Zurich and Marburg. *Authorized Translation*, by Ernest Chester Thomas, late Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford. In three Volumes, Vol. II. London: Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill. 1880.

AS far as impartiality and lucidity of statement go, Professor Lange's Historoy of Materialism leaves nothing to be desired. Its chief fault is lack of comprehensiveness; and this is especially evident when he comes to deal with modern philosophy and the natural sciences. Though up to the time of Berkeley and Hume, for instance, full recognition is accorded to England and her influence in philosophy, we find her almost entirely ignored in the subsequent sections of the work. A history of materialism which does not give a full account of Herbert Spencer's system, may be, as that of Professor Lange undoubtedly is, a most valuable work; but it can scarcely lay claim to completeness.

The volume before us deals with the eighteenth century, Kant and materialism, philosophical materialism since Kant and the natural sciences, mainly in their relation to the problem of force and matter.

The first four chapters, treating of the period before Kant, and the chapter on Kant, are much more satisfactory than the remaining portion of the book. The translator continues to do his work admirably.

Linguistic and Oriental Essays, written from the year 1846 *to* 1878. By Robert Needham Cust, late Member of Her Majesty's Indian Civil Service; Honorary Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society; and Author of "The Modern Languages of the East Indies." London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1880.

TO the older among our subscribers it would be almost a work of supererogation to commend this volume; for they will doubtless recognise, in the essays of which it consists, some of the most valuable of the articles which have appeared in the *Calcutta Review* during the past four-and-thirty years. Mr. Cust, indeed, holds a unique place among our contributors. Not only do his contributions to our pages, extending as they do from the year 1846 to the present time, cover a period longer beyond all comparison than those of any other writer for the *Review*, but his fidelity to his first love has been as perfect in its constancy as it has been unqualified in its generosity. From the first fruits to the last ripe products of his literary labour, all have been laid at her shrine. How much less rich the

Review would have been without them, those who read the collected series now published together for the first time will know.

Mr. Cust possesses in an unusual degree the rare merit of being able, without in any way pandering to vulgar or sensational tastes, to render the most learned subjects generally attractive. There is hardly one of the essays in this volume which any person of moderate culture, however new its subject-matter might be to him, could read without having his interest aroused, if not being fired with something of the enthusiasm which inspires its writer. The secret of this charm is not to be found in a brilliant rhetoric, for Mr. Cust's simple and dignified style, though often rising to eloquence, is remarkable free from any effort at display,—nor in a luxuriant imagination, so much as in a certain warmth of sympathy with the human elements in his story which communicates itself insensibly to the reader.

The essays on Egyptology, the Phœnician alphabet monumental inscriptions, and the religions and languages of India are richly freighted with the fruits of the long course of learned reading of which the writer tells us in his preface they are the result; and they deal with a class of subjects which but too often prove *caviare* to the general; yet few but the hopelessly dull, or the desperately frivolous will, we venture to think, read the first half dozen pages of any of them without finishing it, and few will finish any of them without feeling themselves sensibly the better for the process. The essay on the Ramayana contains what, to our thinking, is by far the most delightful account of the great Indian epic ever published. The "Tour in Palestine" possesses the additional charm of a record of personal travel. Not the least valuable of Mr. Cust's essays are those which embody his experience as an Indian official,—those on the Punjab and Sarhind; the Collector of Land Revenue in India; Civil Justice in the Punjab; and an Indian District during the Rebellion. Thoroughly candid, full of ripe knowledge, and permeated by a kindly sympathy for the people, they deserve to be read by all who are interested in the past history or the future administration of the country.

We could not better illustrate the spirit in which Mr. Cust writes than by quoting the advice with which he concludes his preface:—

Some of the last words of my master, Lord Lawrence, in India were, "Be kind to the natives." I would go even further, and say, "Take an interest in, and try to love them." They are the heirs (perhaps the spendthrift heirs) of an ancient, but still surviving civilisation. And how far superior are they to the modern Egyptian, or the dwellers of Mesopotamia, the bankrupt heirs of a still more ancient, but exhausted, civilisation! How superior are they to the Equatorial and Tropical African, who never

had any civilisation at all! It seems a special privilege to have lived a quarter of a century amidst such a people as the inhabitants of Northern India, who are bone of our Arian bone, if not flesh of our Occidental culture: a people with History, Arts, Sciences, Literature, and Religion not to be surpassed, if equalled, by the Chinese and Japanese, who, like the Indians, for so many centuries sat apart from, and uninfluenced by, the long splendour of the Greek and Roman civilisation, which had overshadowed the rest of the world.

And in spite of the puerile vagaries of the Sciolist, the unseemly bickerings of really great Scholars, the untimely death of some great Genius, to whom the world looked for enlightenment, and the strange lingering on in galvanised life of some old-world prejudice, some oft-exploded error, Knowledge is seen to advance slowly: "E pur si muove." We shall know something in the next generation of the early history of the Religions, Languages, and Races of Mankind.
